ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

VOLUME LXVI

PRINTED AT OXFORD

BY FREDERICK HALL FOR

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

AND SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON

M CM XV

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I.—*The Complete Building Accounts of the City Churches (Parochial) designed by Sir Christopher Wren.* *By* LAWRENCE WEAVER, *Esq., F.S.A.* . . 1–60

II.—*Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey.* *By* WILLIAM PAGE, *Esq., F.S.A.* 61–102

III.—*The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its Ancient Treasures.* *By* SIR W. MARTIN CONWAY, *F.S.A.* 103–158

IV.—*Rock-cutting and Tomb-architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman Occupation.* *By* GEO. JEFFERY, *Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Cyprus* . 159–178

V.—*Notes on the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' at Salamis in Cyprus.* *By* PROFESSOR JOHN L. MYRES, *M.A., F.S.A.* 179–194

VI.—*Researches at Rickmansworth: Report on Excavations made in 1914 on behalf of the British Museum.* *By* REGINALD A. SMITH, *Esq., F.S.A., with Geological Report by* HENRY DEWEY, *Esq., F.G.S.* 195–224

VII.—*Recent Roman Discoveries in London.* *By* FRANK LAMBERT, *Esq., M.A.* 225–274

VIII.—*The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford.* *By* SIR WILLIAM H. ST. JOHN HOPE, *Knt., Litt.D., D.C.L.* . . 275–348

IX.—*On a Bronze Object of the Late-Celtic Period recently added to the British Museum.* *By* SIR CHARLES HERCULES READ, *LL.D., F.B.A., Vice-President* . 349–352

X.—*On the Topography of the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill.* *By* A. W. CLAPHAM, *Esq., F.S.A.* 353–364

XI.—*On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII, and Foundress of the Colleges of Christ and St. John in Cambridge; with some illustrative documents.* *Communicated by* ROBERT FORSYTH SCOTT, *Esq., M.A., Master of St. John's College* 365–376

XII.—*Recent Discoveries in the Abbey Church of St. Austin at Canterbury.* *By* SIR WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, *Litt.D., D.C.L.* 377–400

XIII.—*Mary de Sancto Paulo, Foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge.* *By* HILARY JENKINSON, *Esq., B.A., F.S.A.* 401–446

XIV.—*The Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury.* *By* RALPH GRIFFIN, *Esq., F.S.A.* 447–568

XV.—*Late-Celtic Dagger, Fibula, and Jet Cameo.* *By* SIR ARTHUR EVANS, *Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President* 569–572

INDEX 573–614

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE		PAGE
	The Complete Building Accounts of the City Churches:	
I.	Emblematical design by Hulsbergh, with names and cost of Wren's buildings . . . . . facing	8
	The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its ancient Treasures:	
II.	The Mass of St. Giles . . . . . facing	103
III.	The Treasure of Saint-Denis: Contents of Armoires I and II facing	104
IV.	The Treasure of Saint-Denis: Contents of Armoires III and IV facing	106
V.	1. The sword 'Joyeuse'. 2. The 'Throne of Dagobert' . facing	118
	Fig. 1. Sardonyx vase, called 'La coupe des Ptolémées' . .	119
VI.	The Bowl of Chosroes . . . . . facing	120
VII.	1. The Scriptorium of Saint-Denis. 2. Foot of cross: called the cross of St. Bertin (St. Omer Museum) . . . . facing	122
VIII.	1. Serpentine plate, inlaid with goldfish and mounted in gold. 2. Fibula of gold and stones: found at Nagy Mihály, Hungary facing	124
IX.	1. Gondola attributed to St. Eloy. 2. Navette in shape of an eagle, with gold mountings . . . . . facing	126
X.	The 'Escrin de Charlemagne' . . . . . facing	128
	Fig. 2. Intaglio of Julia, daughter of Titus: from the 'Escrin de Charlemagne'.	129
XI.	The golden frontal of Charles the Bald . . . . facing	134
XII.	1. Cameo of Augustus, mounted in silver-gilt with jewels. 2. Golden spur: 12th century. 3. Lapis lazuli plaque, inlaid with gold. 4. Clasp: called the clasp of St. Louis. 5. Ivory chessman. facing	136
XIII.	1. Suger's ewer, sardonyx and silver-gilt. 2. Crystal ewer . facing	138
XIV.	Golden cover of Gospels from St.-Denis . . . facing	140

PLATE PAGE

The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its ancient Treasures (*continued*):

XV. 1. Silver-gilt statuette of Our Lady and Child. 2. Queen Eleanor's vase, rock crystal and silver-gilt . . . . facing 142

XVI. 1. The chalice of Abbot Suger. 2. Agate phial. 3. Chalice: called 'the Chalice of St. Denis' . . . . . facing 144

XVII. 1. Hand of Justice. 2. Porphyry vase, with 12th-century mounting. 3. Sceptre of Charles V . . . . . facing 146

XVIII. 1. Back of copper enamelled chasse. 2. Sardonyx vase: mounted in silver-gilt, with jewels and ornaments . . . facing 150

XIX. 1 and 2. Covers of reliquaries, embossed silver-gilt . . facing 154

XX. The reliquary called 'of St. Louis' . . . . facing 156

Rock-cutting and Tomb-architecture in Cyprus:

Fig. 1. Entrance to Khrysokava Quarry 161

Fig. 2. Plan of corner of the quarry at Khrysokava . . . 161

Fig. 3. A modern quarry, Cyprus 161

Fig. 4. 'Kokim' type of tombs, Cyprus 164

Fig. 5. Tomb at Tamassos: plan, section, etc. . . . 166

Fig. 6. Paphos: Tomb no. 1. Plan at general floor-level . . 167

Fig. 7. Paphos: Tomb no. 1. Detail of rock-cut colonnade . 167

Fig. 8. Paphos: Tomb no. 2. Plan and section 168

Fig. 9. Larnaca: tomb of Mycenaean type 169

Fig. 10. Phaneroméne, Larnaca: plan, etc. 170

Fig. 11. Larnaca: tomb of Graeco-Roman type . . . 171

Fig. 12. St. Catharine, Salamis: sections 172

Fig. 13. Prison of St. Catharine, Salamis: plan, with conjectural restoration of outer chamber 173

Fig. 14. Prison of St. Catharine, Salamis: detail of entrance . . 174

Fig. 15. Rock-hewn chapel of Acheiropoietos: elevation, plan, and section 176

The 'Prison of St. Catharine' at Salamis in Cyprus:

XXI. Fig. 1. East side before removal of loose stones, etc. Fig. 2. South end before the plinth stones were excavated . . . facing 179

PLATE PAGE

The 'Prison of St. Catharine' at Salamis in Cyprus (*continued*):

Text-fig. 1. Plan and elevation of entrance 183

XXII. Fig. 1. North end, showing the modern breach which serves as an entrance and remains of outer masonry and plinth. Fig. 2. South-west corner, showing the remains of the outer masonry and the out-fallen block of the 'great cornice' below the plinth courses . facing 192

Researches at Rickmansworth, Herts.:

Fig. 1. Sketch-map showing excavation sites at Mill End and Long Valley Wood, Croxley Green, with lines of sections . . . 196

Fig. 2. Flint implement from Mill End: front, side, and back views . 197

Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section of Long Valley Wood pit, showing site of excavation and original surface level 198

Fig. 4. Worked flint found close to chalk floor, Long Valley Wood: front, side, and back views 198

Fig. 5. Hand-axe from Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views 199

Fig. 6. Hand-axe from Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views 200

Fig. 7. Thick ovate implement, Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views 201

Fig. 8. Cordate implement, Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views 201

Fig. 9. Flake-implement from gravel at Croxley: style of Le Moustier 203

Fig. 10. Diagrammatic section of gravel face, Long Valley Wood pit, Croxley 218

Fig. 11. Section across the valley through Long Valley Wood . 220

Fig. 12. Section across the valley through Mill End pit . . 220

Recent Roman discoveries in London:

Fig. 1. Site of Leadenhall Market: Roman walls and foundations hatched 226

Fig. 2. Site of Leadenhall Market: General view of remains. Fig. 3. Sections of wall 227

Fig. 4. Leadenhall Market: Brick pier 229

Fig. 5. Leadenhall Market: Roman walls 230

Figs. 6 and 7. Leadenhall Market: Roman walls . . . 231

Figs. 8 and 9. Leadenhall Market: Roman walls . . . 232

PLATE		PAGE
	Recent Roman Discoveries in London (*continued*):	
	Figs. 10 and 11. Leadenhall Market: Roman walls	233
	Fig. 12. Leadenhall Market: Roman brick wall	234
XXIII.	1. General Post Office site: Part of east side. 2. Part of south side . . facing	237
	Fig. 13. General Post Office site: Plan of pits	243
XXIV.	General Post Office site (from G.P.O. north), after excavation of pits . . facing	244
	Fig. 14. General Post Office site: Coarse Roman pottery	247
	Fig. 15. General Post Office site: Coarse Roman pottery	249
	Fig. 16. General Post Office site: Coarse pottery	251
	Fig. 17. General Post Office site: Mortaria rim-sections	254
	Fig. 18. General Post Office site: Stamps on mortaria	254
	Fig. 19. General Post Office site: Stamps on handles of amphorae	255
	Fig. 20. General Post Office site: Numeral incised on rim of amphora	255
	Fig. 21. General Post Office site: Letters incised on handle of amphora	255
	Fig. 22. General Post Office site: Stamped fragment and reconstructed vase	257
XXV.	1. General Post Office site: Fragments of pipe-clay statuette and shrine, restored. 2. King William Street site: Red glazed vessel. 3. King William Street site: Terra-cotta fragment of stand . . facing	262
	Fig. 23. King William Street site: Plan of pits	265
XXVI.	King William Street site: 'Samian' pottery . . facing	266
	Fig. 24. King William Street site: Fragment of 'Samian' form 30 with stamp of Masclus	267
	Figs. 25–8. Sketch-maps of London within the walls: Fig. 25. Distribution of Claudian and earlier coins. Fig. 26. Distribution of 'Samian' form 29. Fig. 27. Distribution of form 37, La Graufesenque. Fig. 28. Distribution of potters' stamps, La Graufesenque.	271
	Fig. 29. Distribution of form 37, Lezoux	273
	John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford:	
	Fig. 1. Seal of John de Veer, Earl of Oxford, 1464	304
	Fig. 2. Seal of John de Veer, Earl of Oxford, made after his mother's death	305

PLATE		PAGE
	John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford (*continued*):	
	Fig. 3. Seal of John de Veer, Earl of Oxford, made probably in 1485.	305
	Fig. 4. List of the badges of John de Veer, Earl of Oxford	306
	Fig. 5. Cranket and boar-pig badge of the Veers, from the south door of Lavenham church, Suffolk	307
XXVII.	A bronze object of the Late-Celtic Period . . . facing	349
	Topography of the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill:	
	Fig. 1. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: plan of the site.	355
	Fig. 2. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: plan of the farmery and gardens in the sixteenth century	357
	Fig. 3. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: plan of the site in the early seventeenth century	359
	Fig. 4. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: reconstructed ground-plan	361
	Fig. 5. (1) Seal of Abbot Paschal. (2) Common seal of the Abbey	363
	Tomb and grate of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, in Westminster Abbey Church:	
XXVIII.	Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort . . . facing	365
	Signature of Torrigiano, from the contract for the tomb	368
XXIX.	Grate and tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort . . facing	373
	The Abbey Church of St. Austin at Canterbury:	
	Fig. 1. Remains of Abbot Wulfric's building, looking west	378
	Fig. 2. Pier-foundations of Abbot Wulfric's building, looking east	379
	Fig. 3. East face and piers of Abbot Wulfric's building, looking west	380
	Fig. 4. Part of the north side of Abbot Wulfric's building	381
	Fig. 5. Part of an earlier apse overlaid by Abbot Wulfric's building	386
	Fig. 6. Remains of the north *porticus* of King Ethelbert's church, with the tombs of Archbishops Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus	388
	Fig. 7. Restored plan, with probable arrangement of *porticus* and tombs	393
	Fig. 8. Remains of the tomb of Archbishop Laurence, with Adrian's grave on the left	396
	Fig. 9. Section of the tomb of Archbishop Laurence	397
	Fig. 10. Section of the tomb of Archbishop Justus	398
XXX.	Plan of recent discoveries of early works at St. Austin's . facing	400

PLATE		PAGE
XXXI.	Seals of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; Mary de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke; and of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Figs. 1 and 2. Seal of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. Figs. 3 and 4. Secret seals of Aymer de Valence (the smaller shows at the side of his own arms charges from those of his first wife). Fig. 5. Seal of the Countess of Pembroke (arms of Valence and of Châtillon of St. Pol). Fig. 6. Secret seal of the Countess (the roundels show the arms of England, France, and Dreux). Figs. 7 and 8. Seal and secret seal of Pembroke College	facing 425

Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury:

	Compartment 19 of the Cloisters	449
	Shield no. 119: ascribed to King Ethelbert	462
	Shield no. 43	470
	Shield no. 55: ascribed to Sansaver of Tramhatch	472
	Shield no. 162: ascribed to Apuldurfield	488
	Shield no. 282	504
	Shield no. 295: ascribed to Birlingham	505
	Shield no. 354: ascribed to Hosterley	512
	Shield no. 363: ascribed to Staresacre	513
	Shield no. 494: the Prince of Wales badge	527
	Boss no. 643: ascribed to John of Gaunt	559
XXXII.	Shields nos. 273, 223, 272, 139, 636, 643, 325, 501, 643, 643	following 568
XXXIII.	Shields nos. 610, 220, 676, 211, 613, 762, 558, 473, 51, A 34	„ 568
XXXIV.	Shields nos. 219, 19, A 13, 142, 209, 392, 667, 136, 416, 33, 196, 616, 553, 1, 14	„ 568
XXXV.	Shields nos. 543, 224, 299, 379, 181, 42, 322, 191, 414	„ 568
XXXVI.	Shields nos. 382, 628, 23, 569, 699, 288, 156, 52, 318, 31, 8, 429	„ 568
XXXVII.	Shields nos. 415, 313, 83, 332, 337, 9, 528, 602, 255, 197, 48, 365, 324	„ 568
XXXVIII.	Shields nos. 323, 692, 29, 388, 592, 589, A 33, 68, 309, 133, 265, 21	„ 568
XXXIX.	Shields nos. 135, 212, 53, 192, 193, 370, 584, 625, 737, 439, 194, 700, 268, 520	„ 568

PLATE PAGE

Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury (*continued*):

XL. Shields nos. 134, 453, 593, 601, 411, 452, 391, 329, 412, 787, 398, 640, 103, 259, 776 . . . . following 568

XLI. Shields nos. 65, 235, 236, 718, 277, 170, 536, 112, 544, 111, 58, 148 . . . . . „ 568

Late-Celtic Dagger, Fibulae, and Jet Cameo:

Fig. 1. Dagger from Hertford Warren, Suffolk 570

Fig. 2. Bronze fibula from Beckley, Oxon. 571

Fig. 3. Bronze fibula from the Danes Graves, Yorks. . . . 571

Fig. 4. Bronze fibula with paste decoration from the Danes Graves . 571

Fig. 5. Jet cameo, found at Strood, near Rochester, Kent . . . 572

I.—*The Complete Building Accounts of the City Churches (Parochial) designed by Sir Christopher Wren.* *By* LAWRENCE WEAVER, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 10th December, 1914.

BOUND up with other additional matter in the heirloom copy of Wren's *Parentalia*, on which I read a short paper on the 17th June, 1909[1], is an engraving by Hulsbergh. It is an emblematical design of a pyramid dotted with medallions, on each of which is written the name of a Wren building and a reference number. At the sides are two tables giving the costs of each building, set out to the uttermost farthing. No doubt many students of Wren have wondered, as I did, where Hulsbergh got these detailed figures, and by good fortune I have found their source in Bodley's Library, Oxford.

The extraordinarily full details of the building of Wren's fifty-one City churches, to which I shall now direct the Society's attention, have never, as far as I can find, been used by the student. They are contained in three fat manuscript volumes, and bear the press-marks:

MSS. Rawlinson B 387. The Bills of the Parochial Churches.
B 388. Leger of the Parochial Churches.
B 389. Tabernacle Leger and General Account.

In the front of the second volume, no. 388, is pasted an original letter as follows:

To Dr. Rawlinson at London House, Aldersgate Street.
These—

Sir,

I have spoke with Messrs. Brown & Harding about the MSS. of Sir Chris[r] Wren and they do agree to give you the Refusall of them for Seven Guineas which is the Lowest price & I assure you they will not be Sold so little to any Body Else please to Send an answer because they are to be Sent to Somebody Else to Look at.

I am Sir,
Yours etc.,
Wm. Bathoe.

Monday April 9th.

(N.B. The year is not given.)

[1] *Proceedings*, xxii, 524.

Next is inserted a memorandum in the handwriting of Christopher Wren, jun.:

Memorandum. These Three Volumes containing the Bills of the Parochial Churches: Leger of the same : Tabernacles Leger: and General Accompts, were deliver'd to me by Mr. Will Dickinson, sometime before his Decease, as what only were of moment, They having been all long since, Regularly Audited and Pass'd in the Exchequr.

After the death of Mr. Dickinson in Feb: 1724.5 several Parchment Rolls of Abstracts, rough Accts and Books, relating to St. Pauls and the Sd Churches (which together with ye 3 Volumes above mention'd had by my father's direction to Mr. Dickinson, upon his Leaving his Lodgings at Whitehall, been deposited under his keeping, in a room he had in the Cloysters at Westmr as He was Surveyr Gen: of the Repairs There) were sent by his Widdow to the Chapter House of St. Pauls, being carried thither and Placed in ye Inner room by Mr. Lucas, Clark of the Works at St. Pauls, and Mr. Fran. Bird Carver.

On the 7th of July 1725. I took occasion, in company with Mr. Hawksmoor, to call at ye sd Chapter House, and see what they were; and imagining They should not be imbezzled and lost, gave orders to ye sd. Mr. Lucas to Place Them among the other Records of St. Pauls, with a Label annext, referring to what they were, and from whence taken: wch He promis'd to take care off accordingly. Present Mr. Hawksmoor and Mr. Bird.

C. W.

It would appear that Brown and Harding, who were booksellers, had acquired, honestly or otherwise, from the custodian of the records at St. Paul's, these three volumes, and that Rawlinson did not too closely inquire as to where they came from. I envy him his seven guinea bargain.

There are next bound in, a 'Plan and Proposals' (on one sheet) by Val Knight, 'of a New Model for Rebuilding the City of London'—dated 2 Sept. 1666, and printed some time later—which does not bear on my subject. Also Hulsbergh's 'Pyramid' drawing already mentioned, which was 'printed for Sam Harding, Dan Browne and Wm. Bathoe'. Also a printed sheet, 'Dimensions of St. Peter's, Rome, and St. Pauls', of no particular interest.

Before dealing with the Leger of the Parochial Churches, which needs to be considered with the volume of bills, we may consider the third volume, no. 389, Tabernacle Leger and General Account. The word 'tabernacle' is a little puzzling until we remember its use to describe the temporary churches which were put up to provide a place for Divine worship during the building of the new churches. The contemptuous label 'tin tabernacle' has an archaeological flavour of which most of its users are unaware. The accounts show details of twenty-seven tabernacles. I give St. Alban's Wood Street in detail as a sample:

	£	s.	d.
Bricklayer	27	2	9
Plumber	85	1	6
Carpenter	88	6	8
,,	13	14	6
Smith	2	11	0
Glazier	14	1	7
	£230	18	0

Amongst others may be mentioned:

	£	s.	d.
All Hallows the Great tabernacle, which cost	129	18	10
St. Mary Aldermary ,, ,, ,,	194	5	8
St. Mary Abchurch ,, ,, ,,	265	16	4
Pancras Soper Lane ,, ,, ,,	50	0	0

The last is a lump sum, without prices for the various trades. These shanties, for they cannot have been more, were evidently built with timber walls on a brick base. St. Alban's is unusual in having £85 spent on plumber work, and was possibly roofed in part with sheet lead.

The fittings were severely simple. The joiner's work at St. Mary Aldermary represented:

	£	s.	d.
Pulpit and type	5	0	0
Communion Table	1	0	0
Reading desk and Clarke's desk	2	10	0
	£8	10	0

The word 'type' puzzled me, but Sir James Murray has kindly told me that it means a canopy over a pulpit, and that it has been used from 1532 in its primary meaning of cupola.

The so-called General Account bound in the same volume has some fascinating items mingled with others very dull. They begin with the date Aug. 31, 1671. They represent disbursements made by Wren which either could not be, or for some unknown reason were not, charged up to the account of individual churches. Some were simply architect's office expenses:

To Sir Christopher Wren his disbursements to Samuel Wells for drawing paper, paper bookes, pencills parchment etc. as appears by bill from June 1670 to May 1671 the summe of £7 16 6

Moor to him, his disbursements to Samuel Wells for an iron Chest and fitting drawers and conveniences for the Office Roome £16 4 0

Down to September 1679 the expenditure on drawing paper, etc., amounted to £109 0s. 7d.—say £12 a year,—a modest allowance which suggests that there was not a vast number of detail drawings made for the fifty-one churches. We

find that he used Imperial Dutch, Royal, Dutch Median, and other qualities of paper. Similar entries go on after 1679, but they show nothing different. Other office requisites were:

To Andrew Phillips being his disbursements for a Booke on Vitruvius for the use of ye office £3 0 0

To Andrew Phillips for a Statute Booke for the use of the office at . . £2 12 0

Another item shows that Wren had to keep his eye on the legal position, which was complicated by the various State and voluntary sources of the money available for building:

To Sir Christopher Wren for Gold by him paid out as followeth,

To Heneage Finch for Councill and his opinion ab[t] borrowing upon the credit of the Cole-money and allowance of use £5 7 6

To Judge Phillips for Councill and drawing up wrighting about the same 7 10 0

To him again for Councill several times and drawing up an additional account about the Cole money 5 7 6

To his clerke 15 0

To the Comptroller of the City Mr. Lane for drawing up some wrighting upon the same 3 4 6

£22 4 6

This was an earnest of the way the heart of the architect to-day is surfeited and overcharged with legal difficulties which hinder him in the exercise of his art. Doubtless, however, Sir Christopher's urbane modesty got him through many difficulties without recourse to Heneage Finch.

The accounts throw interesting light on the professional men employed by Wren.

Leonard Gammon was a surveyor who measured the church of St. Benet Fink and eight others, for which he received £10, being twenty days at 10*s.*, and for his assistance in casting up the measure, and for journeys and expenses, another £5. He was employed regularly, and other similar items appear. He was clerk of the works at the Tower.

William Walgrave got £2 10*s.* for taking the ground-plots of twelve churches. Henry Hunt did thirteen ground-plots of churches yet unbuilt at 10*s.* each, a higher rate than Walgrave commanded. Thomas Lane was a draughtsman regularly employed:

for copying ye designes of severall churches . £10

John Scarborow cannot have been a more exalted person than a junior clerk: he got £6 for his allowance for ink, paper, and coach hire for four years, and a pound a year for penny-post letters.

Edward Woodroffe seems to have been employed on the parochial churches

as assistant surveyor, in addition to holding that post at St. Paul's Cathedral. After his death, Walter Lapp, Esq., his executor, drew fifty pounds

> in part of sallery due to him by allowance of the Lords Commissioners.

It would appear that commission payments to Wren covered his ordinary staff, and that he only got his out-of-pocket expenses and a few charges for extra survey work. We know from another manuscript account that he received five per cent. on the cost of the City churches, in addition to his salary of £200 for St. Paul's, and other fees for the royal palaces, etc. The City churches therefore put over £13,000 into Wren's pocket, a small enough sum for so superb an amount of work.

The last item but one shows £67 13*s.* 7¼*d.*:

> To Sir Chr. Wren Knt. and to his assistants and clerkes their expenses in coach hire wateridge and severall other contingent charges by them disbursed and craved for the service of the whole time of the acct.

Dates are scarce in the accounts, but the entries seem to finish about Michaelmas, 1691. The 'clean-up' of expenses therefore represented little more than £3 a year on the whole period.

The most important assistant I have left to the last—Wren's domestic clerk, Nicholas Hawksmoor, who entered his service in 1679. His name does not appear until September, 1687, when he got £9 for

> his allowance for finding ink paper bookes wafers pens and other necessary for ¾ of a year.

Amongst the last items are these:

> To Nicho. Hawkesmoor for transcribing and engrossing all the bookes that containes all ye bills and workmanship of ye Parochiall Church to bring them to one gen[l] acct for the Exchequer in the summe of £10.

Presumably this work is to be identified with the first volume of the three now considered (i.e. B 387).

> To Nich. Hawkesmoor for his extraordinary paines in extracting the states of the accs of the Paroch: Churches and fairly engrossing the same etc. . . . in all seaven, at £5 each, £35.

Perhaps these refer to the second volume (i.e. B 388), or they may represent accounts which have not survived.

> To Nich. Hawkesmoor for transcribing the Booke of the Churches and Tabernacles for the Gt. and Gen[ll] acc[t] for the exchequer £9. 10. 0.

This may well be the third volume (i.e. B 389), or, if the accounts referred to remained with the Exchequer, then the Bodleian volumes are perhaps the originals from which Hawksmoor made his copies. They are well worth the money, being miracles of clearness and neat penmanship.

A few other items in the General Account must be mentioned as showing the extremely business-like way in which all Wren's work was conducted. The first item for checking the building accounts is Michaelmas, 1674, when John Phillips, Esq., auditor for the accounts of the churches, got '20 guinea pieces for his paines' (i.e. £21), and his clerk got a gratuity of £1 10*s.* Phillips's name appears for later years, but at Michaelmas, 1691, Reginald Marriott received £31 17*s.* for the period of the four preceding years, being a halfpenny in the pound for £15,302 18*s.* 1*d.*, an item which will interest the student of audit history. This £31 17*s.* was 'the whole charge for the said 4 years accts'.

The last entry is one of £200 to Marriott

> for re-examining all the warrants . . . for re-building the fifty one parochiall churches. . . . and casting all the prices and seeing all their receipts and making one intire acc^{t}.

The business of getting payments made with anything like punctuality was no doubt a serious one, and in 1670 the Clerks of the Chamber received £60 for their gratuities for three years, and thereafter £20 a year regularly. The first entry of all, Sept. 6, 1671, shows Wren in a pleasant light:

> Paid to Thomas Hudson, Labourer, by order of the Surveyor, the summe of one pound, he being a poor man and brooke his leg at the worke at Bow.

In the following May, Hudson got another pound by order of Wren and of Woodroffe, the assistant surveyor already mentioned. An entry of 5*s.* for John Simpson suggests that he was a tiresome person:

> allowed as charity by Mr. Surveyour and is in full of all demands for work done at any church or Tabernacle.

Presumably Wren did not think too highly of the work.

There are several payments in recompense of damage done to adjoining owners, such as:

> To John Fisher allowed in recompense for damage done to a shed of his in taking down the Tower of St. Martin's Ludgate, £2.0.0.

About 1680 the temporary tabernacles were doubtless falling into disrepair, and we find such payments as £8 18*s.* 4*d.* to Henry Toogood and Grove, plasterers, for work at All Hallows Lombard Street Tabernacle.

The only important items of payments to craftsmen are £2 10*s.* to Edward Pearce, carver, for modelling and carving an eagle in wood for the spire of St. Swithin's; and £5 15*s.* to Thomas Heisenbuttell, for a model for the spire or tower of Christ Church.

I now come to the more serious parts of the accounts—the Bills and Leger of the Parochial Churches. I can dismiss the portly ledger volume with the state-

ment that it is a simple book of account showing the various payments made in respect of the tradesmen's bills. At the end of each account is an abstract of the totals paid to each man. These have been reduced to tabular form and are printed in Appendix II.

The bills are contained in volume B 387, and consist of 384 leaves (paged recto only). At the front is an index of the names of the churches concerned (except St. Dunstan's, which the indexer overlooked). This index is printed in Appendix I, and for the sake of convenience the total sums paid for each church are incorporated with it. Of these bills complete transcripts of the entries relating to St. Mary-le-Bow and Bow Tower and to St. Stephen's Walbrook are printed in Appendices III and IV, and in a second column the prices as they would be in 1915 are added in italics (see pages 23 to 60). These sample accounts are representative of the great majority. They are like a modern bill of quantities, and are priced in great detail, though not with that meticulous and, as some think, unnecessary detail in which quantity surveyors delight nowadays. In the mason's bills, for example, Portland stone ashlar is taken at 2*s.* 10*d.* or 2*s.* 8*d.* a foot; Portland coping, 6 in. × 14 in., at 3*s.* 10*d.* a foot; rubble in buttresses, 50*s.* a rod; 'additional work over and above ashlar in Rustic Coigns' at 6*d.* a foot; and so on. The plasterers' bills are in comparison more fully detailed, with particulars of cornices, laurel wreaths, scrolls and mouldings, all priced by the piece or the foot. The bills speak for themselves, but some general observations may be made as to their significance.

For the first time we have the names of every master tradesman employed by Wren in all the trades. This destroys all manner of vain fancies as to the employment of Dutch joiners and Italian plasterers on the construction of the City churches. I say construction, meaning to exclude thereby decoration and equipment, because it is clear that the Lords Commissioners who paid for the buildings left the parishioners to do the latter work in the main. For example, the bills cover no more than £84 1*s.* 9*d.* paid to carvers, though much ordinary carving, such as capitals of columns, etc., is included in the mason's bills. Richard Cleere was employed at St. Olave's 'about the gallery', and got £19 7*s.* 3*d.* for lace, folding leaves, eggs, beads, and festoons. We do not find any great artist like Grinling Gibbons. Besides Cleere there were only Emmett and Maine, all of them craftsmen well known for work on other buildings by Wren. Even such structural items of decoration as the lead vases on the spire of St. Edmund's Lombard Street (fatuously taken down by the late Canon Benham, to the great disfigurement of the spire) do not appear in the bills. For bills of the decorative works, recourse must be made to the parochial accounts, many of which exist.

The relationships between various trades are interesting. We get the germ of the present English system of a single general contractor in some cases where a loose partnership paid out sums due to other trades and were repaid. This is

seen at St. Vedast Foster Lane, where Thompson the mason, Willcox a carpenter, 'partners with Christopher Russell, bricklayer', took an 'agreement by the great' —or, as we should say, a lump sum contract—at £1250, and paid the plumber and plasterer, glazier and smith. Certain items were, however, excluded and appear separately in the bills.

There seem also to have been temporary partnerships for the carrying out of specific works. Amongst the plasterers, Henry Doogood and John Grove, who were employed largely at St. Paul's, did most of the City churches, some jointly and some separately. John Sherwood did four alone, one with Edward Martin and two with Daniel Morris.

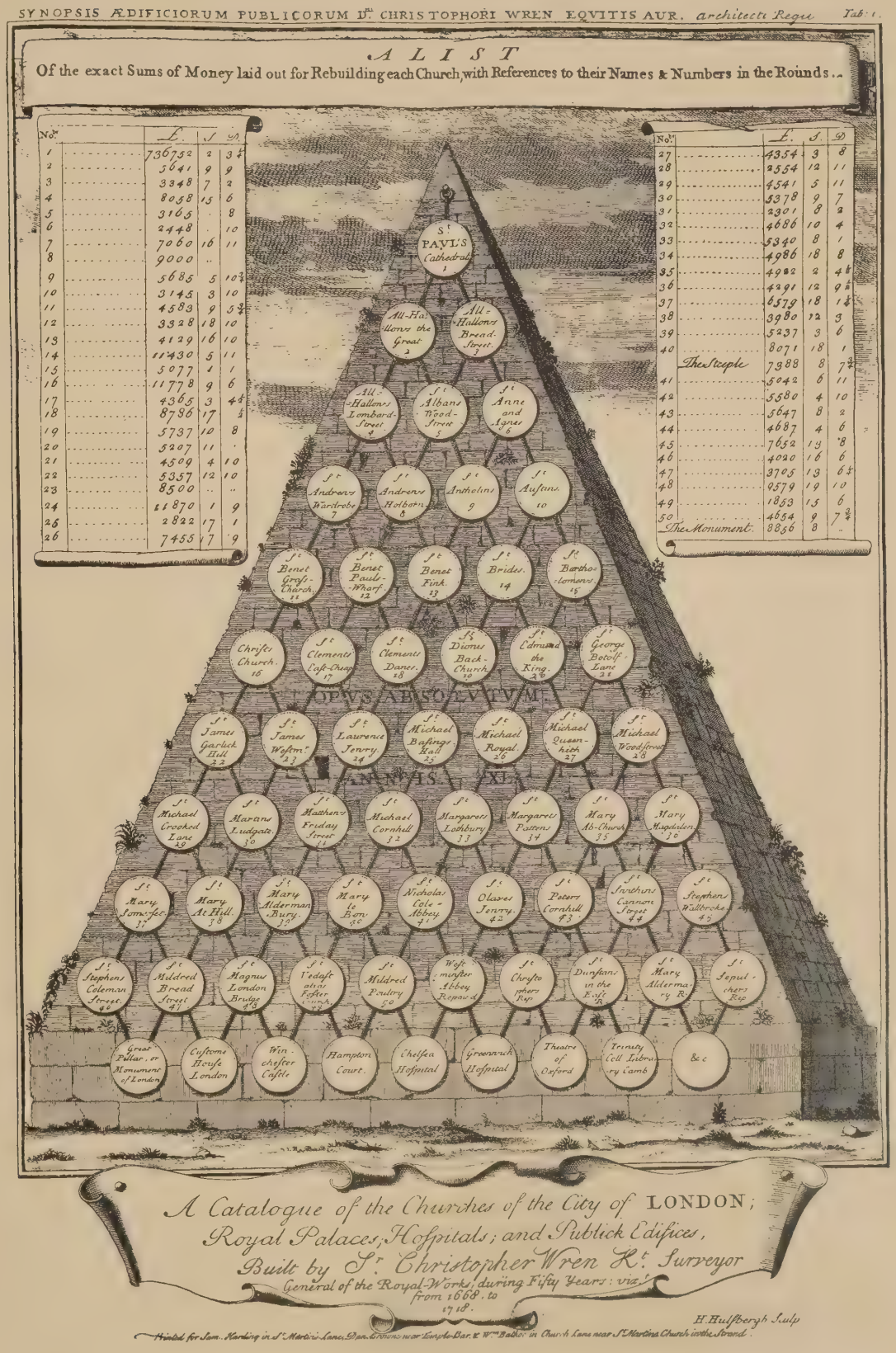
Joiners only did 'right wainscot work', i.e. only the best and most elaborate work. Carpenters often made wainscot doors. No doubt pews and such items, not covered by these bills, were the especial province of the joiner. Bricklayers had no monopoly of bricklaying, much of which was done by masons.

Appendix II gives all the tradesmen employed, under their trades. The total number is not great. For example, only thirteen joiners and only ten plasterers received contracts. All the coppersmith work was done by Robert Bird, except one job, St. Swithin's, by Henry Bird, and one, St. Stephen's Coleman Street, by George Bowyer. Slating was employed on only one church, St. Mary Abchurch, except for trivial items at two others. The great sum paid to plumbers, £31,465 (or nearly an eighth of the total cost, which was £263,786), emphasizes Wren's faithfulness to lead as a roofing material.

In the case of St. Mary Woolnoth, Sir Robert Vyner placed the contracts and paid the tradesmen, receiving a lump sum of £3,202 17*s.* 2*d.* from the Lords Commissioners in repayment on Wren's certificate. Other items amounting to £255 8*s.* 7*d.* were disbursed by the churchwardens and allowed by their lordships. A similar arrangement obtained at St. Sepulchre's, where the total cost was paid over to Dr. William Bell, minister. In both these cases Wren's work was only repair of the old fabric.

In the case of St. Mary at Hill, the churchwardens were repaid £223 15*s.*, and at St. Christopher's £476 12*s.* 3*d.*, but no details appear in the bills. The peculiar importance attached to the tower of St. Mary-le-Bow is indicated by its being the subject of accounts altogether separate from those of the body of the church.

The 'pyramid' engraving by Hulsbergh bound up with the bills has an interest of its own. He numbers the first fifty churches, but they include St. Paul's Cathedral, and also three parish churches outside the City, St. James's Westminster, St. Andrew's Holborn, and St. Clement Danes, which are not included in these accounts. Hulsbergh does not give the costs of St. Dunstan's, St. Christopher's, and St. Sepulchre's, though their names fill little medallions, pre-


SYNOPSIS ÆDIFICIORUM PUBLICORUM Dⁿ CHRISTOPHORI WREN EQVITIS AUR. architecti Regii Tab: I.
A LIST
Of the exact Sums of Money laid out for Rebuilding each Church, with References to their Names & Numbers in the Rounds..
OPVS ABSOLVTVM
ANNIS XL
A Catalogue of the Churches of the City of LONDON;
Royal Palaces, Hospitals; and Publick Edifices,
Built by Sr. Christopher Wren Kt. Surveyor
General of the Royal Works, during Fifty Years: viz.
from 1668. to
1718.
H. Hulsbergh Sculp
Printed for Sam. Harding in St. Martin's Lane, Dan. Browne near Temple-Bar, & Wm. Bakor in Church Lane near St. Martins Church in the Strand.

EMBLEMATICAL DESIGN BY HULSBERGH, WITH NAMES AND COST OF WREN'S BUILDINGS

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

sumably because they were only repair works. He ignores St. Mary Woolnoth altogether, though it appears in the accounts. It was soon afterwards rebuilt by Hawksmoor. For some reason St. Mary Aldermary, which was repaired by Wren in the same way as St. Mary Woolnoth, does not appear in the accounts. In other respects the total cost of each church as given by Hulsbergh is taken exactly from the accounts.

The original purpose of this engraving presents some problems. It appears in one of our own scrap-books, but in an early state without the schedules of costs. In the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects is a volume containing this engraving (but with the schedules), and it is the first of a series numbered 1 to 15. The R.I.B.A. catalogue describes it as 'Designs for Public Buildings, 15 plates to illustrate Parentalia 1749', but the authority for this title does not appear. There is no title-page, and the binding is not contemporary. Most of the plates were 'printed for Sam Harding in St. Martin's Lane, Dan Browne near Temple Bar and Wm. Bathoe in Church Lane', all of them conspirators in the sale of the account-books to Rawlinson. Three are dated 1723, 1724, and 1726. Wren died in 1723. His son Christopher collected the material for *Parentalia*, but apparently found coin-collecting more amusing, for it fell to his son Stephen to publish the book in 1750 after Christopher's death. Perhaps the booksellers originally meant to publish *Parentalia* with these fifteen big plates, but got tired of waiting for the author, and so issued them without letterpress a year before the *Parentalia*. Unhappily the most important (from my point of view) of the Hulsbergh engravings, the pyramid diagram of Wren's works, is undated. We can do no more than guess that Hulsbergh had access to the figures in the ledger, because these figures seem to have been published nowhere but on his engraving. I recognize that it is possible these accounts are not novel, and even that copies may exist buried in some library. I cannot, however, find that they have ever been quoted, and at least it is true that most students of London and of Wren's work have been wholly unaware of their existence. Our Fellow the Rev. L. Gilbertson has kindly pointed out to me that some years ago he found in the St. Paul's Library some fragmentary accounts of the City churches, and he had them bound up for their better preservation. Unfortunately the Zeppelin scare has driven the Cathedral MSS. down into the Crypt, where they are inaccessible to the student for the present, and I have been unable to collate them with the Bodleian MSS. From Mr. Gilbertson's remembrance of them, it seems likely that they are only fragmentary copies of some of the complete accounts now under consideration.

These manuscript accounts give material for a score of papers on various aspects of Wren's work, and the building customs of his day. I am, however, content to indicate the character and range of the material found, and to hope

that others will make better use of it than I have done. I suggest, for example, that the following lines might be followed:

1. By a careful comparison of the dates of the various tradesmen's bills with the executed work they represent, a reasoned study of the development of Wren's treatment of detail could be more effectively worked out than has hitherto been possible, e.g. the relationship between St. Paul's and St. Stephen's Walbrook.
2. A study of the relative merits of the various tradesmen, masons, joiners, etc. is possible now that every scrap of work can be labelled with its author's name.
3. A study of Wren's use of materials and also the extent to which he re-used old materials and the overplus from St. Paul's.
4.[1] The relative values of various branches of builder's work, now and in Wren's time; this could be estimated very exactly if a quantity surveyor were to price the old quantities at to-day's values.

Many other fields of inquiry will no doubt suggest themselves to the student of building.

I do not think I have exaggerated the value of these accounts. The main conclusion to be drawn from them is that Sir Christopher Wren largely developed on practical lines the then existing system of accounts in building work, and that his methods have remained unchanged, except for elaborations not always helpful, until to-day. I know of no earlier or contemporary accounts prepared with the same clearness and fullness, except, of course, those of St. Paul's Cathedral and other Wren buildings. They show that in business organization Wren exhibited the same greatness and grasp which are so marked in him whether as mathematician, as constructor, or as artist. They form another element, indeed, in that amazing fabric of achievement, which enlarges our wonder as we become the better acquainted with his life and work.

One more point, not without its humours. Bishop Rawlinson, to whose collecting zeal we doubtless owe the survival of the accounts, made it a condition of his endowments that those who benefited from them should not be natives of Scotland, Ireland, or the Plantations, nor be doctors in any faculty: of these crimes I am guiltless. They were also to be unmarried, and on no account to be Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. As they say in melodrama, 'that touches me nearly'. The shade of Bishop Rawlinson must be suffering some discomfort at the interest taken by our Society in his possessions.

[1] This inquiry is followed up in the supplementary paper printed after this.

A Comparison of Building Prices.

1671–1687 and 1915.

Being a foot-note to 'The Complete Building Accounts of the City Churches'.

Read 20th May, 1915.

When I read my paper on the Accounts of Wren's City churches, I suggested that the material then presented might be made the basis of further inquiry, such as 'the relative values of various branches of builder's work, now and in Wren's time', and that 'this could be estimated very exactly if a quantity surveyor were to price the old quantities at to-day's values'.

At the discussion which followed, widely divergent views were expressed as to the ratio of increase which would be established by such an inquiry.

Some suggested that to arrive at present money values it would be necessary to multiply the Wren figures by 2, others claimed that 3, 4, or 5 would be more correct.

Mr. William H. H. Lunn, partner in the eminent firm of Messrs. Widnell & Trollope, was present here on the 10th December, and very promptly and kindly promised to make a full inquiry into this important point. He made full but unpriced copies of the complete bills relating both to St. Stephen's Walbrook and to St. Mary-le-Bow, and then proceeded in the light of his very large experience to price these bills as a contractor would price them to-day. For this purpose Mr. Lunn assumed that, if the work were done at the present time, it would be done in accordance with modern methods of building; that, for instance, fir would be used in many cases instead of oak, and fibrous plastering would be used instead of heavy solid plastering. At the period when these churches were re-built oak was about one-third of its present price and consequently little fir was used. The ornamental plaster-work so freely used by Wren was of the class of work we should now designate 'plaster carving'; that is to say, the undercut enrichments were carved from the solid plaster, as casting undercut enrichments in gelatine moulds was unknown at that time.

Pricing the measurements of the work on the above basis Mr. Lunn found that the cost of rebuilding St. Stephen's Walbrook to-day would be £15,400, as compared with £7,652, the actual cost in Wren's time, and the rebuilding of St. Mary-le-Bow would be £38,500, as compared with the actual cost of £15,473. It will thus be seen that the cost of rebuilding the former church would be about twice the amount that it actually cost in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and that of the latter church about two and a half times that amount, the difference being

accounted for by the larger proportion of stonework in St. Mary-le-Bow compared with the whole of the work. If, then, we take two and a quarter as an average ratio of increase, the total cost of the fifty-one City churches would be to-day no more than about seven hundred thousand pounds. The following are some of the differences between the value of work at the end of the seventeenth century and its value at the present time:

	1671–1687			*1915*		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Digging and carting, per yard	0	1	10	0	5	0
Brickwork, per rod	5	10	0	17	0	0
Bricks, per M.	0	14	0	1	16	0
Rubble walling, per yard	0	4	6	0	12	0
Portland stone, per foot cube	0	4	0	0	10	6
Plain tiling on roofs, per square	1	10	0	2	10	0
Wainscot doors, per foot	0	2	6	0	6	0
Lead and labour, per cwt.	0	17	6	1	10	0
Plain plastering on walls, per yard	0	0	7	0	1	2
Painting 3 oils, per yard	0	1	0	0	0	10

It will be noticed that painting is the only item actually less in cost to-day than at the end of the seventeenth century.

The contractors were paid *1s. 6d.* per day for labourers and *2s. 6d.* to *3s. 6d.* per day for mechanics. As the workmen probably worked for ten hours per day, this would compare with contractors' rates of *7s. 6d.* per day for labourers and *11s. 8d.* per day for mechanics at the present time (London prices).

It is to be noticed that when these churches were rebuilt pressure was brought to bear to carry out the work expeditiously, as work was occasionally done at night, links being charged at *3d.* each 'to light the men in the nights' and candles at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.

Evidently great economy was observed in the rebuilding, as some of the old stone was re-used and some of the materials of the church of St. Pancras Soper Lane, which parish was united to St. Mary-le-Bow after the Great Fire, were used in rebuilding St. Mary-le-Bow. We find an item in the accounts for 'Pulling down walls of St. Pancras Church and carrying the stones to Bow Church' for which the sum of £4 *14s. 2d.* was paid.

The price of ironwork did not differ much from that of to-day; there was no rolling the metal into plates, bars, and rods, but the cost of the extra labour in working the metal is about equal to the higher rates of wages nowadays.

The method of measurement employed in the old accounts is not dissimilar to that in use by modern surveyors. Of course there is vastly less detail, and a lack of that nice discrimination of labours which we now have, enabling us in these days to obtain several competitive estimates very close to each other. Mitres,

etc. were unknown, and the description of doors, frames, gallery fronts, etc. had to be obtained from the work on the site when executed. On the other hand, the difference in cost between the different depths of excavation and the extra cost of raising materials for portions of exceptional height was fully accounted for, as was also special scaffolding where required.

There is a further and intermediate comparison on which I will touch lightly, namely, the relation of these two sets of figures with the prices prevailing in 1852 when the Houses of Parliament were building.

Mr. Lunn's firm was engaged on the measurement and valuation of that great work, and he has given me a few figures which I set out alongside the others:

	1671–1687	*1852*	*1915*
	£ s. d.	*£ s. d.*	*£ s. d.*
Brickwork per rod	5 10 0	8 17 6	17 0 0
Bricks per M.	0 14 0	1 11 0	1 16 0
(These two items show that building labour has increased in cost at a vastly greater rate than materials. As brick-making labour has doubtless increased in much the same way, we get an illuminating idea of the saving in the total of building costs which has been achieved by the help of machinery and of improved manufacture generally.)			
Painting 3 oils, per yard	0 1 0	0 0 6	0 0 10
Labourers' wages per day (taken on a ten-hour day)	0 1 6	0 3 3	0 7 6
Mechanics' wages per day „ „ „	2/6 to 3/6	0 5 6	0 11 8

These figures of 1852 are of more importance to the social economist than to the antiquary, but seemed worthy of brief record.

The 1915 figures for St. Stephen's Walbrook and St. Mary-le-Bow are printed side by side with the 1671–87 figures, in Appendices III and IV.

I feel a certain shame in making this communication, as the work is Mr. Lunn's and not mine, and most of what I have read to you is copied directly from his notes. We owe him a debt of gratitude for a labour which was in truth very laborious, and I am sure that the Society will accord him hearty thanks for making so valuable and practical a contribution to the economic history of the building trade. For myself, I can only repeat in public the thanks I have already expressed to him.

APPENDIX I

INDEX TO MS. RAWL. B. 387 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

(to which are added the total costs of each church).

	PAGE	£	s.	d.
St. Olaves Jewry	1	5580	4	10
St. Michaells Woodstreet	9	2554	12	11
St. Stephens Walbrooke	17	7652	13	8
St. Mary Aldermanbury	27	5237	3	6
St. Nicholas Cole-abby	35	5042	6	11
St. George Buttolph Lane	43	4509	4	10
St. Bartholmew Exchange	49	5077	1	1
St. Stephen Colemanstreet	56	4020	16	6
St. Michaells Bassishaw	62	2822	17	1
St. Michaells Queenhithe	68	4354	3	8
St. Anne and Agnes	78	2448	0	10
St. Mary At-hill	84	3980	12	3
St. Christophers	87	2098	12	7
St. Vedast alſ: Fosters	91	1853	15	6
St. Sepulchers	93	4993	4	0
St. Mary Woolnoth	95	3457	15	9
St. Mildred Poultrey	96	4654	9	$7\frac{3}{4}$
St. Bennetts Finck	104	4129	16	10
St. Mary L'. Bow	110	8071	18	1
Bow Tower	121	7388	8	$7\frac{3}{4}$
St. Michaells Cornhill	131	4686	10	4
St. Magnus	137	9579	19	10
St. Edmund the King	149	5207	11	0
St. Lawrence Jewry	157	11870	1	9
St. Brides	167	11430	5	11
St. Dyonis Backchurch	174	5737	10	8
Christ Church	182	11778	9	6
St. James Garlickhithe	196, 331	5357	12	10
St. Petters Cornhill	202	5647	8	2
St. Bennetts Pauls-Wharfe	210	3328	18	10
St. Martins Ludgate	216	5378	9	7
St. Alhallowes y^{e} Greate	226	5641	9	9
St. Swithins	234	4687	4	6
St. Alhallowes Breadstreet	240	3348	7	2
St. Austins	246	3145	3	10
St. Antholins	254	5685	5	$10\frac{3}{4}$
St. Mildred Breadstreet	263	3705	13	$6\frac{1}{4}$
St. Bennets Grace : Church	275	4583	9	$5\frac{3}{4}$
St. Mary Abb: Church	283	4922	2	$4\frac{1}{2}$
St. Mary Magdellens Oldfishstreet	295	4291	12	$9\frac{1}{2}$
St. Mathews Frydaystreet	305	2301	8	2

	PAGE	£	s.	d.
St. Clemments Eastcheap	313	4365	3	$4\frac{1}{2}$
St. Albans Woodstreet	323	3165	0	8
St. Margetts Pattens ats Rood	333	4986	18	8
St. Michaells Crooked Lane	343	4541	5	11
St. Margetts Loathbury	352	5340	8	1
St. Mary Sommersett	360	6579	18	$1\frac{1}{4}$
St. Alhallowes Lombardstreet	373	8058	15	6
St. Andrews Wardrobe	387	7060	16	11
St. Michaells Royall	399	7455	7	9
	Total =	£263786	10	$4\frac{1}{2}$

APPENDIX II

TABULAR STATEMENT OF THE TRADESMEN AND SUMS PAID TO THEM, AND THE LIMITS OF DATE IN RESPECT OF EACH CHURCH, TAKEN FROM THE 'LEGER OF THE PAROCHIAL CHURCHES', MS. B 388

NOTE.—In order to simplify this table and to compress it within reasonable space, the figure set against each tradesman's name represents the amount paid to the nearest £: for example, £227 2*s.* 3*d.* is noted as 227, and £3365 16*s.* 2*d.* is noted as 3366. These simplified figures serve to show the amount and importance of the work done by each tradesman at each church. The total for each church is given exactly.

Tradesmen	St. Olave's Jewry Dec. 1670–Dec. 1679		St. Dunstan's in the East	St. Michael's Wood St. March 1670–Oct. 1687	
Masons	John Shorthose	3366	*No details of tradesmen or sums paid to them given. The Churchwardens apparently entered into the contracts and were repaid by the Lords Commissioners Nov. 1670 and May and July 1671.*	Thomas Wise	1019
Bricklayers	Edward Ballance	7		Richard Cobbett	17
Carpenters	Matthew Bankes	494		Samuel Lime	466
	John Longland	32		John Longland	10
	Robert Day	153		John Hayward	59
Joiners	Vallentine Housman	34		Gerrad Lenns	11
	Thomas Whiting	100		...	
Carvers	Richard Cleere	19		John Wheatley	130
Smiths	Richard Howes	213		Samuell Colbourn	14
Copper Smiths	...			Robert Bird	16
Plasterers	John Grove, Sen.	154		Sherwood and Morrice	81
	John Grove, Jun.	7			
Plumbers	Thomas Aldworth	687		Nathaniell Cham	503
	Samuel Tanner	3		John Talbot	179
	John Talbott	18			
Painters	Robert Streeter	5		Robert Streeter	5
				Edward Bird	8
Glaziers	Widow Tipton	54		William Browne	25
Carters and Labourers	...			...	
Sundry	John Tillison, Clerke of St. Paul's	8		John Tillotson, Clerke of St. Paul's	14
	Portland stone in part payment	227			
Total Cost of Church	£5580	4 10	£1075 18 2	£2554	12 11

Tradesmen	St. Stephen's Walbrook Aug. 1672-May 1687		St. Mary Aldermanbury March 1670-Feb. 1686		St. Nicholas Cole Abbey Nov. 1671-June 1681	
Masons	Edward Strong and Christopher Kempster	4424	Joshua Marshall	3190	Thomas Wise	3141
			Samuel Fulkes	14		
Bricklayers	Thomas Horn	1	...		...	
Carpenters	John Longland	1353	Matthew Bankes	615	Henry Blowes	645
			Robert Day	9	Mathew Bancks	6
					John Longland	2
Joiners	Roger Davis	30	William Cleer	31	William Cleer	17
Carvers	...		...		...	
Smiths	Stephen Leaver	169	Grace Smith	106	George Drew	206
			Thomas Hodgkins	147	Stephen Leaver	28
Copper Smiths	Robert Bird	12	Robert Bird	11	Robert Bird	5
Plasterers	Henry Doogood and Jno Grove	495	John Grove	175	Jno Sherwood and Edw. Martin	103
					John Sherwood	16
Plumbers	Thomas Aldworth	1093	John Talbot	695	Charles Atherton	802
	Matthew Roberts	4	William Cocker	120	Wm. Savage and	
			John Slaughter	8	Math. Roberts	17
Painters	William Davis	15	Robert Streeter	22	Margarett Peirce	22
	Thomas Laine	1				
	Edward Bird	5				
Glaziers	Robert Pindar	50	Daniell Davis	55	Robert Bowler	34
	George Peowry	1				
Carters and Labourers	...		John Dubois, Churchwarden	29	...	
Sundry	...		John Tillison, Clerke of St. Paul's, for freestone rubble	8	...	
Total Cost of Church	£7652 13 8		£5237 3 6		£5042 6 11	

Tradesmen	St. Michael's Queenhithe Jan. 1676-Aug. 1687		St. Anne and St. Agnes March 1676-May 1687		St. Mary Hill July 1670-Sept. 1676	
Masons	Thomas Floory	1796	Robert Walters	243	Joshua Marshall	1928
	Samuell Fulkes	613	William Hammond	130		
Bricklayers	Thomas Warren	101	John Fitch	984	...	
	John Bridges	23				
Carpenters	Mathew Bancks	753	John Hayward	157	Thomas Lock	559
Joiners	...		Ralph Cadman	16	William Cleer	26
Carvers	...		...		...	
Smiths	Stephen Leaver	184	Stephen Leaver	180	George Drew	130
	Samuell Colbourn	56				
Copper Smiths	Robert Bird	49	Robert Bird	9	...	
Plasterers	Henry Doogood and John Grove	111	John Sherwood	274	John Grove	218
Plumbers	Mathew Roberts	515	Thomas Dobbins	262	John George	810
	Sarah Freeman	2				
Painters	Thomas Laine	8	Robert Streeter	28	Widdow Pearce	29
	Edward Bird	32				
Glaziers	Samuell Oliver	43	George Peowrie	31	John Aliffe	55
	Mathew Germaine	5				
Carters and Labourers	John Hoy and John Simpson	25	Bartholomew Scott	22	...	
			John Hoy	10		
	Edward Hide and John Pledge	9	John Jay, slater	2		
Sundry	...		Mr. Samuel Freeman, Minister	100	Richard Morse and Henry Loads, Church Wardens	224
Total Cost of Church	£4354 3 8		£2448 0 10		£3980 12 3	

St. George Botolph July 1671–March 1679		St. Bartholomew Exchange April 1674–Nov. 1686		St. Stephen's Coleman Street Sept. 1674–Sept. 1681		St. Michael Bassishaw July 1676–July 1682	
Nicholas Young	3059	John Thompson	3223	Joshua Marshall	2160	John Fitch	1665
						James Floory	474
Thomas Horn	40	Robert Browne	68	Joseph Lenns	26	...	
				Abraham Williams	28		
Robert Day	415	Mathew Bancks	480	Robert Horton	588	...	
Thomas Gammon	8						
William Cleer	25	William Cleer	29	William Cleer	39	...	
...		...		...		...	
John Peachman	150	Robert Bates	324	Richard Howes	248	Thomas Hodgkins	178
						Richard Howes	2
...		...		George Bowyer	6	...	
John Grove and Henry Doogood	163	Henry Doogood and John Grove	220	Robert Horton and Burton	136	John Sherwood	398
William Bonnick	497	Mathew Roberts	146	Thomas Balland	626	Thomas Dobbins	56
Thomas Dobbins	70	Jeffrey Flexney	502				
Robert Streeter	5	Margarett Pearce	13	Isaac Fuller and Tho. Marter	29	Mary Grimes	9
John Odell	32	John Brewin	70	Joseph Panton	54	George Peowrye	41
...		...		...		...	
John Tillison	43	...		Humphrey Griffith, Church Warden	82	...	
£4509 4 10		£5077 1 1		£4020 16 6		£2822 17 1	

St. Christopher's Jan. 1670–May 1675		St. Foster's July 1670–Oct. 1673		St. Sepulchre's Aug. 1670–Sept. 1677	St. Mary Woolnoth Feb. 1670–July 1677
John Thompson	742	John Thompson, mason, and Wilcox, carpenter	1272	...	...
...		...		...	...
Mathew Bancks	338	Jonathan Wilcox (carpenter solus)	28	...	...
...		...		...	...
William Emmett	24	...		...	...
Matthew Holland	80	...		...	...
...		...		...	...
John Grove	49	...		...	...
Joseph Franklin	345	...		...	...
Robert Streeter	22	Widdow Thornhill	3	...	...
Robert Todd	22	...		...	...
...		...		...	...
R. Kellington and Jno Elliott, Church Wardens	477	Jno Eaton and Tho. Godson, Church Wardens	550	Account of sums received by Dr. William Bell, Minister	Account of sums received by Sir Robert Viner	3202
					Thomas Whiting, Church Warden	255
£2098 12 7		£1853 15 6		£4993 4 0	£3457 15 9	

Tradesmen	St. Mildred Poultry Sept. 1670-Sept. 1679		St. Benet Fink March 1670–Oct. 1681		St. Mary le Bow July 1670–March 1680	
Masons	Jasper Latham[1]	2910	Thomas Cartwright	1838	Thomas Cartwright	3488
	([1] Jasper Latham received Portland stone to the value of £324 5s. 3d. in part of payment. Besides £2909 11s. 6d. (Public Cash) there was paid out to S[r] Chr: Wren's owne Cash £200)					
Bricklayers	Morrice Emmett	10	Nicholas Wood	589	Anthony Tanner	1207
Carpenters	Thomas Lock	306	Henry Blowes	584	Mathew Bancks	1110
	Robert Day	62			Robert Day	10
Joiners	William Cleer	13	William Cleer	24	William Cleer	335
					Thomas Whiting	112
Carvers	...		...		...	
Smiths	Edmund Smith	368	James Dovey	202	John Baxter	266
	William Wells	16				
Copper Smiths	...		Robert Bird	3	...	
Plasterers	Henry Doogood and John Grove	121	John Grove	136	John Grove	298
					John Grove, Junr.	41
Plumbers	Nathaniell Cham	341	Jeffrey Flexney	685	Thomas Aldworth	780
	Charles Atherton	63				
Painters	Robert Streeter	8	Robert Streeter	24	Robert Streeter	10
Glaziers	James Thompson	43	John Brace	52	John Oliver	61
			George Peowrie	1		
Carters and Labourers	...		...		John Simpson	156
					James Trahern	35
					William Cooke	4
Sundry	Henry Stead, Church Warden	200	...		Martha Hammond (for storage cellars)	60
	(paid to Jasper Latham before this accompt)				Christopher Taylor	100
			£4137 10 10			
			Less 7 14 0	Discount		
Total Cost of Church	£4654 9 $7\frac{3}{4}$		£4129 16 10		£8071 18 1	

Tradesmen	St. Lawrence Jewry Jan. 1670-May 1686		St. Bride's Feb. 1670-Nov. 1684		St. Dionis Backchurch March 1670–Aug. 1686	
Masons	Edward Pearce	7586	Joshua Marshall	8964	John Thompson	3528
			Samuell Fulkes	9	George Turley	2
Bricklayers	Thomas Newman	12	...		...	
Carpenters	John Longland	1780	John Longland	909	William Taylour	540
					William Atwell	26
					Richard Reading	99
					John Longland	25
Joiners	William Cleer	36	William Cleer	43	William Cleer	58
Carvers	...		...		...	
Smiths	Thomas Smith	349	George Drew	282	Stephen Heath	187
	Bissell and Taylor	75	Stephen Leaver	15	Henry Brookes	68
	Stephen Leaver	19			George Drew	14
Copper Smiths	Robert Bird	14	...		Robert Bird	18
Plasterers	Thomas Mead	356	John Grove	200	John Grove	157
					Henry Doogood and John Grove	15
Plumbers	Charles Atherton	1526	Charles Atherton	889	William Bonnick	678
			John Cale	20	John Lingard	78
					John George	149
Painters	Thomas Laine	19	Edward Bird	7	Robert Streeter	19
	Margarett Pearce	23	Robert Streeter	19	Edward Bird	12
Glaziers	George Peowrie	6	Hannah Brace	73	John Holden	37
	William Browne	68			Francis Moore	4
	Abraham Harris	3				
Carters and Labourers	...		...		...	
Sundry	...		...		William Clemment (Anchor Smith)	12
					John Tillison	12
Total Cost of Church	£11870 1 9		£11430 5 11		£5737 10 8	

Tower of St. Mary le Bow Sept. 1671–Aug. 1683		St. Michael's Cornhill Feb. 1670–Oct. 1677		St. Magnus July 1671–Oct. 1687		St. Edmund the King Aug. 1670–Jan. 1679	
Tho. Cartwright and Jno. Thompson	6172	Nicholas Young	2090	John Thompson	6313	Abraham Story	2884
Edward Pearce	4					Robert Walters	4
Thomas Horn	17	Anthony Tanner	171	...		Morrice Emmett	495
Mathew Bancks	355	Thomas Gammon	426	Mathew Banckes	924	George Choby and Henry Wilkins	576
		Robert Day	6	Thomas Lock	22	Thomas Whiting	45
William Grey	1	William Cleere	38	William Cleer	32		
William Cleer	10						
...		...		...		...	
Stephen Leaver	165	George Drew	140	Henry Brookes	399	Edmund Smith	309
John Baxter	43						
Robert Bird	61	...		...		...	
Henry Doogood and John Grove	130	John Grove	135	Jno. Grove and Henry Doogood	389	Danll. Morrice and Jno. Sherwood	85
Matthew Roberts	23	Jeffrey Flexney	618	Thomas Dobbins	1005	Petter Brent	614
Thomas Aldworth	297			Charles Atherton	25	William Smith	20
Thomas Freeman	14						
Thomas Laine	34	Robert Streeter	16	Widdow Pearce	22	Robert Streeter	14
				Edward Bird	5		
Samuell Oliver	22	John Odell	55	James Goodchild	7	John Brace	97
				Thomas Knight	47		
...		Henry Russell	12	...		John Simpson	52
						John Hoy	2
						Thomas Paise	9
						...	
Walter Clemment (Anchor Smith)	39	Walter Clemment (Anchor Smith)	216	Jno. Green, Wm. Sheldon, and Natl. Attwell, Church Wardens	390		
		Joseph Moxon	10				
		Dr. Merston and Church Wardens	753				
£7388 8 $7\frac{3}{4}$		£4686 10 4		£9579 19 10		£5207 11 0	

Christ Church March 1677–Aug. 1691		St. James Garlickhithe Sept. 1674–May 1687		St. Peter's Cornhill Oct. 1677–Oct. 1687		St. Bennet's Paul's Wharf Dec. 1677–Aug. 1685	
John Shorthose and John Crooke	6648	Christopher Kempster	2823	Joshua Marshall	741	Edward Strong	1859
				Abraham Story	1632		
				Thomas Humphreys	11		
Edward Elder	30	Thomas Warren	258	Thomas Warren	587	...	
John How	34						
John Longland	1982	Israell Knowles	878	Thomas Woodstock	1068	Israell Knowles	655
Matthew Williams	69	William Cleer	45	William Cleere	19	William Cleer	18
...		...		...		...	
Richard Howes	624	Henry Brookes	244	Edward Freeman	93	Stephen Leaver	148
				Richard Hows	115	Samuell Colbourn	6
						Thomas Hodgkins	15
						Bryan Stephen, executor to Stephen Leaver	7
				Robert Bird	46	Robert Bird	17
...		...		Henry Doogood and		Henry Doogood and	
Henry Doogood	597	John Grove and Henry Doogood	252	John Grove	330	Jno. Grove	127
Mathew Roberts	1608	Sarah Freeman	775	Thomas Dobbins	586	Mathew Roberts	421
Thomas Browne	29			Thomas Aldworth	7		
Edward Bird	20	John Kear	12	Thomas Martyr	20	Thomas Laine	22
		Edward Bird	7				
Mathew Germaine	116	George Peowrye	63	John Odell	35	George Peowrye	35
John Slyford	22	...		Bartholomew Scott	51	...	
...		...		Wm. Stepney and Robt. Rowland, Church Wardens	307	...	
£11778 9 6		£5357 12 10		£5647 8 2		£3328 18 10	

Tradesmen	St. Martin's Ludgate March 1677–April 1687		Allhallow the Great April 1677–June 1687		St. Swithin's Aug. 1677–Oct. 1687	
Masons	Nicholas Young	3128	William Hammond	337	Joshua Marshall	2309
					Samuell Fulkes	117
Bricklayers	Allan Garway	82	Thomas Horn	55	...	
	Thomas Horn	118				
Carpenters	Henry Blowes	587	Robert Day	795	John Longland	749
	Robert Day	97				
	Mathew Bancks	280				
Joiners	William Draper	26	Thomas Powell	4	William Cleer	20
			William Cleer	20		
Carvers	William Emmett	6	...		...	
Smiths	Samuell Colbourn	87	William Smith	725	Edmund Smith	208
	Stephen Leaver	110	Henry Brookes	317	Stephen Leaver	1
					Samuell Colbourn	6
Copper Smiths	Robert Bird	11	...		Robert Bird	48
Plasterers	Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	241	Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	23	Henry Doogood	235
			John Sherwood	144		
Plumbers	John Talbot	182	Edward Phillips	3	John George	930
	Petter Read	350				
Painters	Edward Bird	7	Edward Bird	2	Dorcas Veare	11
	Edward Bird and Thomas Laine	8	William Thompson	1	William Thompson	11
			Thomas Laine	13	Edward Bird	1
Glaziers	Richard Bowler	3	Richard Charnley	60	Richard Bowler	41
	Richard Pindar	27				
Carters and Labourers	John Slyford	28	Bartholomew Scott	111	...	
Sundry	...		...		...	
Total Cost of Church	£5378 9 7		£5641 9 9		£4687 4 6	

Tradesmen	St. Bennet's Gracechurch Aug. 1681–Aug. 1687		St. Mary Abchurch Aug. 1681–Nov. 1687		St. Magdalen, Old Fish St. Feb. 1683–Oct. 1687	
Masons	Thomas Wise	2658	Christopher Kempster	1695	Edward Strong	2776
Bricklayers	...		John Bridges	259	...	
			John Evans	144		
Carpenters	John Longland	740	Thomas Woodstock	1130	Israell Knowles	507
Joiners	William Cleere	14	William Grey	26	Richard Kedge	14
Carvers	...		...		Jonathan Maine	6
Smiths	Thomas Smith	63	Thomas Hodgkins	124	Thomas Hodgkins	248
	Samuell Colbourn	131	Henry Brookes	232		
	Bryan Stephens	3	Bryan Stephens	1		
Copper Smiths	Robert Bird	28	Robert Bird	58	Robert Bird	11
Plasterers	Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	128	Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	144	Henry Doogood	144
Plumbers	John George	417	Thomas Dobbins	934	John Wilkins	518
	Mathew Roberts	329	Sarah Freeman	2	Matthew Roberts	2
Painters	Edward Bird	30	William Thompson	16	Edward Bird	21
			Edward Bird	16		
Glaziers	Samuel Rainger	42	Henry Bray	49	John Claridge	40
Carters and Labourers	...		Bartholomew Scott	38	Bartholomew Scott	3
Sundry	...		William Newton (slater)	55	...	
Total Cost of Church	£4583 9 5¾		£4922 2 4½		£4291 12 9½	

Allhallows Bread Street Oct. 1677–June 1687	
Samuel Fulkes	1888
...	
John Longland	586
William Cleer	19
...	
Richard Howes	165
...	
Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	136
Mathew Roberts	519
Thomas Laine	4
Edward Bird	2
[Richard] Joyner	30
...	
...	
£3348 7 2	

St. Austin's Aug. 1680–May 1687	
Edward Strong	2190
...	
Israell Knowles	444
William Draper	30
Jonathan Maine	4
Thomas Hodgkins	116
...	
Henry Doogood	5
John Combes	98
Mathew Roberts	207
Edward Bird	4
Thomas Laine	4
John Brewer	39
...	
Thomas Young (Slater)	4
£3145 3 10	

St. Antholin's Feb. 1678–Aug. 1691	
Thomas Cartwright	3524
Edward Elder	67
Thomas Horn	13
John Longland	726
William Atwell	30
William Cleere	35
...	
Stephen Leaver	146
Samuell Colbourn	33
Robert Bird	52
Henry Doogood	251
Mathew Roberts	702
Thomas Laine	3
Edward Bird	29
William Woodroofe	38
Francis Moore	3
...	
William Atwell, Church Warden	33
£5685 5 10¾	

St. Mildred Bread Street Jan. 1681–Aug. 1687	
Edward Strong	872
Thomas Horn	825
Israell Knowles	696
Thomas Woodstock	6
William Cleere	23
...	
Stephen Leaver	118
Samuell Colbourn	53
Robert Bird	38
Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	271
Mathew Roberts	738
Edward Bird	29
Elizabeth Peowrie	28
Francis Moore	6
Bartholomew Scott	2
...	
£3705 13 6¼	

St. Matthew's Friday St. Nov. 1681–April 1687	
Edward Pearce	710
Thomas Horn	474
John Longland	417
William Cleer	9
...	
Stephen Leaver with his executor Bryan Stephens	57
Samuell Colbourn	70
...	
Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	98
Mathew Roberts	432
Edward Bird	10
Elizabeth Peowrie	26
...	
...	
£2301 8 2	

St. Clement's East Cheap March 1683–Oct. 1687	
Edward Strong	2661
...	
Israell Knowles	520
William Gray	23
...	
Humphrey Clay	326
...	
Jno. Grove and Henry Doogood	152
Thomas Dobbins	588
Mathew Roberts	9
William Thompson	17
James Thompson	53
Bartholomew Scott	17
...	
£4365 3 4½	

St. Alban's Wood Street Oct. 1682–April 1687	
Samuell Fulkes	1946
...	
Mathew Banckes	409
William Cleer	21
...	
Thomas Hodgkins	124
...	
Jno. Grove and Henry Doogood	195
Peter Read	431
Edward Bird	12
Matthew Jarmaine (? Germaine)	25
...	
...	
£3165 0 8	

St. Margaret Pattens Feb. 1684–July 1689	
Samuell Fulkes	3204
John Evans	51
Thomas Woodstock	613
William Cleer	27
Thomas Poultney	3
...	
Edmund Smith	228
Humphrey Clay	18
...	
Jno. Grove and Henry Doogood	198
James Dobbins and Step. Smart	524
William Thompson	14
Samuell Rainger	56
Bartholomew Scott	51
...	
£4986 18 8	

Tradesmen	St. Michael's Crooked Lane Sept. 1684–Dec. 1694		St. Margaret's Lothbury May 1686–May 1693		St. Mary Somerset May 1686–Dec. 1694	
Masons	William Hammond	2533	Samuell Fulkes	3335	Christopher Kempster	4140
Bricklayers	John Evans	75	...		John Evans	396
Carpenters	Robert Day	32	John Longland	792	James Grove	672
	Mathew Banckes	405				
	James Grove	39				
	Thomas Denning	18				
Joiners	William Cleer	54	William Cleer	52	Charles Hopson	15
					William Cleer	64
Carvers	...		...		...	
Smiths	Henry Brookes	348	Richard Howes	298	Thomas Hodgkins	412
	Eliz. Clay, executor to Humphrey Clay	4				
Copper Smiths	...		...		...	
Plasterers	Henry Doogood and Jno. Grove	118	Henry Doogood	137	Henry Doogood	146
Plumbers	Edward Phillips	724	Mathew Roberts	625	Mathew Roberts	542
Painters	William Thompson	10	Nicholas Sheppard	9	Edward Bird	12
Glaziers	James Thompson	46	Francis Moore	51	Mathew Jarmaine	50
Carters and Labourers	Bartholomew Scott	135	Bartholomew Scott	42	Bartholomew Scott	110
					James Hurst	22
Sundry	...		...		...	
Total Cost of Church	£4541 5 11		£5340 8 1		£6579 18 1¼	

Tradesmen	Allhallows Lombard Street May 1686–Dec. 1694		St. Andrew's Wardrobe Sept. 1685–Aug. 1695		St. Michael's Royall Oct. 1686–Dec. 1694	
Masons	John Thompson	4399	Nicholas Young	2278	Edward Strong	4766
Bricklayers	Charles King	10	Thomas Horn	922	...	
	John Evans	184				
Carpenters	Thomas Woodstock	1214	John Longland	1730	Thomas Denning	998
			Israell Knowles	63		
Joiners	Widow Cleer	63	Roger Davis	264	William Cleer	42
			Widow Cleer	24		
Carvers	John Miller	14	Jonathan Maine	25	...	
Smiths	Humphrey Clay	636	Samuell Colbourn	304	Ann Brookes	38
			Thomas Colbourn	51	Humphrey Clay	504
Copper Smiths	...		...		...	
Plasterers	Henry Doogood	229	Henry Doogood	398	Henry Doogood	248
Plumbers	Edward Beard	1068	Mathew Roberts	854	Thomas Dobbins	675
			Petter Read	2		
Painters	William Thompson	28	Widow Cooke	49	Edward Bird	17
					William Thompson	1
Glaziers	Francis Moor	55	Francis Moor	43	Samuell Rainger	59
Carters and Labourers	James Hurst	158	Bartholomew Scott	47	James Hurst	107
			James Hurst	6		
Sundry	...		...		...	
Total Cost of Church	£8058 15 6		£7060 16 11		£7455 7 9	

APPENDIX III

THE COMPLETE BILLS FOR ST. MARY-LE-BOW AND BOW TOWER

The Roman figures in the first money columns are copied from the original accounts. The italic figures in the second columns are the estimated prices the work would cost in 1915. See supplementary paper, pp. 11–13.

				Estimated cost of the work in 1915.			
To James Traherne for mony by him laid out for labour[rs] Imployed in cleering and moueing the Rubbish which came from the upper part of the Tower Sept: 16: 1671.				@	£	s.	d.
Edward Turner	5 dayes at xviij[d]	o	7	6			
Charles Lewis	5 at	o	7	6			
Henry Henley	5 at	o	7	6			
Anthony Willy	5 at	o	7	6			
Henry Laine	5 at	o	7	6	*7/6*	*13*	*2*	*6*
Oliver Chambers	5 at	o	7	6			
George Fidoe	2 at	o	3	o			
William Vigers	3 at	o	4	6			
Laid out for baskets and a Rope		o	8	o			*8*	*o*
By an account given in Saterday the 9: of Sep[t]		10	10	o	*say*	*42*	*o*	*o*
To James Traherne for Overseeing them		1	10	o		*6*	*o*	*o*
ffor the Carridge of 34 load of Rubbish at		1	19	8	*4/-*	*6*	*16*	*o*
		17	o	2				
To Anthony Tanner Bricklay[r] for worke done by him from y[e] found[ã]: to the Top of the Watertable. Oct: 21. 1671.								
ffor the foundation on the South, East and North Side 76 Rod $\frac{3}{4}$: 16[f] at under w[ch] measure is comprised al y[e] allteracõns of y[e] foundations at xlviij[s]		184	6	8	*140/-*	*537*	*13*	*3*
ffor 2 Rod. 33[f] of Brickworke in peeceing the Old Vault to the new peer and about making y[e] halfe peer on the East side, and the g[t] Peer in y[e] Vault and under y[e] Pilaster by the East window at v[£] x[s]		11	13	9	*340/-*	*36*	*1*	*3*
Allowed for banding y[e] Rubble of the South found[ã]: 22[m] 5[c] of bricks at xiiij[s]		15	15	o		*47*	*5*	*o*
ffor digging and breaking through y[e] Arch of y[e] Old Vault for y[e] g[t] Peer		o	8	o		*1*	*8*	*o*
ffor digging y[e] halfe peer on the East at		o	5	o		*1*	*o*	*o*

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor diging y^e^ foundã: of y^e^ Peer in y^e^ Cellar Conť 37 y^ds^ at vj^d^	0	18	6	5/-	9	5	0
ffor opening y^e^ foundã: to y^e^ South between y^e^ Church and Court of Arches 4^f^ deep Conť: 26 y^ds^ at vj^d^	0	13	0	5/-	6	10	0
By him laid out for Severall labourers for Carrying of rubbish out of the Vault and Bow lane into Cheapside	2	5	0		9	0	0
	216	4	11				

To James Traherne for mony by him laid out for labourers in clereing the Vaults and Carrying away y^e^ Rubbish from Munday the 18^th^ to Saterday 23 Sep^r^ 1671

Edward William's, Charles Lewis, Henry Henley, Anthony Willis, Henry Laine, Oliver Chambers, Geo: Fidoe and Will: Vigers in all being 6 dayes each 48 at xviij^d^	3	12	0	7/6	18	0	0
ffrom Munday 25. to Saterday 30. of Sept^r^ M^r^ Clark for Carridge of 40 loads of Rubbish at xiiij^d^	2	6	8	4/-	8	0	0
Geo: Ableson 12 loades of Rubbish at	0	14	0	4/-	2	8	0
ffor 8li of Candles at iiij^d^ ob per li	0	3	0	6d.		4	0
Elwis Griggs 106 loades of Rubbish at xiiij	6	3	8	4/-	21	4	0
To James Traherne for his attendance 2 weekes	1	0	0		4	0	0
ffor 8 labourers 48 dayes from y^e^ 25 to y^e^ 30: of September	3	12	0		18	0	0
	17	11	4				

To Anthony Tanner Bricklay^r^ for worke done by him at the height of 8 fo^t^ above the water table on the west South and East Sides of the Church and East Side of the Court of Arches. Sept. 23 1671

For 53 Rod ¾: 23^f^ of new Brickworke per v^li^ x^s^	296	2	0	340/-	915	3	9
ffor 1 Rod ½: 18^f^ of rubble wall in a Peere in y^e^ fountaine at y^e^ West end—xlviij^s^	3	15	0	140/-	10	19	3
	299	17	0				

To Mathew Bankes Carpent^r^ for worke done by him about Planking and Shoaring the foundation and the Steeple, and in pulling dõwn the uper floor of the Steeple, and Centering to y^e^ bowes of y^e^ Steeple, and laying up the Old Timber in a Vault under the Chũr: and making a hird in Cheapside Nou^r^ 10: (71)

ffor 68½ dayes worke at iij^s^ and 58½ dayes worke at ij^s^ vj^d^ and 14 dayes at xviij^d^ and 6 dayes at iij^s^ iiij^d^ and 8 dayes at iij^s^ vj^d^ and 16 dayes at ij^s^ viij^d^ and 4 dayes at v^s^	24	3	2		93	16	0
ffor nailes 100 w^th^ hinges and a lock at	2	15	8			9	6
ffor 206 whole deals & 6 Slitt at 9	9	9	0		15	18	0
ffor y^e^ use and Cutting to wast of Shoares	3	6	0		3	6	0
ffor 361^f^ of 3 Inch Oaken planke at vj^d^	9	0	6	2/-	36	2	0
ffor Carting of Shoares and deales and Planks and Timber Conť: 28 load at ij^s^ vj^d^	3	10	0		*included*		
ffor 97^f^ of Solid firr timber being Cutt into Seuerall Scantlings at xvj^d^	6	9	4	2/3	10	18	3

				£	s.	d.
ffor the use and breaking of a Tackle Rope	1 0 0		@	1	0	0
ffor a warrant to make a hurd in Cheapside	0 3 4			3	3	0
	59 17 0					

To Thomas Cartwright Mason for worke done by him at Repairing the Old Tower and Butteresses of Bow, according to the particulars and Measures following (Viz).

For 800f of new Ashler in the Great Buttress on ye North west Corner at ijs viijd	106 13 4		10/6	420	0	0
ffor 404f of Old Ashler new Sett att at viijd	13 9 4		1/6	30	6	0
ffor 11. Rod. of Rubble in the Same Buttress att ls	27 10 0		140/-	77	0	0
ffor 1230f of new Ashler in the new Buttress to ye South West Corner at ijs viijd	164 0 0		10/6	645	15	0
ffor 358f of block Stone for band at ijs viijd	47 14 8		10/6	187	19	0
ffor 2 Rod ¾. of Rubble wall in the Same Buttress at ij£ xs	6 17 6		140/-	19	5	0
	366 4 10					

To Thomas Cartwright Mason for 1150f of new ashler between ye Buttresses on ye west Side of ye Steeple at ijs viijd	153 6 8		10/6	603	15	0
ffor ¾. of a Rod. of Rubble within at ye west Side of ye Steeple at	1 17 6		140/-	5	5	0
ffor 105f of new Ashler at ye East Corner of ye Steeple at ijs viijd	14 0 0		10/6	55	2	6
Allowed for ye Extraordinary Scaffolding at	5 0 0			5	0	0
	174 4 2					

To Thomas Cartwright Mason for pulling dow̃ part of ye Old Chur̃: and Cleering away Rubbish accord: to contract	60 0 0			180	0	0
ffor pulling down part of ye Old Tower from ye Bell-loft downward and digging ye foundation of ye New Tower by Contract at	160 0 0			500	0	0
ffor 81 Rod ¼: 65f of Rubble worke in ye foundation of ye New Tower to the Pavement of ye Street at	195 11 0		140/-	570	8	5
ffor Setting 749f of rough Block Stone in 2 Courses Cramped in ye found (the Stone being delivered at iijd)	9 7 3		6d.	18	14	6
	424 18 3					

To Martha Hammond wid. in part of Rent continũing from Lady Day 1671. for her Cellars under Bow, used for a Store house to keep Timber and Materialls for ye Building accord: to agreemt made by Mr Traherne Church-warden, and Mr Woodroofe	10 0 0			10	0	0

To Thomas Cartwright Mason for worke done by him at Bow Chur̃: being Measur'd up to the top of ye Transumes of 3 wind. on the East of ye body of ye Chur̃:, Item to the top of ye Transumes of 2 window's on the South Side, and to ye like height of one window on ye South west Corner and the Mullions of all the Said wind: Item ye 4 Pillasters and Imposts on ye South Side to ye under Side of ye Imposts, and

				£ s. d.
4 Pillasters against y^e^ wall, Item 2 halfe pillars . . . on each Side of y^e^ west dore, and 2 halfe Pillars on each Side the Middle East window, and one halfe Pillar on y^e^ North East Corner all to y^e^ Same hight w^th^ the former (viz) 12^f^ 7^in^ high from y^e^ upside of y^e^ bases, Item the whole South and west dores, Item y^e^ Outside worke watertable, and all the Eight Rustic Coines to y^e^ hight of 19^f^ 6^in^ from y^e^ upside of y^e^ watertable, Item y^e^ Ashler and Watertable under y^e^ Vestry window.				
For 1443^f^ of Portland Ashler at ij^s^ x^d^	204	8	6	10/6	757	11	6
ffor 3151^f^ Sup^ll^ Measure of Portland at xviij^d^	236	6	6				
ffor 1776^f^ of block at ij^s^ vj^d^	222	0	0	10/6	932	8	0
ffor working and Setting 46^f^ of Old Ashler under y^e^ Watertable at iiij^d^ ob	0	17	3	2/-	4	12	0
ffor Allowance for Additionall worke over & above Ashler in the Rustick Coines being 344^f^ at vj^d^	8	12	0				
	672	4	3				
To Char: Taylor of the Parrish of S^t^ Mary le: Bow London the Summe of one hundred pounds being so much allow'd to him in consider: of Some ground to Inlarge y^e^ S^d^ Chur. accord. to an Order of y^e^ L^ds^ Com̃isso^rs^ dated Iune y^e^ 28: 70 & of an Order Oct^r^ 27: 70	100	0	0		100	0	0
To Martha Ham̃on. Wid: more in full for one years Rent due at our Lady day 1672. for her Cellars under Bow used for a Store house to keep timber and Materialls for the Building according to Agreem^t^ Made by M^r^ Traherne Chur: warden and M^r^ Woodroofe, the Summe of	10	0	0		10	0	0
To John Baxter Smith for worke delivered into Bow Steeple Janav^r^ February and March 167½.							
ffor 48: 3: 23 of Cramps at xxxij^s^ per Cent	78	6	7	28/-	68	10	9
ffor 14: hookes w^th^ 2^c^: 0^q^: 0^li^: at iiij^d^	3	14	8	37/-	3	14	0
	82	1	3				
*To deduct for 12^c^: 1^q^: of Old Iron dd to y^e^ Said Baxter at xv^s^	9	3	9				
Remains	72	17	6				
To Thomas Cartwright Mason for y^e^ Residue of the whole worke of the walls and Pillars inside and Outside Excepting y^e^ Arches and watertable of y^e^ North west Coine home to y^e^ Steeple, and excepting the win: in the Court of Arches &c.							
ffor 155^f^ 5^in^ of Portland Ashler at ijs x^d^	22	0	2	10/6	81	11	11
ffor 658^f^ of freestone Ashler at ijs vj^d^	82	5	0	5/-	164	10	0
ffor 3481^f^ workman^sp^ of Portland Stone xviij^d^	261	1	6				
ffor 282^f^ of workman^sp^ of freestone Sup^ll^ at xiiij^d^	16	9	0				
ffor 2698^f^ 3^in^ of Block at ij^s^ vj^d^	337	5	7	10/6	1416	11	8

* Note.—This and future deductions are carried, in accordance with modern practice, to a separate bill at the end.

				@	£	s.	d.
Allowed for 155[f] of Rustick Coines more then plaine Ashler at vj[d]	3	17	6				
ffor carving 10 Corinthãn. Capitalls ¾. round at viij[li] each	80	0	0	£25	250	0	0
ffor Carving 7 Cherubins heads at xv[s] each	5	5	0	50/-	17	10	0
ffor Carving 80[f] of Impost molding at iij[s]	12	0	0	15/-	60	0	0
	820	3	9				

To Anthony Tanner Bricklay[r] for worke Measd from 8[f] [*sic*] aboue y[e] watertable, to the up Side of y[e] Cornice on y[e] East west and South Sides, likewise the North wall from y[e] foundã: to y[e] under Side of y[e] Plate &c.

ffor 63 Rod 51[f] of Brickworke reduced to brick ½ at v[li] x[s]	347	7	0	340/-	1074	3	9
ffor 7 Rod. wanting 14[f] of Rubble worke at xlviij[s]	16	13	0	140/-	48	12	10
	364	0	0				

To John Baxter Smith for 10[c]: 2[q]: 27[li] of window barrs in the Church at xxviij[s] per c. — 15 0 9 — 28/- — 15 0 9

To John Simpson for digging and Carrying away earth in the foundations of the Church of Bow &c. July 31 1673

ffor 425 y[ds] 20[f] in depth on the South Side of Bow at ij[s] vj[d]	53	2	6	7/6	159	7	6
ffor diging and carrying away 525 y[ds] Lesser depth at ij[s]	52	10	0	6/-	157	10	0
ffor 16 y[ds] of diging and filling at y[e] South west corner at ix[d]	0	12	0	1/6	1	4	0
ffor 52 y[ds] of diging and carrying away at y[e] east end at xxij[d]	4	15	4				
ffor 60 y[ds] at y[e] South east corner at xxij[d]	5	10	0	162 @	40	10	0
ffor 50 y[ds] of diging and carrying away at y[e] South west corner at xxij[d]	4	11	8	5/-			
ffor 13 y[ds] of diging at y[e] North end at vj[d]	0	6	6	1/-		13	0
ffor 193 y[ds] of diging and filling at y[e] west corner at xij[d]	9	13	0	1/6	14	9	6
	131	1	0				

To John Simpson for taking downe y[e] pinicles Bowes, Batlem[ts] and top of y[e] Old Steeple of S[t] Mary Le Bow. Chur: to the bottom of y[e] G[t] windowes at — 20 0 0 — 80 0 0

ffor pulling downe y[e] walls of Pancaras Church and carrying the Stones to Bow Church at — 4 14 2 — 18 16 8

	24	14	2

To Martha Hammon Widõw. the Sume of twenty pounds in full of all demands whatsoeuer for her. Cellars under Bow Church used for a Store house to keep Timber & Materialls for y[e] Building: the Said Cellars being dd. into Custoty [*sic*] the 25[th] of March last past I Say Recd this 9[th] of Aug[t] 1673. — 20 0 0 — 20 0 0

To Thomas Cartwright Mason. this Measurm[t] being y[e] Cornice on y[e] South Side, and y[e] cornice on y[e] Frontispeece west, the Streight Cornice East, 2 Small Returnes of cornice to y[e] facia East & west, the Copeing on y[e] East Gavell. 2 Small Ovall wind, 4 round wind: y[e] coines

up to y^e Cornice East and. west watertable, and Ashler from y^e Steeple to y^e Chur: Measd. Sept^r 5: 1673.				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 214^f 6^in of Portland Stone Ashler at ij^s x^d 30	30	7	9	10/6	112	12	3
ffor 1757^f 4^in of Portland Stone workman^sp Sup^ll Measur xviij^d	131	16	0				
ffor 1733^f 3^in of Block at ij^s vj^d	216	13	1½	10/6	909	19	2
ffor 112^f of Coines to be allowed more then Portland Ashler at vj^d	2	16	0				
	381	12	10				
To Mathew Bankes Carpent^r for 59 Sq 6^f of rofing together w^th the Ovall Cieling and ribbs thereof at x^£ x^s	588	12	6		400	0	0
ffor 145^f of Guttering 18^in broad ruñ: planck'd w^th 2^in Oake planck at xviij^d	10	17	6	1/3	9	1	3
ffor 6 Winđ: in y^e Roofe 9^f 3^in high 6^f 3^in wide w^th Archĩ: & Compass cornice at iiij^£: xv^s	28	10	0	150/-	45	0	0
ffor 4½Sq. 18^f of quartering & boarding in y^e Cheekes of y^e windows at xxiiij^s	5	12	0	45/-	10	10	8
ffor 5 Sq. ½ of braqetting for y^e Streight Moulding on y^e North & South Sides of y^e Chur: ouer y^e heads of y^e winđ at iiij^d	9	3	4	6d.	13	15	0
ffor 6 Sq. 17^f of bragetting bett: mouldings in y^e cieling & Sides of y^e windowes at iiij^d	10	5	8	6d.	15	8	6
ffor 191^f of bragetting for y^e G^t cornice 4^f girt 2^f broad on y^e top at iij^s	28	13	0	3/-	28	13	0
ffor bragetting for the cornice at the East and west ends being 36^f long 3^f girt at	1	16	0		1	16	0
ffor 8 Sq. ½. 10^f of Centering in y^e Brickworke for all dores & winđ in y^e chuñ: xviij^s	7	14	8	25/	10	15	0
ffor 17 Sq. 40^f of bragetting in y^e compass Cieling in y^e North and South Isles att xxv^s	21	15	0	40/-	34	16	0
ffor Oaken Timber laid into y^e walls 400^f long 4^in Sq. 288^f long. 7^in 3^in Sq	6	18	0	2/3	9	14	6
	719	17	8				
To Thomas Aldworth Plum^r for lead đđ: in from Ap^ll 11: 73 to Dec^r 73.							
ffor 42^Tun 6^c 1^q 26^li of Sheet lead at xvij^£ x^s per Tunn	740	13	5	30/- cwt.	1269	14	6
ffor 0: 2: 3: 25½ of Soddar at ix^d	12	10	1½	9d.	12	9	9
ffor 20^c: 2^q: 0: of lead to y^e Masons at xv^s vj^d	15	17	9	25/-	25	12	6
ffor Soddar and worke in making 4 Cisterns at	6	0	0		8	0	0
ffor Sodar and worke for 8 pipes each 10^f long at xviij^s per length	7	4	0		8	0	0
ffor Spikes and Nailes at	3	0	0		1	0	0
ffor worke mending the lead where it was Stole at	2	0	0		5	0	0
	787	5	3½				
To be dedũ: for Cuttings 38^c: 2^q: 24^li at xvij^s vj^d and Soder w^tt 11^li: at ix^d	34	5	9				
Remaines	752	19	6				

To John Baxter Smith for worke done from Jan^{ry} 72: to Dec^{r} 1673.				@	£	s.	d.
ffor cramps bolts and Straps w^{tt} 24^{c}: 2^{q} 27^{li} at xxxij^{s}	39	11	8	32/-	39	11	8
ffor window barrs w^{tt} 35: 0: 27. at xxviij^{s}	49	6	9	28/-	49	6	9
ffor 12 Staples and Spikes	0	6	8			5	0
ffor a bolt 2 Staples and padlock at	0	2	6			10	0
ffor 20 keyes 12 Spikes & a padlock at	02	9	0			10	0
	91	16	7				

To Anthony Tanner Bricklay^{r} for 28 Rod of brickworke reduced to brick & ½ dedũ: being taken out at v£ x^{s}	154	0	0	340/-	476	0	0

To Mathew Bankes Carpent^{r} for worke done about making the Winding Staires in the Old Steeple

ffor y^{e} Staires up to y^{e} top of y^{e} first floore ass [*sic*] by Agr^{mt} made Aug^{t} 2: 70.	45	0	0		135	0	0
ffor y^{e} Staires from y^{e} first floore up to the Bell-loft as by Agreem^{t} made Octo^{r} 13: 1670.	37	0	0		111	0	0
	82	0	0				

To John Grove. Plaister^{r} for 552 y^{ds} of Lathing and Plaistering at xiiij^{d}	32	4	10	2/4	64	8	0
ffor 501 y^{ds} ½ of Rendering att vij^{d}	14	12	6	1/2	29	5	1
ffor 421 y^{ds} of whiting y^{e} Stoneworke at ij^{d}	3	10	2	2d.	3	10	2
ffor whiting y^{e} Capitalls att	1	10	0		1	10	0
ffor y^{e} 2 ribbs at y^{e} ends 119^{f} long 3^{f} 6^{in} girt wth flowres & moulding enrichet at v^{s} per foot runing	29	15	0	7/-	41	13	0
ffor y^{e} 2 Ribbs in the Middle 119^{f} long 5^{f} 8^{in} girt wth flowers & mouldings enrich't at vj^{s} vj^{d} per foot runing	39	13	4	10/-	59	10	0
ffor y^{e} 2 beames over the wind: betwen y^{e} Ribbs each 58^{f} long 4^{f} 10^{in} girt enricht wth foliage at iiij^{s} vj^{d}	26	2	0	7/-	40	12	0
ffor 620^{f} Batt: moulding enrichet 15^{in} girt at xviij^{d}	46	10	0	2/-	62	0	0
ffor 74^{f} Impost moulding enricht over y^{e} East & west window girt 2^{f} 4^{in} at xx^{d}	6	3	4	3/9	13	17	6
ffor y^{e} bodyes of 4 Pedestalls conť: 24^{f} in length 3^{f} 6^{in} girt at	1	10	0	1/6	1	16	0
ffor base moulding 22^{f} long 2^{f} 4^{in} girt at xviij^{d} runing	1	13	0	2/6	2	15	0
ffor plaine Architrave Moulding ab^{t} y^{e} east and west window conť 96^{f} in length 2^{f} girt at xv^{d}	6	0	0	1/6	7	4	0
ffor y^{e} 2 wreathes ab^{t} 2 round windows 31^{f} long wth the festoones and knots and Compartments at	4	10	0	147/-	14	14	0
ffor y^{e} G^{t} modilion Cornice 191^{f} long 4^{f} 1^{in} girt at v^{s} vj^{d}	52	10	6	4/6	42	19	6
ffor y^{e} Lesser cornice wth one enrichm^{t} 36^{f} long 2^{f} 1^{in} girt at iij^{s}	5	8	0	3/-	5	8	0
ffor 2 Urnes each 3^{f} 6^{in} high at	5	0	0	£4	8	0	0
ffor 1500 y^{ds} of whiting at ij^{d}	12	10	0	2d.	12	10	0
Allowed for y^{e} high Scaffolding att	10	0	0		20	0	0
	298	2	8				

To William Cleere Joyn^{r} for 2 paire of Large outside dores with Compass heads 2^{in} ½ thick Mitered at per paire x£	20	0	0		40	0	0

				@	£	s.	d.
To Matthew Bankes Carpentr for 387f of Bragetting in ye Impost moulding & in the Pedastalls and bases and plinths at ye east and west ends of the Church at iiijd	6	9	0	6d.	9	13	6
ffor 9 Sq. 61f of outside partĩ: boarded with whole deal & Baten'd at xxxs	14	8	0	50/-	24	0	6
ffor 4 Sq. of roofe boarded wth Slit deal to keep ye walls dry at	5	0	0	25/-	5	0	0
ffor 7 Sq. 38f of Centering ye Vaults at xxs	7	7	0	30/-	11	1	5
ffor 4 Urnes 3f high 2f wide at	1	0	0		2	0	0
ffor a peece of Oake 6 & 9in Sq. used abt ye Staires going downe into the Vault at	0	6	0		1	0	0
	34	10	0				
To Robert Streeter Serjt Painter for 327 yards 1f of Iron barrs 3in girt at jd ob	2	0	10	1½d.	2	0	10
ffor 174 yds 2f of barrs 4in ½ girt at ijd q	1	12	8	2d.	1	9	1
ffor 387 yds of barrs 6in girt at iijd	4	16	9	2½d.	4	0	8
ffor 33 yds of Stone colour in Oyle in ye Lanthornes windows and 2 dores at xijd	1	13	0	1/-	1	13	0
ffor 7 Casments and frames each at ixd	0	5	3	1/-		7	0
	10	8	6				
To Thomas Cartwright Mason for 54f of plane Purbeck Step going into ye Vaults at ijs iiijd	6	6	0	7/6	20	5	0
ffor 69f 4in of Portland Step wrought wth a bottle & fillet laid at ye South entrance allowing for ye Returnes of ye ends at iijs vjd	12	2	8	10/-	34	13	4
ffor 17f of Portland Step wrought with a bottle & fillet 20in broad laid at ye South and west dores at iiijs vjd	3	16	6	12/-	10	4	0
ffor 49f 10in of compass Step wrought with a bottle & fillet laid at the west entrance at iiijs	9	19	0	12/-	29	18	0
ffor 15f ½ of purbeck paving at ye South harth pace viijd	0	10	4	1/6	1	3	3
ffor 50f ½ of Portland Ashler at ye South entrance at ijs xd	7	3	1	143.6			
ffor 93f of Portland Ashler in making up ye dore going into ye Vaults at ye east end at ijs vjd	11	12	6	10/6	75	6	9
ffor 83f of Portland copeing on the South walls 6in thick 14in broad iijs xd	15	18	2	6/2	25	11	10
ffor 33f of Portland Slabb behind this copeing being 2f 6in broad 6in thick at iijs vjd runing	5	15	6	8/9	14	8	9
ffor 57f of Portland Copeing wrought wth a running mould-ing laid on the east and west wings being 20in broad 6in thick at vs	14	5	0	8/9	24	18	9
ffor 57f of portĩ: Slabb behind ye copeing 20in broad 6in thick at ijs vjd runĝ	7	2	6	5/10	16	12	6
ffor 12f of Copeing 14in broad 6in thick at iijs xd runing	2	6	0	6/2	3	14	0
ffor 63f of copeing in ye North wall 13in broad 4in thick at ijs vjd	7	17	6	3/10	12	1	6
ffor 90f of Portland Ashler under ye parapett on ye South wall at ijs xd	12	15	0	10/6	47	5	0
	117	9	9				

To Martha Hammon. Wid in part of 20^{li} upon the petition to the Lords Comissioners and their further Allowance, the Summe of	10	0	0	@	*£*	*s.*	*d.*
					10	*0*	*0*
To Martha Hamon. Wid the Sume of 10^{li} being the Remainder in full of her further allowance for her intrest in the Cellars of bow according to Order bearing date the 29th of Aprill 1675.	10	0	0		*10*	*0*	*0*
To Robert Day Carpent^{r} for making 1 Trunk 11^{f} 3^{in} long at ij^{s} vj^{d}	1	8	1		*1*	*8*	*1*
ffor one Trunk 12^{f} 6^{in} long at ijs vj^{d}	1	11	3		*1*	*11*	*3*
ffor 2 Trunks in y^{e} Corners 12^{f} long each at iij^{s} vj^{d} per fo^{l} 10^{in} Sq	4	4	0		*4*	*4*	*0*
ffor 4 Capitall mouldings on y^{e} edge of each trunk at vj^{s} each	1	4	0		*1*	*4*	*0*
ffor Masons worke to cutt away y^{e} Stone from y^{e} watertable downwrd	0	4	6			*18*	*0*
ffor whole and $\frac{1}{2}$ Staples w^{tt} 33$\frac{1}{2}^{li}$ at iiij^{d}	0	11	2	*3d.*		*8*	*5*
ffor painting y^{e} 4 Trunks in lead Colour in Oyle at	0	9	0			*9*	*0*
	9	12	0				
To William Cleere Joyn^{r} for 1: pare of dores 4^{f} 2^{in} wide 8^{f} high going into the Vestry at ij^{s} vj^{d}	4	3	4		*8*	*0*	*0*
To Anthony Tanner Bricklay^{r} for wo^{r}ke [*sic*] at Bow Jan: 27: 1675							
ffor 25 Rod 15^{f} of Brickworke in the Peere walls, Arches, & Staires of y^{e} Vaults, In the Court of Arches, and Vestry walls. In 4 butt: Scrowles each Side y^{e} Pedam^{t} In the parapet walls or battlem^{ts} North & South Sides of y^{e} Chur: And in y^{e} Staires west and South Side of y^{e} Chur: Reduced to brick & $\frac{1}{2}$ at v^{li} x^{s}	137	16	0	*340/-*	*425*	*18*	*9*
ffor 22y^{ds} 9^{f} of diging y^{e} Peer in the Vault at	0	11	0	*5/-*	*5*	*11*	*8*
ffor makeing an Area for y^{e} Vault by y^{e} Vestry Chimneys at	3	0	0		*9*	*0*	*0*
ffor 14 Sq $\frac{1}{2}$. of plaine Tyleing over y^{e} Court of Arches & vestry at	21	15	0	*50/-*	*36*	*5*	*0*
ffor making a Chimney in y^{e} Vestry at	5	0	0		*15*	*0*	*0*
	168	2	0				
To Thomas Cartwright Mason for worke done in Paving the Church of Bow Measd. June 25. 1675.							
ffor 1670^{f} of Purbeck Paving rub'd at xij^{d}	83	10	0	*2/-*	*167*	*0*	*0*
ffor 16^{f} of rough Purbeck Paving laid at y^{e} west dore at vij^{d}	0	9	4	*1/6*	*1*	*4*	*0*
ffor 444^{f} of Purbeck & Black Marble rub'd at xviij^{d}	33	6	0	*2/6*	*55*	*10*	*0*
ffor 120^{f} of black & white marble paving laid within y^{e} Raile at ij^{s} iiij^{d}	14	0	0	*3/6*	*21*	*0*	*0*
ffor 9^{f} of Portland Step wrought wth Astragall at iij^{s}	1	7	0	*6/-*	*2*	*14*	*0*
ffor 31^{f} 8^{in} of Black Marble Step at viij^{s}	12	13	4	*17/6*	*27*	*14*	*2*
ffor 9^{f} of Purbeck Step at ij^{s} iiij^{d}	1	1	0	*5/-*	*2*	*5*	*0*
	146	6	8				

				@	£	s.	d.
To John Baxter Smith for 9 Casm^{ts} w^{tt} 6^{c}: 3^{q}: 12^{li} at viij^{d}	25	12	0		25	12	0
ffor 8 hinges w^{tt} 0: 3: 22 at vj^{d}	2	13	0		2	13	0
ffor 4 large bolts at x^{s} each	2	0	0		1	0	0
ffor 40 Revitts at ij^{d} each	0	6	8			6	8
ffor 2 large locks & Screwes at xxv^{s} each	2	10	0		2	0	0
ffor 16 brasses and a ring for a round window w^{tt} 1^{c}: 0^{q}: 4^{li} at vj^{d}	2	18	0		2	18	0
ffor 124 window barrs w^{tt} 8^{c}: 0^{q}: 1^{li} at iij^{d}	11	4	3				
ffor 20 barrs 3 railes & heads w^{tt} 2^{c}: 1^{q}: 26^{li} vj^{d}	6	19	0				
ffor 13 barrs & 2 Staples 0: 3: 17 at iiij^{d}	1	13	8				
ffor 2 dogs w^{tt} 17¾ at iiij^{d}	0	5	11				
ffor 82 plates 32 bolts keyes & rings 2: 1: 24 at iiij^{d}	4	12	0	30/-	21	16	11
ffor altering y^{e} raile and putting in 4 barrs more 1^{q}: 23^{li} at vj^{d}	1	5	6				
ffor a barr put into y^{e} Tower wall w^{tt} 12^{li} at iij^{d}	0	3	0				
ffor 4 Staples, 2 rings & Scutchins for y^{e} dores	0	10	0		1	0	0
ffor 6 Casm^{ts} w^{tt} 3^{c}: 3^{q}: 17^{li} at viij^{d}	14	11	4		14	11	4
ffor 4 hookes & 4 hinges 8 revits 32 nailes w^{tt} 34^{li} at iiij^{d}	0	11	4			11	4
	77	15	8				
To William Cooke Carter and Cleering y^{e} Vestry and carrying out 64 y^{ds} of Course [*sic*] Rubbish at	0	18	0	6d.	1	12	0
ffor Carrying away y^{e} Same by Cart	2	10	0	4/-	12	16	0
ffor carrying out 5 load of rubbish left by altering y^{e} brick-worke in the Vestry at	0	1	4	6d.		2	6
ffor Carrying away the Same by Cart	0	4	2	4/-	1	0	0
	3	13	6				
To John Grove Junio^{r} Plaister^{r} for Stoping y^{e} Glass in 2 great wind 12 lights 6 little wind: 36 lights 8 round wind	5	16	0		2	0	0
ffor plaistering 2 Gall: wth heart lath & floated 127 y^{ds} ⅔. at xiiij^{d}	7	8	10	1/9	11	3	5
ffor 127 y^{ds} ⅔. of whiting at ij^{d}	1	1	3	2d.	1	1	3
ffor 32 y^{ds} ⅔ of rendering the battens and p^{t} of y^{e} Sides of y^{e} wind: of y^{e} East and west ends & South and West dore at vij^{d}	0	19	0	1/3	2	0	10
ffor whiteing the Same 32 y^{ds} ⅔. at ij^{d}	0	5	5	2d.		5	5
In the Vestry							
ffor 107^{f} of plaine cornice 20^{in} girt at xvj^{d}	7	2	8	2/-	10	14	0
ffor 94^{f} of moulding 8^{in} girt at ix^{d}	3	10	6	10d.	3	18	4
ffor 43^{f} of bell: moulding at iij^{d}	0	10	9	4d.		14	4
ffor 2 large Spandrill flowers	0	10	0		3	0	0
ffor 6^{f} of Cornice broaken downe ore y^{e} Middle wind	0	8	0		1	0	0
ffor 27 y^{d} whiting the Cornice at ij^{d}	0	4	6	2d.		4	6
ffor 81 y^{ds} plaine Ceiling & ½ at xvj^{d}	5	8	8	1/9	7	2	8
ffor whiting the Same at ij^{d}	0	13	7	2d.		13	7
ffor 209 y^{ds} 2^{f} rendering at vj^{d}	5	4	7	1/2d.	12	4	1
ffor whiting the Same at ij^{d}	1	14	10	2d.	1	14	10
	40	18	7				

					£	s.	d.
To Mathew Bankes Carp^{r} for worke done ab^{t} the Gall. of Bow				@			
ffor 12 Sq: $\frac{3}{4}$: 7^{f} degrees in the Gall: at xxv^{s}	16	0	6	25/-	16	0	6
ffor 12 Sq: 16^{f} naked flooring wth double brestsum̃ers at 3^{s}	36	9	7	40/-	24	6	5
ffor 10 Sq: $\frac{3}{4}$: 18^{f} boarding at xvj^{s}	8	14	10	25/-	13	13	3
ffor Beam 1^{f} Sq: 48^{f} long at ij^{s} per fo^{t}	4	16	0	3/-	7	4	0
ffor partitions quartered in y^{e} Gall: at y^{e} North and South dores 1 Sq $\frac{1}{2}$ 20^{f} at xviijs	1	10	3	25/-	2	2	6
ffor $\frac{3}{4}$. of Sq. 3^{f} Truss wth a beam at y^{e} North dore at	3	0	0		5	0	0
ffor 3 Sq: $\frac{1}{2}$: 1^{f} parapet on y^{e} fore Side of y^{e} Gall. at xl^{s}	7	0	8	30/-	5	5	4
ffor 40 Steps 3^{f} $\frac{1}{2}$ goeing at iij^{s} vj^{d} per step	7	0	0	8/- each	30	0	0
ffor 35 Steps 2^{f} 10^{in} goeing at iij^{s} per Step	5	5	0				
ffor 18 Small Steps of firr	0	18	0	3/6	3	3	0
ffor 61^{f} of raile & Ball^{r} posts 6^{in} Ball^{r} 3$\frac{1}{2}$ Sq: at iiij^{s} vj^{d}	13	14	6	3/6	10	13	6
	104	9	4				
To Mathew Bankes Carpent^{r} worke done at y^{e} Vestry of Bow.							
ffor flooring 9 Sq: $\frac{3}{4}$: 11^{f} at xl^{s}	19	14	0	50/-	24	13	0
ffor 14 Sq 4^{f} at xlv^{s}	31	11	8	55/-	38	12	2
ffor 50^{f} Small cornice boarded at xij^{d}	2	10	0	1/-	2	10	0
ffor 68^{f} $\frac{1}{2}$ of guttering at ix^{d}	2	11	4	9d.	2	11	5
ffor 24 light windowes 8 & 5 at	1	16	0		4	0	0
ffor a dorecase of Oake 9 & 5 and Scant̃ 8^{in} and 6^{in}	1	2	6		6	0	0
ffor 36^{f} of lentelling Scant 6 & 7 at ix^{d}	1	7	0	6/-	10	16	0
ffor a Mantle tree and Tassells 6^{f} & $\frac{1}{2}$ at	0	7	0		1	1	0
ffor $\frac{3}{4}$. of a Sq. of partitioning ore y^{e} Chimney	0	12	0	25/-		18	9
ffor Centering y^{e} East windowes 12^{f} diameter 2^{f} over	0	10	0			18	0
ffor bragetting round y^{e} Sides of y^{e} Cieling 113^{f} at iiij^{d}	1	17	8	4d.	1	17	8
ffor bragetting y^{e} Midle part 45^{f} at iiij^{d}	0	15	0	4d.		15	0
ffor a Small bragett at y^{e} end 15^{f} at iiij^{d}	0	5	0	4d.		5	0
ffor a 4 light window at	0	18	8		1	17	6
ffor a dorecase of Oake 89^{f} & 4^{f} 8^{in} Scant 6^{in} & 5^{in} 7^{f} $\frac{1}{2}$ at	1	2	6		5	11	3
ffor lintelling Scantling 10^{in} 6^{in} at being 7^{f} $\frac{1}{2}$ at ix^{d}	0	5	0	2/3		16	11
ffor Allowence for a dorecase returned at	0	5	0			5	0
	67	10	4				
To Mathew Bankes Carpent^{r} for flooring and boarding in the Vestry at Bow Church.							
ffor 7 Sq $\frac{3}{4}$. of flooring & boarding at xl^{s}	15	10	0	50/-	19	7	6
To John Oliver Glaiz^{r} for 1631^{f} of Extraordinary worke done at bow Church at ix^{d}	61	3	0	1/6	122	6	6
To Anthony Tanner Bricklay^{r} for worke done in y^{e} Vestry at Bow Church in putting in 3 windowes and working up a dorcase, Setting in 2 dorecases, working up y^{e} Sides & arches of y^{e} Same wth brick worke, Splaying away y^{e} East wind: and pulling downe y^{e} Old foundation							
ffor $\frac{3}{4}$ of Rod 34^{f} finding workman^{sp}	1	16	0		7	4	0
ffor 1000. of new Bricks at	0	14	0	50/-	2	10	0

ffor diging downe y^e^ Old foundation, cutting away y^e^ Splayes for the east windowes and for y^e^ 3 windowes & working and working [*sic*] up the Peer at	2	10	0	@	£ 10	s. d. 0 0
	5	0	0			
To William Cleere Joyn^r^ for 69^f^ ½ of wainsc^t^ in 2 p^r^ of dores at ij^s^ vj^d^	8	13	9	6/-	20	17 0
ffor 4 p^r^ of large Side hinges with Squares	0	10	0	10/-	2	0 0
ffor 4 Ballcony Bolts	0	10	0	2/6		10 0
ffor a Box lock at	0	8	0	8/-		8 0
ffor a latch lock w^th^ brass knobs on both Sides at	0	6	0	12 6		12 6
	10	7	9			
To Thomas Whyting Joyn^r^ for 124 y^ds^ 6^in^ of fronts at v^s^ vj^d^	34	4	9	5/6	34	4 9
ffor 40 y^ds^ ⅓ of Plaine Insides of y^e^ Gall: at iij^s^	6	1	0	3/-	6	1 0
	40	5	9			
To Thomas Whyting. Joyn^r^ for worke done ab^t^ the Gall: pews at Bow Church.						
ffor 375 y^ds^ of wains^t^ at iij^s^	56	5	0	3/-	56	5 0
ffor 490^f^ of benching & bearers at iiij^d^	8	3	4	4d.	8	3 4
ffor 304^f^ deske at vj^d^	7	12	0	1/-	15	4 0
	72	0	4			
To Thomas Aldworth Plun^r^ for lead dd: from My 74: to Ap^ll^ 77 Errour. [in margin]						
ffor 16^c^: 0: 15^li^ of lead dd for Cramps xv^s^ vj^d^	12	10	1	25/-	21	8 4
ffor 1: 0: 0: Since dd at xv^s^ vj^d^	0	15	6			
Memdum this Bill belongs to y^e^ Tower	13	5	7			
To John Baxter Smith. for worke dd: Since Decem^r^ 16: 1675.						
ffor y^e^ holdfasts of a Chimney Tunnell in y^e^ Vestry house w^tt^ 3^q^: 5^li^ at iij^d^ ob q	1	7	9¾	2d.		14 10
ffor 4 Casmts hookes and Staples w^tt^ 1^c^: 0^q^: 6^li^ vij^d^	3	8	10		3	8 10
ffor 24 window barrs w^tt^ 2: 1: 7. at iij^d^	3	4	9		3	4 9
ffor nayles	0	2	6			2 6
ffor 3 barrs & a Compass barr w^tt^ 1^q^ 6^li^ at iiij^d^	0	11	4			11 4
	8	15	2			
To Tho: Cartwright Mason for 18^f^ 6^in^ of facia 10^in^ high wrought w^th^ a bedmoulding on y^e^ under Side over y^e^ Vestry iij^s^ vj^d^	3	4	9	10/6	9	14 3
ffor 9^f^ 10^in^ of Splayes on y^e^ top of y^e^ Vestry Chimney at ij^s^ vj^d^ ruñg	1	4	7	10/6	5	3 3
	4	9	4			

					£	s.	d.
To Tho: Cartwright Mason ye Sume of forty Pounds being ye Residue of one hundred pound due to ye Sd Tho: Cartwright ffor pulling down part of the Old Chur:, Cleering away Rubbish, pyleing up regularly all that was Usefull and leaving ye Ground within at ye proper levell and fitt for paving according to Contract bearing date the 7th of July 1670.	40	0	0	@	150	0	0
To Tho: Cartwright Mason ye Sume of Three hundred & forty poundes being money Assign'd over from ye Church-wardens of St Mary le Bow disburst by ye Sd Parish upon ye Old Church and Tower by Order of ye Lds Comsonrs dated July 10th 1676 and Assigned to ye Said Tho: Cartwright by Order of a Vestry of ye Sd: Church dated Septemr 14: 1676.	340	0	0		1020	0	0
To: William Cleere. Joynr the Sume of Three hundred pounds being mony Assigned over from ye Church-wardens of St Mary le-Bow. formerly disburst by ye Sd Parish upon ye Old Chur: & Tower. by Order of ye Lds Comsonrs dated July 10th 1676 and Assigned to ye Said Wm Cleere by Order of a Vestry of ye Sd Parish dated Septr 14. 1676	300	0	0		900	0	0
To Tho: Aldworth Plumr for lead delivered for the Vestrey of Bow Church in December and ffebr 1677.							
ffor Sheet lead wtt 29: 2: 29 at xvijs vjd	25	19	10	30/-	44	12	9
ffor Sodder wtt 0: 1: 2¾ at ixd	1	3	0	9d.	1	3	0
	27	2	10				
Deducted for 1q 2li of lead at xvijs vjd 6s: 2d at Remaines	26	16	8				
To Math: Bancks Carpentr for worke at ye Old Steeple Sepr 1671.							
ffor 2 men ½ a day each mending the dores of the Vaults at	0	2	6			11	0
ffor 70 double Tenns	0	1	0			1	0
ffor taking downe the third floore 1 man 2 dayes	0	8	0		1	2	0
ffor 7 men 2 dayes each at	2	2	0		7	14	0
ffor the use of a Cabell rope borrow'd	0	10	0			10	0
ffor the use of my owne Cabell and other ropes	0	12	6			12	6
ffor removing the Timber out of the rubbish	0	17	6		3	10	0
ffor making good the dores of the Vaults	0	2	0			8	0
ffor taking downe ye Shores from the Steeple	0	9	0		1	16	0
ffor 8 men 2 dayes each at ijs vjd	2	0	0		8	16	0
ffor drawing 4 Shores to St Paules	2	14	0		1	0	0
ffor the use and Cutting 5 peeces of dram Timber for Shores	3	15	0		3	15	0
ffor the use and Cutting 9 large barllings	1	7	0		1	7	0
ffor removing the great Timber out of the Steeple	0	7	6		1	10	0
ffor drawing and Carting 13 peeces of Oake from Paules to Bow	1	6	0		1	0	0
ffor 5 men 2 dayes each inloading and unloading ye Timber	1	5	0		3	15	0

					£	s.	d.
ffor removing old Stuff out of y^e^ Vault	0	12	6		2	10	0
ffor the use and waste of 4 peeces of firr Timber	1	0	0		1	0	0
ffor 14 men Seting up the Shores	1	1	0		8	10	0
ffor planks to Sett up the Shores against	0	2	0			2	0
ffor Nayles	0	1	0			1	0
ffor 6 Links to light y^e^ Men in y^e^ Nights	0	1	6			10	0
ffor Carridge and recarridge of the Shores	0	4	0			4	0
ffor 20 dayes ½ Sev^ll^ men ab^t^ Setting up and taking downe y^e^ Shores	2	11	3		7	13	9
ffor the use and Cutting to wast 7 large Barlings	1	8	0		1	8	0
ffor drawing 4 Shores from Paules to bow	0	16	0		1	0	0
ffor 1^c^ ¾ of 20^D^ nayles &c ½^c^ of 10^D^ nayles	0	5	10		1	8	0
	26	2	1				

Charges In Rebilding the Tower of Bow

To John Baxt'r. Smith for 17^c^: 1^q^: 21^li^ being Cramps rings and Staples at iij^d^ ob qr	30	10	3¾		30	10	0
ffor Stone hookes w^tt^ 1: 0: 0 at iiij^d^ ob	2	2	0		2	2	0
	32	12	3¾				

To Walter Clements Anchor Smith for Great Irons dd from July 23: 1672 unto August 14^th^ following &c ffor a chaine of Cramps joyned w^th^ rings & wedges laid into the wall & encompassing y^e^ whole Tower over y^e^ 1^st^ Arches w^tt^ 19^c^: 3^q^: 23^li^ at xxxvij^s^ iiij^d^	37	5	0		37	5	0
ffor altering 3 Cramps	0	15	0			15	0
ffor watredge and Carridge	0	12	0		included		
ffor Tare	0	2	0				
	38	14	0				

To Tho; Freeman Plum^r^ for lead dd to y^e^ Masons to Apr: 11: 1674

ffor 61: 1: 24 at xv^s^ vj^d^ per Cent	47	12	4	25/-	76	16	7
Ded for old lead w^tt^ 58: 3: 22: at xiiij^s^	41	5	3				
Remaines	6	7	1				
ffor labour and Coales	7	10	0		10	0	0
Totall	13	17	1				

Errour. To Mathew Bankes Carpent^r^ for worke at y^e^ Old Steeple Sep^r^ 71.

ffor 2 men ½ a day each mending y^e^ dores of y^e^ Vaults at	0	2	6
ffor 70 double tenns	0	1	0
ffor taking downe y^e^ 3^D^ floor one man 2 dayes at iiij^s^	0	8	0
ffor 7 men 2 dayes each at iij^s^	2	2	0
ffor y^e^ use of a gabell rope borrow'd	0	10	0
ffor y^e^ use of my owne gabell & other ropes	0	12	6

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor removeing y^e^ Timber out of y^e^ Rubbish at	0	17	6				
ffor making good y^e^ dores of the Vaults	0	2	0				
ffor takeing downe y^e^ Shores from y^e^ Steeple	0	9	0				
ffor 8 men 2 dayes each at ij^s^ vj^d^	2	0	0				
ffro [*sic*] drawing 4 Shores to Paules at	2	14	0				
ffor y^e^ use and cutting 5 peeces of dram timber for Shores	3	15	0				
ffor y^e^ use and cutting 9 large barlings at	1	7	0				
ffor removing y^e^ g^t^ timber out of y^e^ Steeple at	0	7	6				
ffor drawing and Carting 13 peeces of Oake from Paules to Bow	1	6	0				
ffor 5 men 2 dayes each loading & unloading y^e^ Said Timber	1	5	0				
ffor removing old Stuff out of y^e^ Vault	0	12	6				
ffor y^e^ use & cutting to wast 4 peeces of fir timber	1	0	0				
ffor 14 men Setting up y^e^ Shores	1	1	0				
ffor Planks to Sett y^e^ Shores against	0	2	0				
ffor nayles	0	1	0				
ffor 6 linkes to light y^e^ men in y^e^ Night	0	1	6				
ffor Carridge and recaridge of y^e^ Shores	0	4	0				
ffor 20 dayes ½ Seuer^ll^ men ab^t^ Setting up and taking down y^e^ Shores	2	11	3				
ffor y^e^ use and cutting to wast 7 large barlings	1	8	0				
ffor drawing 4 Shores from Paules to bow	0	16	0				
ffor 1^c^: ¾ of 20^D^ nayles & ½^c^ of 10^D^ nayles at	0	5	10				
Memdũm this Bills [*sic*] is enterd 'n y^e^ Church	26	2	1				
To William Grey for a Module for the Cornice of Bow Steeple	1	4	0		5	0	0
To John Baxter for worke done at Bow Tower May 16. 72. D. 73							
ffor cramps w^tt^ 4: 1: 3 at xxxij^s^	6	16	9		6	16	9
ffor Stone hookes 20½ at iiij^d^	0	6	10			6	10
	7	3	7				
To Thomas Cartwright & John Thompson Masons for building y^e^ whole Stone wall Inside & outside of y^e^ New Tower of Bow from y^e^ pavem^t^ to y^e^ top of y^e^ first g^t^ cornice w^th^ y^e^ winding Staires y^e^ G^t^ Neech Poralls Pillasters wind & carvings according to a Contract by y^e^ g^t^ bearing date March. 3. 167½ the Sume of one Thousand Six hundred pounds	1600	0	0		4800	0	0
To Thomas Cartwright Mason for additionall worke more then y^e^ 1^st^ contract for the Tower of Bow as followeth							
ffor 117^f^ 6^in^ Portland block laid in the wall of y^e^ Tower letting in the Irons and ruñ: them w^th^ lead at ij^s^ x^d^	16	11	6	10/6	61	13	9
ffor 63^f^ of Portland Stone in 12 corbells Stone and worke at iij^s^ vj^d^	11	0	6	10/6	33	1	6

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 72[f] of Portland Stone & workman[sp] in 4 Springers at iij[s] iij[d]	11	14	0	10/6	37	16	0
ffor the Cornice of y[e] Bellcony & y[e] 2. Neeches	25	0	0		75	0	0
ffor raising y[e] whole Tower 2[f] higher then y[e] contract accounting Ashler and Rubble at	47	14	4		143	3	0
ffor 4 Steps 38[f] of freestone Ashler	6	3	0		9	10	0
ffor Centering the Arches in y[e] Church by Agrem[t]	9	0	0		9	0	0
ffor covering the worke 2 years	5	0	0		5	0	0
ffor carridge loading and unloading 133 loades of Rubble of rubble Stones from Abb Chur: to Bow at xx[d]	11	1	8	2/-	13	6	0
	143	5	0				

To Mat; Bankes Carpent[r] for 3 Sq. 31[f] of flor [*sic*] planked with 2[in] Oaken Planke and a plate under the floor for frameing, raiseing, nayles Tackling, & Sawing of Some of the Stuff at xxx[s] per Sq — 4 19 0 — £6 *square* — 19 17 2

To Mat; Bankes Carpent[r] for y[e] Bell: floor of Bow Tower being 2 beames of 17[in] Sq. and 2 others of 17[in] and 14. And 2 plates 12[in] by 7 planked w[th] 3[in] planke of Oaken Timber at xij[£] per Sq — 48 0 0 — 25 0 0

To Stephen Leaver Smith for worke done by him at y[e] New Tower of S[t] Mary le: Bow to Jan: 31: 1678.

ffor Stay barrs and rings w[tt] 14[c]: 2[q]: 9[li] at xxxij[s]	23	6	7		23	6	7
ffor 180 Cramps for y[e] g[t] cornice, 8 Strap Cramps to y[e] Timbers, 12 Gudgons in y[e] Pillars w[tt] 11[c]: 0[q]: 26[li] at iij[d] ob q	19	13	1½		19	13	2
ffor 12 round barrs for y[e] rayles w[tt] 2[c]: 1[q]: 15[li] at iiij[d]	4	9	0		4	9	0
ffor 2 paire of hookes and hinges w[tt] 23½[li] at iiij[d] ob	0	8	9¾			9	0
ffor 100 Spikes w[tt] 19[li] at iiij[d]	0	6	4			5	0
ffor a lock & a staple & for a lock at	0	5	0			10	0
	48	8	10				

To Tho: Aldworth Plum[r] for Lead deliđ from May 74 to Apr. 77.

ffor 16[c]: 0[q]: 15[li] of lead deliđ: for Cramps at xv[s]: vj[d]	12	10	1	25/-	21	8	4
ffor 1: 0: 0 more at	0	15	6				
	13	5	7				

To Widdow Baxter Smith for worke done at y[e] Tower of S[t] Mary le: Bow in Jan 1670 being used by y[e] Masons &c.

ffor 6 Iron Crowes w[tt] 100[li] at	0	8	0			8	0
ffor a Crate and 3 drills	0	8	0			8	0
ffor mending crowes and other Iron worke at	1	1	8		4	5	0
ffor Iron worke done ab[t] y[e] Pump at	0	8	6		1	10	0
ffor 2 Padlocks & haspes to lock the Goods up	0	3	0			15	0
ffor twice mending y[e] Pump handle at	0	8	6		1	14	0
	2	17	8				

				£ s. d.
To Tho: Cartwright & John Tompson Mã: ffor building y^e^ whole Stone wall inside & outside of y^e^ new Tower of Bow from y^e^ top of y^e^ first g^t^ Cornice to y^e^ top of y^e^ round Cornice accordg̃: to Contract Signed Sept^r^ 22^D^. 1676 the Sumne [*sic*] of	2550 0 0	@	7650 0 0	

To Tho; Cartwright & John Tompson Masons for worke done at Bow Steeple. being for Additionall worke over & above w^t^ was agreed for by y^e^ 2^D^ Contract & being in full of all demands thereupon when the whole therein contracted for Shall be compleated ffeb: 21: $167\frac{7}{8}$.

ffor Additionall Ashler in y^e^ Plinth being 319^f^ 4^in^ at ij^s^ vj^d^	39 17 6	10/6	167 13 0
ffor 6^f^ 8^in^ of chaptering moulding on y^e^ pedestall w^th^ y^e^ plinth course xiiij^s^	4 13 4		15 0 0
ffor 144^f^ Solid Stone & worke in y^e^ 16 Pillasters at iij^s^ viij^d^	26 8 0	10/6	75 12 0
ffor 64^f^ of window Iambe at iij^s^	9 12 0	10/6	33 12 0
ffor 200^f^ of Ashler at ij^s^ vj^d^	25 0 0	10/6	105 0 0
ffor 6^f^ 8^in^ of Architrave freez and Cornice at lj^s^	17 0 0		60 0 0
ffor 13^f^ 4^in^ of Ashler under y^e^ Raile at ij^s^ x^d^	1 17 9	10/6	7 0 0
ffor 6: 8: of rayle and Ballaster at xxv^s^	8 6 8		25 0 0
ffor 60^f^ of Ashler in y^e^ pedastall at iij^s^	9 0 0	10/6	31 10 0
ffor y^e^ uper Architrave freeze and Cornice 7^f^ 6^in^ at xxxiiij^s^	12 15 0		40 0 0
ffor 8 Steps at vj^s^ each	2 8 0	20/-	8 0 0
ffor 60^f^ of Ashler in y^e^ Staircase at ij^s^	6 0 0	10/6	31 10 0
ffor Additionall Ruble allowed, & all other demands whatsoeuer as above.	15 0 0		50 0 0
	177 18 3		

To Cartwright & Thompson Masons for mor Additionall worke done at Bow Tower more then what was Agreed for y^e^ 2^D^ Contract Aug^t^ 15. 1678.

ffor 113^f^ 8^in^ of Portland Ashler of 4 window Stooles at ij^s^ vj^d^	14 4 2	10/6	59 13 6
ffor 4 window Stooles conť: 45^f^ of Cubick Portland & 141^f^ Sup^ll^	16 4 0	10/6	23 12 6
ffor $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Rod 46^f^ of Brickworke in y^e^ Same at	1 10 0		5 5 0
ffor 12 Transumes over y^e^ Columes conť: 88^f^ Cubick Portland at xxxiij^s^ iiij^d^ each	20 0 0	10/6	46 4 0
ffor 22^f^ of perpen compass portland at	4 8 0	10/6	11 11 0
ffor 178^f^ of purbeck Cieling above y^e^ 12 Columnes between the Transumes at xviij^d^	13 7 0	7/6	66 15 0
	69 13 0		

To Cartwright & Tompson Masons for worke done at Bow Tower being Omitted in the last bill Meas^d^: Septem^r^ 18. 1678.

ffor 640^f^ 9^in^ of Compass portland Ashler wrought fair on both Sides. being between y^e^ Setting of inside y^e^ Steeple And y^e^ Architraue within y^e^ Ionick Capitalls ffeb: 27: $167\frac{8}{9}$ at iiij^s^ vj^d^	144 0 0	10/6	336 7 11

			£ s. d.
To Cartwright & Tompson Masons for worke done by y^{m} at Bow Tower Meas^{d} Meas^{d} [*sic*] from y^{e} Top of y^{e} Cornice over y^{e} Ionick Pillars to the top of y^{e} Cornice under y^{e} Pedastall ffeb: 27. 167$\frac{8}{9}$.		@	
ffor 1666^{f} of Cubick Portland at ij^{s} vj^{d}	208 5 0	10/6	874 13 0
ffor 3451^{f} of Sup^{ll} Portland at xviij^{d}	258 16 8	[*sic*]	
	467 1 6		
To Thomas Lane Painter for worke done by him ab^{t} y^{e} weather-boarding the windows of Bow Tower Ap^{ll} 9: 1679.			
ffor 256 y^{ds} of Painting 3 times in Oyle at xij^{d}	12 16 0	10d.	10 13 4
To Mathew Bankes. Carpent^{r} for worke done ab^{t} boarding. the top of y^{e} Steeple to keep y^{e} weather from y^{e} Ball: &c Dec: 1677.			
ffor 117 whole deales at xij^{d} each	5 17 0		
ffor 11: large firr Poles at ij^{s} vj^{d}	1 7 6		
ffor 100: of ten g^{t} nayles at	0 3 4		5 0 0
ffor 500. of 10^{p} nayles at	0 4 2		
ffor 1000 of 20^{p} nayles at	0 17 8		
ffor 22 dayes worke of Sev^{ll} men at ij^{s} vj^{d} per diem	2 15 0	11/-	12 2 0
	11 4 8		
To Mathew Bankes Carpet^{r} for worke at Bow Tower ab^{t} weather-boarding the windowes March 12. 1679.			
ffor 4 wind: weather-boarded according to Contract	56 0 0		150 0 0
ffor 2 peeces of Oake each 27^{f} long 14 & 14 Scant and for 2 peeces more each 26^{f} long 12 and 7. Scant being y^{e} 4 diagonall timbers above y^{e} bells all at per foot Solid at iij^{s} vj^{d}	18 3 6	6/- f.c.	31 4 0
	74 3 6		
To Cartwright & Tompson Masons for worke done at Bow Tower Meas^{d} from y^{e} Top of y^{e} Cornice under y^{e} first pedestall to y^{e} under Side of y^{e} Spire June 27. 1679.			
ffor 1100^{f} of Cubick Portland att ij^{s} vj^{d}	137 10 0	10/6	577 10 0
ffor 1761^{f} of Super^{ll} Portland att xviij^{d}	132 1 6		
ffor 175^{f} of Portland Ashler at iij^{s}	26 5 0	10/6	91 17 6
	295 16 6		
To Robert Bird Copper Smith for worke done by him at Bow Tower being about & in y^{e} Neck. Ball & Dragon Sept^{r} 25. 1679.			
ffor Copper and wast in y^{e} Dragon being 144 li at ij^{s} vj^{d}	18 0 0		
ffor Chaseing Revitting & fastening y^{e} Same at	20 0 0		
ffor y^{e} Ball & neck being 149$\frac{1}{2}$^{li} at ij^{s} vj^{d}	18 13 9		
ffor fitting y^{e} Sockett to y^{e} Spindle & care in Setting up y^{e} worke Seuer^{ll} times & lead used in poysing y^{e} head at	4 0 0		
	60 13 9		150 0 0
To Tho; Lane for worke done in Guilding [*sic*] the Urnes Ball &c.			
ffor 94^{f} Guilding y^{e} Vrnes Ball: and Dragon at iij^{s}	14 2 0		
ffor 120^{f} round barr and Cramps at	1 0 0		
ffor Colouring 22^{f} of Spindle & 2^{f} of Sockett	0 2 6		
	15 4 6		

				£ s. d.
To Stephen Leaver Smith for worke done at y^e^ Spire of Bow being Cramps Straps &c and for worke ab^t^ y^e^ Spindle Nov: 27. 1679.			@	
ffor 1005 Cramps, 128 plugs, 2 Straps in y^e^ upper part of y^e^ Steeple weight 25: 0: 23½ at iij^d^ o℔ q	44	2 4	28/-	35 5 11
ffor y^e^ Great Spindle w^ch^ Carryeth y^e^ dragon being 22^f^ long w^tt^ 2^c^: 2^q^: 15^li^ at iiij^d^	4	18 3	30/-	3 19 0
ffor Allowance for his paines in fitting y^e^ upper Cramps of y^e^ Spire and Setting on the Spindle and Vane at	1	0 0		2 0 0
	50	0 7		
To Cartwright & Tompson Masons for worke done by y^m^ at y^e^ Spire of S^t^ Mary le Bow ab^t^ finishing y^e^ Piramids pinicles & other workes of y^e^ Tower June 8^th^ 1680.				
ffor y^e^ Pyramid with y^e^ Other things relateing thereunt [*sic*] according to Contract at	80	0 0		320 0 0
ffor y^e^ 4 pinicles w^th^ y^e^ carving according to Contract at	250	0 0		750 0 0
ffor 4 Vrnes w^th^ y^e^ flames by Contract	20	0 0		60 0 0
ffor Scaffolding in considerã: of y^e^ Great height by Contract at	30	0 0		50 0 0
ffor makeing Moddells	10	0 0		30 0 0
ffor carving 12 composite Capitalls at	24	0 0		60 0 0
ffor carving y^e^ 12 leafes of y^e^ Scrowles over y^e^ Bowes	12	0 0		30 0 0
Omitted in y^e^ last Measur^t^ 110^f^ Sup^ll^ workemanship at xviij^d^	8	5 0		
ffor 861^f^ of large Portland Paving cutt w^th^ channels & drips laid in terrace upon a core of 2 course of flanders bricks at ij^s^ vj^d^	107	12 6	3/-	129 3 0
ffor revayling the Plinths & Scrowles of the 4 pinicles at the Corner of the Tower at	8	0 0		20 0 0
Allowed more for makeing y^e^ Moddell of the Pinicles	1	18 8		*included.*
	551	16 0 [*sic*]		
To Tho; Aldworth Plum^r^ for worke done at Bow Tower and lead delivered to y^e^ Masons for Cramps &c				
ffor lead for Cramps w^tt^ 160 Cent at xiiij^s^ vj^d^	116	0 0	25/-	200 0 0
To Edward Pearce Mason for Carving of a wooden Dragon for a Moddell for y^e^ Vane of Copper upon y^e^ top of y^e^ Steeple and for cutting a relive in board to be profered up to discerne the right bignesse the Summe of	4	0 0		20 0 0
To Cartwright & Tompson Masons for worke done at y^e^ Tower of Bow ab^t^ paving Copeing, Spurrs at bottom &c Octo^r^ 21: 1680				
ffor 1355^f^ of rough Purbeck paving in y^e^ Poarch Passage & Bellcony, laid in courses att per fo^t^ viij^d^	45	3 4	1/6	101 12 6
ffor 123^f^ 4^in^ of rough Purbeck Step at ij^s^	12	6 0	3/6	21 11 8
ffor 30^f^ 2^in^ of Portland copeing 16^in^ broad. 7½ thick 2^f^ 11^in^ girt at iiij^s^ vj^d^	6	15 9	8/9	13 4 0
ffor 3^f^ of Portland Copeing 1^f^ broad 5^in^ deep 2^f^ girt at iij^s^	0	9 0	4/5	13 3

				£ s. d.
ffor new Setting 44^{f} of Old Copeing at iij^{d}	0 11 0	@ 1/-		2 4 0
ffor 5^{f} 6^{in} of Portland Soyle 15^{in} broad 7^{in} deep 2^{f} 2^{in} girt at iiij^{s}	1 2 0	7/7		2 1 9
ffor 41^{f} of Portland Soyle at the bottom of the weather-boardes ab^{t} 2^{f} 8^{in} girt y^{e} Scant 1^{f} 8^{in} and 1^{f} 2 at ij^{s} vj^{d}	5 2 6	20/5		41 17 1
ffor Portland Spurrs 4 in number Six^{f} 6^{in} long and 1^{f} diamet^{r} att per each at iij$^{£}$ x^{s} each	14 0 0	70/-		14 0 0
	85 9 7			

To Tho: Aldworth Plum^{r} for worke done at the Tower of Bow being for lead to Cover the Stone Cornice &c

ffor lead for y^{e} Masons weight 9: 2: 14 at xiij^{s}	6 5 1½	25/-	12 0 8
ffor lead for y^{e} Roofe and Cornices 219: 2: 26 at xvj^{s}	175 15 8	30/-	329 12 0
ffor Sodar w^{tt} 1: 1: 6½ at ix^{d}	5 9 10½	9d.	5 9 11
ffor Sodar & workman^{sp} of 23^{f} of pipe being 2 lengths 3^{f} at xiiij^{s} each length	1 12 2		2 6 0
ffor lead in 7 Grates w^{tt} 1: 1: 20 at xvij^{s} vj^{d}	1 6 0	35/-	2 10 0
ffor 20 doz: of Spikes to fasten y^{e} lead on y^{e} Cornice at xviij^{d} per doz:	1 10 0	1/6	1 10 0
ffor Nailes	0 3 0		3 0
ffor 2 men one day at	0 6 0		1 2 0
	192 7 10		
Recd back in cuttings w^{tt} 19^{c}: 3^{q}: 26^{li} at xiij^{s} per Cent	12 19 10½		
	179 7 11		

To discount out of y^{e} aforesaid bill to Tho: Aldworth y^{e} Sum̃e of 11$^{£}$: iiij^{s} being So much allowed in a following bill to Matt: Roberts for finishing worke after the decease of Tho. Aldworth So remaines 168 3 11

To Sam; Oliver. for Glizing worke done by him at y^{e} Church and Tower of Bow Septem^{r} 8. 1680.

ffor 68^{f} 8^{in} of Small Quarry's worke at xij^{d}	3 8 8	2/-	6 17 4
ffor nailes	0 1 0		1 0
ffor 177^{f} 8^{in} of Quarry worke at vij^{d}	5 3 7	1/6	13 6 6
ffor one Casment pined at	0 1 0		1 0
ffor 74^{f} 5^{in} of Squares at ix^{d}	2 15 9	1/9	6 10 3
	11 10 0		

To Mathew Bankes Carpent^{r} for worke done at y^{e} Tower of Bow, ab^{t} y^{e} Staires, flooring, doores, outward Dores &c Nov^{r} 18: 1680.

ffor 123^{f} of round flooring of y^{e} 2 halfe past and head of y^{e} Staires boarded wth Oake at x^{d}	5 2 6	2/6	15 7 6
ffor a peece of Oake to hang up y^{e} Newell 5^{f} ½ long 12^{in} & 12^{in} at	1 2 0		2 0 0

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 112 Steps of Staires all of Oake ye Newell & rail included at xijs	67	4	0	20/-	112	0	0
ffor 23f of flooring in ye Gall: boarded wth Oake at viijd	0	15	4	1/6	1	14	6
ffor 12f 3in of raile to ye Same at iijs vjd	2	2	10	3/6	2	2	11
ffor 36f of Oake brase in ye Truss 8in & 8 at	4	10	0	7/-	12	12	0
ffor ye crowne peece of ye Truss wch doth bear up ye Newell 3f ½ long 18: & 18	1	15	0		5	0	0
ffor 118f of new Oake Plank in ye Clock loft 2in thick at vjd	2	19	0	2/-	11	16	0
ffor an Oake dore to ye Spire lined wth whole deal 2in ½ thick 5f ½ high 2f wide	0	16	0		1	15	0
ffor a whole deal dore lined wth Slit deal on ye Staires at ye belloft [*sic*] 5f ½ & 2f	0	8	0			16	6
ffor a double deale door to ye bell-loft 6f ½ high & 2f ½ at	0	16	0		1	12	0
ffor a double deale dore to ye Clockloft 6f high 2f wide	0	12	0		1	4	0
ffor a double deal dore in ye ringing loft 2f ½ wide & 5f ½ high at	0	14	0		1	8	0
ffor a deale floor there with 2in fir planck at	11	10	0		11	10	0
ffor a Oake dorecase to ye belcony 6f 8in Scant & 8: 4	0	18	0	15/-	5	0	0
ffor a pair of double deal dores to ye Same at	1	0	0		2	0	0
ffor a double deale dore at ye foot of ye Staires	0	14	0		1	8	0
ffor 9 Sq. ¼. of Roofing at ls	23	2	6	50/-	23	2	6
ffor 8 Sq. 18f of boarding at xvjs	6	10	10	20/-	8	3	7
ffor 96f ½ of guttering wth 2in Oake Plancke at xijd	4	16	6	2/6	12	1	3
ffor 10 Sq. 16f of groyned Cieling & bragetting of 2 Corbells at xxxvs	17	15	6	50/-	25	8	0
ffor 7 Sq ½: 6f of Cieling floor at xxxvs	13	4	7	35/-	13	4	7
ffor 278f in 3 pare of Gates of Oake Stiles & railes 3in pannells 2in being extraordinary wrought at iijs vjd	48	13	0	7/6	104	5	0
	217	1	7				

To Tompson & Cartwright Masons for worke dne [*sic*] at ye Tower of Bow abt Vautin ye Porch of ye Same, Carving there &c deč: 2: 1680.

ffor 487f 6in of cane Stone in ye Vauting wrought Circular, and Portland Stone Moulding round ye bell hole they finding Materialls & Centering & Scaffolding at iijs	73	2	6	10/-	243	15	0
ffor carving ye Circular Torus round the bell-hole being 15in girt vjs	6	0	0	12/-	12	0	0
ffor 1: Rod of rubble wth Stuff and workmansp at	5	0	0	£7	7	0	0
	84	2	6				

To William Cleere Joyner for worke by him in making a cover for ye well hole at Bow Tower by agreement with carving worke, Smiths worke Setting up &c the Summe of Nine pounds Tenn Shill: 9 10 0 — 20 0 0

To Tho: Horn Bricklayr for worke done at Bow abt the Parapet and Gavell end neer the Steeple Mar: 10: $168\frac{0}{1}$.

ffor 2 Rod ¾ 58f of Brickworke begun at 40f high at v6 xs	14	18	9	£17	50	7	6

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 74[f] of flashes at v[d]	1	10	10	1/-	3	14	0
ffor 10 y[ds] of paving w[th] core under y[e] Same to bring it levell at xx[s]	1	0	0	30/-	15	0	0
	17	9	6 [*sic*]				

To Stephen Leaver Smith for worke done by him at y[e] Tower of Bow being for y[e] finishing worke of the Steeple & in y[e] passage between the Chur: & Steeple from Sept: 26: 1679 to Mar: 1: 1680.

ffor 402 Cramps & pluggs w[tt] 8: 2: 1½ at iij[d] ob q	14	17	11½		14	18	0
ffor Straps, bolts, plates, rings, Staples, colloures, & keyes, in y[e] low roofe between y[e] Steeple & Chur: w[tt] 3: 2: 17 at iij[d] ob q	6	7	9		6	7	9
ffor 1 Casm[t] 6 Staples w[tt] 0: 3: 19½ at vij[d]	3	0	4½		3	0	6
ffor 3 fill'd barrs to Stay y[e] dores 0: 3: 13 at v[d]	2	0	5		2	0	5
ffor barrs & revit barrs, cross barrs, plates and keyes & 1. window on y[e] loft with 8 Studds w[tt] 6: 3: 26 at iij[d] ob q	12	4	4½		12	4	6
ffor 2 p[r] of X Garnetts, 9 p[r] of hinges revits and nailes w[tt] 3[c]: 1[q]: 20[li] v[d]	8	0	0		8	0	0
ffor a Ballcony w[tt] 6: 1: 17½ at iiij[d]	11	19	2		11	19	2
ffor 12 Stone hookes 0: 1: 2 at iiij[d] ob	0	11	3			11	3
ffor 2 rowes of flowers & 8 Screwes & nutts for y[e] dores	3	10	0		10	0	0
ffor one lock for y[e] Steeple dore	0	4	0			7	6
ffor mending a lock	0	1	0			2	0
ffor a Stock lock	0	2	0			5	0
ffor 3 Stock locks 5 keyes & revitts	0	10	0		1	0	0
ffor 2 bolts & a lock for y[e] bellcony dore	0	8	0			12	6
ffor one rimb lock	1	5	0			12	6
ffor 3 locks & hasps for y[e] Barrs	0	12	0			12	0
ffor one rimb lock & box plate	1	5	0			15	0
	66	18	4				

To Thomas Lane Painter for worke done by him at the Tower of Bow June 2. 1681.

ffor 75 y[ds] of painting laid 3 times in Oyle in y[e] Out dores & ballcony xij[d]	3	15	0	10d.	3	2	6
ffor 20 y[ds] of painting laid twice in Oyle in y[e] Inner dores of y[e] Steeple at ix[d]	0	15	0	8d.		13	4
ffor 59 y[ds] ruñ: of Saddle barr twice done at iij[d]	0	14	9	2d.		9	10
ffor 17 y[ds] of revitt barr att iiij[d]	0	5	8	2d.		2	10
ffor painting a Carved pannell	0	5	0			5	0
ffor painting y[e] G[t] Casm[t] and frames at y[e] leads	0	2	0			2	0
	5	17	5				

To Doogood & Grove Plaister[rs] for worke done at y[e] Tower of Bow ab[t] finishing whiting &c Aug[t] 18. 1681.

ffor 898 y[ds] of finishing with Marble lime at ijs iij[d]	101	0	6	3/6	157	3	0
ffor 65 y[ds] ½ of finishing w[th] common lime at xx[d]	5	9	2	2/6	8	3	9

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 112 y^{ds} of groined Cieling between y^{e} Chur: & Steeple at xvj^{d}	7	9	4	2/6	14	0	0
ffor 4^{f} $\frac{1}{2}$ of Chapter Moulding enriched wth leaves at	0	9	0	2/6		11	3
ffor Stoping 3 windowes & Stoping without dores at	1	10	0		1	0	0
ffor 433 y^{ds} of whiting at ij^{d}	3	12	2	2d.	3	12	2
ffor 149 y^{ds} $\frac{1}{2}$ of rendering at vj^{d}	3	12	9	1/2	8	14	5
ffor 374 y^{ds} of whiting within dores at ij^{d}	3	2	4	2d.	3	2	4
ffor Stoping y^{e} Old Scaffolding holes at	1	10	0		3	0	0
	127	15	3				

To Sam: Oliver Glaiz^{r} for worke done ab^{t} finishing & compleating the Glaizers worke at S^{t} Mary-le-Bow. Nov: 10. 1681.

ffor Sodering and banding 244^{f} of Glass at ij^{d}	2	0	8		4	0	0
ffor 39^{f} new leaded and cemented at iij^{d} ob	0	11	4$\frac{1}{2}$		1	0	0
ffor 49^{f} of Compass worke at viij^{d}	1	12	8	2/-	4	18	0
ffor 738 y^{ds} putting in at ij^{d}	6	3	0	2d.	6	3	0
ffor 3 dayes to Cleanse the windows at ij^{s} vj^{d}	0	7	6	7/6	1	2	6
	10	15	2				

To Mathew Roberts Plum^{r} for worke done at y^{e} Tower of Bow ffeb 9: 1682.

ffor new Sheet lead in a Cistorne w^{tt} 10^{c}: 0^{q}: 17^{li} & covering the walls & copeing between y^{e} Chur: and Steeple at xvj^{s}	8	2	5	30/-	15	4	7
ffor Sodar used in y^{e} corner and other places where there were drips w^{tt} 46^{li} $\frac{1}{2}$ at ix^{d}	1	14	10$\frac{1}{2}$	9d.	1	14	11
ffor making a trough & Ciesterne at	2	0	0		2	0	0
ffor mending of holes in y^{e} Roofe of y^{e} Chu$\tilde{r}$: & for Spikes & nailes	1	0	0		2	0	0
	12	17	3				
Ded$\tilde{t}$: for Cutting w^{tt} 1^{c}: 0^{q}: 22^{li} at xj^{s} 0$^{£}$ 13^{s}: 2^{d}. Remaines	12	4	1				

To Doogood & Grove Plaisters [*sic*] for worke done at y^{e} Tower of Bow May 11: 1682.

ffor washing Stoping & whiting y^{e} Vestry 312 y^{ds} at ij^{d}	2	12	0	3d.	3	18	0

To Mathew Roberts Plum^{r} for worke done at the Tower of Bow June 1: 1682. Allowed Aug^{t} 17: 82.

ffor new lead w^{tt} 4: 2: 18 at xvj^{s} vj^{d}	3	16	10$\frac{3}{4}$	30/-	6	19	10
ffor Sodar w^{tt} 0: 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ at ix^{d}	2	2	4$\frac{1}{2}$	9d.	2	2	5
ffor 52 dayes worke at ij^{s} vj^{d} per diem	6	10	0	10/-	26	0	0
ffor Spikes & nailes at	0	13	0			10	0
ffor y^{e} Plum^{r} time at	1	0	0		4	0	0
	14	2	3				
Ded$\tilde{t}$: for Old lead w^{tt} 4^{c}: 2^{q}: 0^{li} at xiij^{s} 2$^{£}$: 18^{s}: 0^{d} Remaines	11	4	0				

					£	s.	d.
To Tho; Cartwright Mason for worke don at y^e^ Tower of Bow Oct^r^ 26: 1682.				@			
ffor 23^f^ 9^in^ of Watertable lett into Bow Steeple on y^e^ South Side at iij^s^ runing measure.	3	0	0	9/-	10	13	9
Totals[1] *for all accounts*	15586	9	4		38620	16	2
Deduct as below	112	16	0		130	9	10
	15473	13	4		38490	6	4

DEDUCTIONS.

Cwts.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*			£	s.	d.	@	£	s.	d.
12	1	0	Old iron	15/-	9	3	9	5/-	3	1	3
38	2	24	Cuttings	17/6	34	5	9	20/-	38	14	3
		11	Sodar	9*d.*				1/-		11	0
	1	2	Lead	17/-		6	2	20/-		5	4
58	3	22	Old lead	14/-	41	5	3	17/6	51	11	6
19	3	27	Cuttings	13/- cwt.	12	19	10½	20/-	19	19	10
			Discount allowed to Thomas Aldworth		11	4	0		11	4	0
1	0	22	Cutting	11/-		13	2	20/-	1	3	11
4	2	0	Old lead	13/-	2	18	0	17/6	3	18	9
				£	112	16	0		130	9	10

[1] See note on page 26.

APPENDIX IV

THE COMPLETE BILLS FOR ST. STEPHEN'S WALBROOK

The Roman figures in the first money columns are copied from the original accounts. The italic figures in the second columns are the estimated prices the work would cost in 1915. See supplementary paper, pp. 11–13.

				Estimated cost of the work in 1915.		
Charges In Rebuilding the Parochiall church of. S^t^ Stephen's Wallbrooke.				£	s.	d.
To Thomas Strong Mason for taking dow̃: y^e^ East walls, and the pillars and arches on the North side, & Soarting and pileing y^e^ Stones in the Church-Yard by Contr̃ by M^r^ Woodroofe at	30	0	0	120	0	0
To John Longland Carpent^r^ for a pare of Cross Garnets lock and Staples att	0	4	0		4	0
ffor pulling downe y^e^ Roofe floor bells and frames	3	0	0	12	0	0
ffor a doble Ufer and base to Shore the wall	0	3	6		7	0

				£ s. d.
Allowed for mending ye Teames and Supplying ye Stuff Spoiled by pulling downe ye tower	3 0 0		@	12 0 0
Allowed for ye use of all ye fences enclosing ye Church on ye North and west Sides, and maintaining ym in repaire for 2 years to come ending Midsumer 1675 by Verball greemt	10 0 0			20 0 0
	16 7 6			

To Tho; Strong & Chr. Kempster Masons for worke done at St Stephen Wallbrooke, being from ye foundã: of ye walls East West, North, and South, to the top of ye Abacus of ye Capitalls of ye pillastr both Rubble and Stone worke allso ye 16 Columes within ye Chuñ: from ye foundt. to ye Same hight except ye 2 Corner Capitalls of ye pillastr west & ye Abacus of the truss Stones North and South Measđ Septr 24: 1674.

				£ s. d.
For 3473f of freestone Ashler Stone and worke at ijs iiijd	405 3 8	5/-		868 5 0
ffor workmanship of 520f of Old Stone part freestone part Portld wrought in Mouldings at ixd	19 10 0	3/6		91 0 0
ffor 4733f of freestone workmansp Superll Measur at xijd	236 13 0			included.
ffor 3684f of block at ijs iiijd	429 16 0	6/6		1197 6 0
ffor 151 Rođ. ½ of Rubble worke at ls	378 15 0	140/-		1060 10 0
Allowed in considerã: of loss of Stone in Circular winđ & Circuł. Ashler	20 0 0			40 0 0
	1489 17 8			

To Strong & Kempster Masons for Carving 16 corinthian Capitalls for 2f Columes Sqring Setting encluded at vijł

				£ s. d.
	112 0 0	800/-		640 0 0
ffor 6 Capitalls for Pillasters at lvs each	16 10 0	200/-		60 0 0
ffor 2 Corner pillaster Capitalls at vjł each	12 0 0	400/-		40 0 0
ffor 7 Small Cherubins heads at xijs each	4 4 0	60/-		21 0 0
ffor a Mask head upon the west dore at	1 10 0			4 10 0
ffor carving 2 Scrowles at the west dore at	1 10 0	80/-		8 0 0
ffor enriching ye Cornice over the west dore at	1 0 0			1 5 0
	148 14 0			

To Strong & Kempster Mason for pulling downe and cleering ye Steeple and ye West adjoyning by Contract

				£ s. d.
	40 0 0			160 0 0
ffor takeing downe ye East wall, & all the Pillars and Arche on ye Noñ: Side by Contr	30 0 0			120 0 0
ffor takeing downe and cleering the Outside wall North & South	10 0 0			40 0 0
ffor diging and cleering ye foundations of ye East & all yr pillars & all other charges of moveing Earth & cleering & carridge of all the Rubbish made by ye Masones wn ye worke Shall be finished at	18 0 0			72 0 0
	98 0 0			

				@	£	s.	d.
To Strong & Kempster for makeing a Vault at the West End of S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke Church.							
ffor 360 y[ds] of digging at	10	0	0	5/-	90	0	0
ffor 5 Rod̄ 14[f] of Rubble wall att l[s]	12	12	4	140/-	35	7	2
ffor 6 Rod̄ 62[f] of brickworke in y[e] Arches reduced to br: & ½ at v£. v[s].	32	15	0	340/-	105	17	6
ffor 8[f] of Stepp at	4	0	0	10/-	4	0	0
ffor 16[f] of paving at	0	10	8	1/6	1	4	0
	59	18	0				

To Strong & Kempster for worke done in M[r] Pollexfields Vault made upon agreem[t] in leave of Some lights for better fitting y[e] South Isle.							
ffor 50 y[ds] of digging att	2	0	0	5/0	12	10	0
ffor 248[f] of brick worke in y[e] Arch att v£ v[s]	4	17	1	1/3	15	10	0
ffor 1: Rod: of Rubble wall att l[s]	2	10	0	140/-	7	0	0
ffor 37[f] of Step at xij[d]	1	17	0	4/-	7	8	0
ffor 7[f] 6[in] of paveing at viij[d]	0	5	0	1/6		11	3
	11	9	1				

To John Longland Carpent[r] for 14 Sqrs: of Centerg̃ for the 2 Vaults at xviij[s]	12	12	0	18/-	12	12	0
ffor 8 Sq: of Centering for dorecases & windowes att xx[s]	8	0	0	40/-	16	0	0
ffor 57[f] of 3[in] Oaken plank to cover y[e] Staires goeing downe into y[e] Vaults att viij[d]	1	18	0	3/-	8	11	0
ffor 28[f] of 3[in] Oaken planke ab[t] y[e] Same at vj[d]	0	14	0	3/-	4	4	0
ffor a Gutter 43[f] long 20[in] broade att	2	0	0	1/3	2	13	9
ffor altering y[e] roofe & laying y[e] plate within y[e] wall att	0	12	0		2	8	0
ffor Shoreing used 17 peeces 11[f] long. 26 Joysts 17 peeces 9[f] long 64 det̄.	1	0	0		2	0	0
ffor 8 dayes workman[sp]	1	0	0	11/-	4	8	0
ffor nailes att	0	2	6			2	6
ffor carridge and re-caridge at	0	12	0		2	10	0
	28	10	6				

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke done at S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke, being from y[e] top of y[e] Capitalls to y[e] Chur̃: w[th] y[e] 2 Corner Capī: of y[e] pillasters at y[e] West end & y[e] Abacus of y[e] Truss-stones North and South. and y[e] Soyles & Splayes of all ye windowes, mullions & Transums of the East window̃, and a wall at y[e] East end w[th] 2 dorecases in y[e] Same and working up an Ovall window in y[e] North Side & Ashler of y[e] Chimney							
For 910[f] 6[in] of freestone Ashler att ij[s] iiij[d]	106	3	4	5/-	227	10	0
ffor 3292[f] 10[in] of Sup[ll] freestone at xiiij[d]	192	3	0		*included*		
ffor 1570[f] 5[in] of freestone Block at ij[s] iiij[d]	183	4	4	6/6	510	5	0
ffor 1370[f] 9[in] of Sup[ll] portland at xviij[d]	102	16	1		*included*		
ffor 694[f] 6[in] of Portland Block at ij[s] ij[d]	75	4	9	10/6	364	7	0
ffor 5 Rod̄ ¾: 26[f]: of new brickworke reduced to br: ½ being thin wall wrought w[th] Stone worke att vj£ vij[s]	37	2	3	350/-	102	6	0

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 22 Rod: 12[f] of Old Rubble at lij[s]	57	6	0	140/-	154	6	2
ffor carving the Kẽstone of y[e] East window	1	10	0		3	0	0
ffor Carving 10 antick Capitalls att	25	0	0	160/-	80	0	0
ffor 8[f] of Portland parpen Ashler att iij[s] vj[d]	1	8	0	10/6	4	4	0
ffor working 88[f] 9[in] of Rigate Stone at vij[d]	2	11	4	2/4	10	7	1
	784	9	1				

To Tho; Aldworth for Plumers worke done by him at S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke to July 19: 1677.

ffor new Sheet lead w[tt] 1159[c]: 3[q]: 11[li] conṭ. 59 Tunn. 19[c] 3[q] 11[l] at xvij[£] p Tun	985	17	6	600/- ton	1739	15	5
ffor 4: 1: 7: of Soder at ix[d]	18	2	3	9d.	18	2	3
ffor Soder and workmanship of 13 Cistorens	19	10	0	40/-	26	0	0
ffor 115[f] of Pipes making 11 lengths ½ 10[f] in each length for worke & Sod[r] xvij[s]. p. per length at	9	15	6		11	10	0
	1033	5	3				
Received back in cuttings 125[c]: 3[q]: 12[li] at xiiij[s]	88	2	0				
	945	3	3				
Allowed more for extraordinary worke ab[t] y[e] Dome & Lanthorne being circular & chased worke & for Plum[r] Nailes & tacks us'd ab[t] y[e] Same	20	0	0		60	0	0
Remaines	965	3	3				

To John Longland Carpent[r] for worke done ab[t] y[e] Roofe and Dome of S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke Church to y[e] 14[th] of Aug[t] 1677.

ffor 43 Sqrs ¾ 20[f] of Roofing y[e] low Roofe at iiij[£]	175	16	0	100/-	219	15	0
ffor 34 Sqs ¼. 5[f] of Roofing in the Dome at ix[£]	308	14	0	200/-	343	0	0
Allowed further according to contract for y[e] Dome at	15	0	0		45	0	0
ffor 8 Sqs ½: 5[f] of Roofing out of y[e] lower part of y[e] Dome at vj[£]	51	6	0	150/-	64	2	6
ffor 4 Sqs: 7[f] of firring y[e] flatt Roofes att xl[s]	8	2	9	40/-	8	2	9
ffor 38 Sqs. ½: 19[f] of Cieling Joysts at xxx[s]	58	0	8	30/-	58	0	8
ffor 348[f] Supp[ll] of bragetting w[th] 2[in] Oake planks in y[e] Moulding round the lower part of y[e] Dome at vj[d]	8	14	0		15	3	9
ffor 152[f] of y[e] Same at y[e] top ab[t] y[e] fo[t] of the lanthorne at vj[d]	3	16	0		7	0	0
ffor 112 Sqrs. ¾ of brageting in y[e] Inside y[e] Chur: & dome at l[s]	281	17	6	50/-	281	17	6
ffor 377[f] of brestsumer att v[s]	94	5	0	5/-	94	5	0
ffor Centering y[e] upper windowes	4	0	0		4	0	0
ffor 286[f] of wall plate Scanṭ: 6 & 8 at x[d]	11	18	4	10d.	11	3	4
ffor 170[f] of Guttering at xij[d]	8	10	0		8	10	0
ffor 53[f] 9[in] of 7[in] plank att xx[d]	4	8	4		4	0	0
ffor 75 modilions att iiij[d] each	1	5	0	1/-	3	15	0
ffor the Lanthorne on the top of y[e] Dome att	60	0	0		180	0	0
	1095	13	7				

				@	£	s.	d.
To John Longland Carpentr for the plates to make ye 8 Sqrs. of ye Dome of St Stephen Wallbrooke Ch: to be 10in by 7in the 8 punchions 10in by 10in ye braces 6in by 6in of good Oake Timber for wch to receive in Grosse by the Contract the Summe of	30	0	0		50	0	0

To Strong & Kempster, Masons for worke done at St Stepn: Wallbrooke Chur: & Steeple, Measd from the bottom of ye foundã: to ye underside of the facia without; and ye top of ye ringing loft floore within side of ye Steeple, and the top of 24 Steps in the Staircase. The Vestry and porch Measurd to the Same hight Sept 10: 1677.

For. 29 Rod. 46f of Old Rubble at ls	72	18	0	140/-	204	3	8
ffor 2 Rod 24f of brickwork in Arches reduced to br: ½ at vs xs	11	8	0	340/-	35	10	0
ffor 178f of Cubick portland at ijs ijd	19	5	8	10/6	93	9	0
ffor 382f Supll portland att xviijd	28	13	0		*included*		
ffor 780f of Kentish Ashler at ijs	78	0	0	3/-	117	0	0
ffor 779f of freestone Ashler at ijs iiijd	90	17	8	5/-	194	15	0
ffor 176f of portland Ashler at ijs ijd	19	1	4	10/6	92	8	0
ffor 24 Steps of Staires att vjs each	7	4	0	15/-	18	0	0
ffor 270f 5in of Old Rigate Ashler coines at vjd	6	15	2	1/6	20	5	8
ffor 402f ½ of Old rigate in Arches new wrought under the Staires 11f 7in long & 11f 7in wide 3f deep at xijd	20	2	6	3/-	60	7	6
ffor 22f ½ of Old rigate arch 6f long 18in wide 2f 6in deep at xijd	1	2	6	3/-	3	7	6
ffor 187f of circular arches of ye Staires of Old rigat (Step deducted) at viijd	6	4	8	2/-	18	14	0
ffor cleering Rubbish in ye foundã: of ye Steeple at vjd being 45 yds	1	2	6	6d.	1	2	6
ffor carrying away 20 load at xvjd	1	6	8	4/-	4	0	0
ffor pyleing up and cleering Old walls in ye Steeple and Porch at ijs being 47 Load	4	14	0	2/-	4	14	0
	368	15	8				

To Grove & Doogood Plaisterrs for worke done at ye Chur: of St Stephen Wallbrook and abt ye Dome finished in Septr 1677.

ffor 546 yds of plaine Cieling and groined (excluding ye Dome) xvd	34	2	6	2/6	68	5	0
ffor 103 yds ½ of rendering above ye Cornice att vjd	2	11	9	1/2	6	0	9
ffor 624f of Architrave moulding within ye pannels enrich: wth 2 Inrichmts at ijs	62	8	0	2/2	67	12	0
ffor 284f of Impost cornice enrich't wth 3 Inrichmts 4f 5in girt at iiijs iiijd	61	10	8	3/4	47	6	8
ffor 334f large Bell: in ye pannells 9in girt at vjd	8	7	0	9d.	12	10	6
ffor 621f of Small Bell: under ye brestsumer 3in ½ girt at iijd	7	15	3	4d.	10	7	0
ffor 32 flowers under ye brestsumer 1f 6in over at iijs	4	16	0	7/6	12	0	0
ffor 135f of Modilion Cornice 4f 6in girt at vs	33	15	0	6/-	40	10	0
ffor 176f of bell: 6in girt in the Spandrills at iiijd	2	18	8	6d.	4	8	0

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 8 Sheilds wth pannells 10^{f} base & 5^{f} perpendicular at xxx^{s} each	12	0	0	60/- each	24	0	0
ffor 232^{f} of Architraue in the Arches enriched inricht [*sic*] wth 2 Enrichm^{ts} 2^{f} girt xviii^{d}	17	8	0	3/-	34	16	0
ffor 8 keystones enrichet [*sic*] wth Cherub: heads 16^{in} deep 12^{in} over at ij^{s} vj^{d}	1	0	0	12/6	5	0	0
ffor 8 foliage leaves at y^{e} fo^{t} of y^{e} Architraue 2^{f} deep at iij^{s}	1	4	0	5/-	2	0	0
ffor 112^{f} of Roses & leaues 1^{f} 2^{in} over in y^{e} 4 Ribbs att ij^{s} vj^{d}	14	0	0	5/-	28	0	0
ffor 3 double foliage flowers 2^{f} 3^{in} diameter at x^{s} each	1	10	0	60/-	9	0	0
ffor 112^{f} of Staff wth leaues under y^{e} Architrave of y^{e} 4 Arches 10^{in} girt at xij^{d}	5	12	0	1/6	8	8	0
ffor 58^{f} of foliage in y^{e} 2 ribbs at y^{e} west end. 1^{f} 8^{in} over at ij^{s} vj^{d}	7	5	0	2/6	7	5	0
ffor 24^{f} of Cornice in y^{e} Lanthorne 1^{f} 8^{in} girt at ij^{s}	2	8	0	2/6	3	0	0
ffor a foliage flower in y^{e} top of y^{e} Lanthorne 4^{f} 6^{in} over	0	10	0		3	0	0
ffor 23^{f} of moulding at bottom of y^{e} lanthorne 20^{in} deep at xviij^{d}	1	14	6	2/-	2	6	0
ffor 26^{f} $\frac{1}{2}$ of foliage twisted round a Staff at bottom of y^{e} Lanthorn 10^{f} 6^{in} gr̃ ij^{s} vj^{d}	3	6	3		3	6	3
ffor 351 y^{ds} in y^{e} Dome fretted wth mouldings roses & palmes	150	0	0		500	0	0
For 1888 y^{ds} of whiting at ij^{d}	15	14	8		15	14	8
	444	17	3				

To Stephen Leaver Smith for worke done by him at S^{t} Stephen Wallbrooke ab^{t} y^{e} Roofe & Lanthorne Jan^{r} 31: 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

ffor Cramps w^{tt} 13: 2: 5 iij^{d} ob q	23	14	0$\frac{3}{4}$	28/- cwt.	60	14	0
ffor window barrs w^{tt} 29: 3: 7 iij^{d} ob q	52	3	5$\frac{1}{4}$				
ffor compass wind: barrs for y^{e} Lathorne [*sic*] 1: 0: 8 iiij^{d} ob	2	5	0	40/- cwt.	2	2	10
ffor Straps bolts, Spikes & nailes 20: 2: 18 iij^{d} ob q	36	3	1$\frac{1}{2}$	30/- cwt.	30	19	10
ffor x Garnetts, hookes, hinges, Staples, bolsters and holdfasts iiij^{d} ob	3	6	2	40/-	3	2	10
ffor Stoone hookes w^{tt} 2: 0: 7 at iiij^{d}	3	17	0	30/- cwt.	3	1	11
ffor 2 Casm^{ts} & frames w^{tt} 0: 2: 25 at vij^{d}	2	7	3		2	7	3
ffor 6 Casmtes and frames w^{tt} 2: 3: 19 at vij^{d}	9	10	9		9	10	9
ffor a key & mending a lock	0	1	3			2	6
ffor a Stock lock	0	2	4			7	6
ffor a lock and plate at	0	2	9			10	0
ffor a key & bitt att	0	0	8			1	6
ffor 4 Stock locks	0	3	0	5/-	1	0	0
ffor 400 dognailes	0	3	4	1d.	1	13	4
ffor 4 bolts and pullies for y^{e} branches	2	0	0		2	0	0
ffor 9 Oualls & 4 roundes & barrs w^{tt} 6^{c}: 2^{q}: 23$\frac{1}{2}^{li}$ at iiij^{d}	12	10	4	40/- cwt.	13	8	5
	148	10	5				
To discount for Old Iron w^{tt} 35^{c}: 3^{q}: 3^{li} at xiiij^{s} per Cent	25	0	6				
To discount for Small Iron. 15: 0: 12 at vij^{s} per Cent	5	5	0				
Remaines	118	4	11				

To John Longland Carpent^{r} for worke done by him at the Church of S^{t} Stephen Wallbrooke ab^{t} the Porch feb^{r} 27: $167\frac{8}{9}$

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 1: Sq $\frac{3}{4}$ of naked flooring over y^{e} Porck [*sic*] Scant̃: 9^{in} & 4^{in} $\frac{1}{2}$ at l^{s}	4	7	6	70/-	6	2	6
ffor 6 Sq of Roofing at xxx^{s}	9	0	0	40/-	12	0	0
ffor 30^{f} of Pitched Gutter at xij^{d}	1	10	0	1/-	1	10	0
	14	17	6				

To John Longland Carpent^{r} for worke done at S^{t} Stephen Walbroke about Scaffolding and altering y^{e} Gutters Sept^{r} 4: 1679.

ffor a Gutter to bring y^{e} water from M^{r} Polixphens house adjoyning to the Church, being about 24^{f} long at	1	4	0	1/-	1	4	0
ffor turning y^{e} Current of y^{e} Gutter at y^{e} west end being 42^{f} taken up & md̃ broad	2	0	0		2	0	0
ffor making a Modell at	2	10	0		10	0	0
ffor Scaffolding for y^{e} Plum^{r} for y^{e} Lanthorne and for making the moulds to Strike out the lead for the Dome at	4	0	0		16	0	0
	9	14	0				

To Strong & Kempster. Masons for dayes worke done by y^{m} at St Stephen Wallbrooke feb^{r} 19: $167\frac{8}{9}$.

ffor a Mason 6 dayes to cutt 6 holes through y^{e} Cornice for y^{e} leaden pipes, the current of y^{e} Gutter being turn'd	0	15	0	11/-	3	6	0
ffor a Mason & a labourer 2 dayes to Stop 3 holes on y^{e} South side and to make way for y^{e} water at y^{e} west end at	0	8	4	18/6	1	17	0
ffor a Mason 6 dayes to cutt y^{e} holes for y^{e} Timber of y^{e} Organ floor	0	15	0	11/-	3	6	0
ffor a Mason 3 dayes to cutt holes for y^{e} bolts & Staples of y^{e} Chur: dore	0	7	6	11/-	1	13	0
ffor pulling downe y^{e} wall at y^{e} west end to make roome for the Staircase of y^{e} Steeple at	4	0	0		17	10	0
	6	5	10				

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke done at y^{e} Chuř: & tower of S^{t} Stephen Wallbrooke, Measd̃ from y^{e} top of y^{e} 3^{d} facia to y^{e} top of the Raile & ball̃:. And from the top of 85 Steps in y^{e} Staires to y^{e} top of 127 Steps being 42 more then the former Measurm^{t} feb^{r} 19th $167\frac{8}{9}$.

ffor 1349^{f} of Kentish Ashler at ij^{s}	134	18	0	3/-	202	7	0
ffor 268^{f} of cubick Portland of y^{e} foure windowes at ij^{s} iiij^{d}	31	5	4	10/6	140	14	0
ffor 459^{f} 6^{in} Sup^{ll} of y^{e} Same at xviij^{d}	34	9	3				
ffor 536^{f} of burford Ashler in y^{e} Splayes & Outside of y^{e} Staircase next the Steeple and of the head way att ij^{s} iiij^{d}	62	10	8	10/6	281	8	0
ffor 88^{f} of Cornice Mesd̃ at y^{e} Nose as by contract at xvj^{s}	70	8	0	35/-	154	0	0
ffor 85^{f} of raile & Ball̃: the Pedestalls and Setting allowed	80	0	0		175	0	0
ffor 85^{f} of parpen Ashler being under y^{e} Same at iiij^{s} vj^{d}	19	2	6		40	0	0

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 34[f] of Portland copeing at y[e] top of the Stairecase wrought on both Sides 6[in] thick at iiij[s]	6	16	0	10/6	17	17	0
ffor 10[f] of Portland Parpen of y[e] Newell at ij[s] vj[d]	1	5	0	10/6	5	5	0
ffor 42 Steps of Staires at vj[s] each	12	12	0	15/-	31	10	0
ffor 368[f] of circular Ashler of y[e] Staires (Steps deducted) at ij[s] vj[d]	46	0	0	10/6	193	4	0
ffor 6 Rod of new Rubble at v[li] v[s]	31	10	0	140/-	42	0	0
ffor 1 halfe pace Step on y[e] top of y[e] Staires at	0	6	0	15/-		15	0
Allowed for worke done above 40[f] high being above 350 Tunn at xij[d]	17	10	0	5/-	87	10	0
	548	12	9				

To Thomas Aldworth Plum[r] for worke done by him at the Chur̃: of S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke Apr: 8: 1680.

ffor new lead w[tt] 69: 3: 3 at xvij[s]	59	9	8	30/- cwt.	104	13	4
ffor Soddar at y[e] Steeple 0: 2: 16 at ix[d]	2	14	0	9d.	2	14	0
ffor workman[sp] and Sodar for one Cistorne at	1	10	0		2	0	0
ffor workman: & Sodar for 60[f] of pipe at xvij[s] every 10[fot]	5	2	0		6	0	0
ffor Soder used to mend y[e] leads 3[li] at ix[d] and worke vj[s]	0	8	3		1	7	0
ffor lead đđ to y[e] Masons w[tt] 9: 1: 14: at xvj[s]	7	10	0	25/- cwt	11	14	5
	76	13	11				
Recđ back for cuttings w[tt] 9[c]: 0[q]: 23[li] at xiiij[s]	6	8	11				
Remaines	70	5	0				

To Stephen Leaver Smith for worke done by him at y[e] Chur̃: & Tower of S[t] Stephen Walbrooke from feb[r] 12: 1677: to Mar: 25: 1680.

ffor 301 cramps. w[tt] 5: 2: 4½ at iij[d] ob̄ q	9	13	10	28/- cwt.	8	4	0
ffor 6 Stone hookes w[tt] 0: 1: 7½ at iiij[d]	0	11	10				
ffor 9 p[s] of hinges, revits & Nailes 2: 1: 1. at iiij[d]	4	4	4	40/-	4	10	4
ffor 4 Stay barrs & rings at 4: 0: 6½ at iij[d] ob̄	6	12	6¾	35/- cwt.	7	2	2
ffor a Stay bar. & loope for y[e] dore 0: 0: 26½ at iiij[d]	0	8	10	35/- cwt.		8	3
ffor 4 Spikes 0: 0: 3 at iiij[d]	0	1	0	4d. lb.		1	0
ffor 2 revitt barrs. 15 Sadle barrs. 1: 3: 11½ at iij[d]	2	11	10¼	25/- cwt.	2	6	5
ffor a row of Spikes and flowers at	1	11	7		1	11	7
ffor 4 Rimb locks at	6	0	0	12/6	2	10	0
ffor a Spring lock at	0	15	0			15	0
ffor a Rimb lock for the Steeple dore	0	10	0			10	0
ffor 3 plate bolts	0	19	0			19	0
ffor 240 dice-headed Nayles	0	6	0	1d.	1	0	0
	34	5	10				

To John Longland Carpent[r] for worke done at S[t] Steph̄: Walbroke ab[t] a flore and guttering in the Tower Decem[r] 10. 1680.

ffor y[e] upper floore erected and compleated in y[e] Tower being done with good yellow deale, and the Gutters made of y[e] Same in drips according to Agreem[t] at	20	0	0		20	0	0

					£	s.	d.
To Tho: Aldworth Plum[r] for worke don at Walbrooke Vestry Nov[r] 80.				@			
ffor new lead w[tt] 25[c] 2: 12 at xvj[s]	20	9	8	30/- cwt.	38	8	3
ffor Sodar w[tt] 0: 0: $32\frac{3}{4}$ at ix[d]	1	4	$6\frac{3}{4}$	9d.	1	4	7
Return'd for Cuttings w[tt] 1[c] 2[q] 14[li] at xiij[s] 1[£] 1[s] $1\frac{1}{2}$[d]	21	14	$2\frac{3}{4}$				
Remaines	20	13	0				
To Tho; Horne Bricklayer for worke done at S[t] Step̃ Walbrooke in finishing the Brick wall of y[e] Church with a flash to carry of [*sic*] y[e] water at	0	10	0		1	10	0
To Grove & Doogood Plaister[rs] the Summe of Seaven Pounds being so much Omitted in their first bill of plast[rs] worke, in y[e] particular of the Small Bell: under y[e] breastsum[r] $3^{in}\ \frac{1}{2}$ girt at per fo[t] the Summe of which bill is 444[£]: 17[s]: 3[d]. whereas it ought to have been 7[£] more viz[t] 451: 17: 3	7	0	0		10	0	0
To John Longland Carpent[r] for worke done at S[t] Stephen Walbrooke about weather boarding it Octob[r] 13: 1681.							
ffor 4 Sq 34[f] of Ground floring in y[e] Vestry boarded at l[s]	10	17	0	50/-	10	17	0
ffor 4 Sq $\frac{1}{2}$: 20[f] of planking w[th] 2^{in} plank in y[e] bell loft & ring̃ loft iij[£] vj[s] viij[d]	15	13	4	40/-	9	8	0
ffor 2 Sq of 2^{in} plank in y[e] clock loft at	5	10	0	40/-	4	0	0
ffor 73[f] of Oake Timber in y[e] bell-loft floore at iij[s]	10	19	0	6/-	21	18	0
ffor 418[f] Sup[ll] of weather boarding y[e] heades Mesd Sq at xx[d]	34	16	8	1/8	34	16	8
ffor 1 Sq of Timber carcase of Oake w[th] an Oake dore in the Same the rest boarded w[th] firr att	3	0	0		6	0	0
ffor $\frac{1}{4}$. of a Sq. of Oake floor & boarding at	0	15	0	100/- square	1	5	0
ffor 10[f] of firr cornice there ab[t] 8^{in} deep at	0	10	0	2/-	1	0	0
ffor a Sqr $\frac{3}{4}$ of Oake flore boarded w[th] firr boardes with a brestsum̃er 15 and 12 Scantling at	7	0	0		7	0	0
ffor 4 dores to y[e] leads clock loft and ringing loft & bell-loft made with Oake lined w[th] Slitt deall att ij[£] x[s] Cont̃: 56[f] Sup[ll]	2	10	0	4/- ft.	11	4	0
ffor an Oake dore lined w[th] Elme, and well nailed w[th] dice headed nailes at y[e] fo[t] of y[e] Stairecase at	1	4	0		4	0	0
ffor a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Sqr. of Roofing at	0	15	0			15	0
	93	10	0				
To Robert Bird Copper Smith for worke done at y[e] Chur̃: of S[t] Step̃ Wallbrooke ab[t] y[e] Vane there Sept[r] 1[st] 1681.							
ffor new Copper in y[e] Vane wrought hollow, and Chassed cut w[tt] 59[li] at iiij[s]	11	16	0		30	0	0
To John Longland Carpent[r] for worke done by him at y[e] Chur: of S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke ab[t] y[e] Vestry and Steeple to feb[r] 7. 1677.							
ffor 2 Sqrs 31[f] of flooring & boarding y[e] Vestry at iij[£] v[s]	7	11	4	65/-	7	10	2
ffor 1. Sqr 39[f] of firring att xxv[s]	1	14	9	25/-	1	14	9

				£	s.	d.
ffor 5 Sqrs 43[f] of Centering y[e] Vaults w[th] groines at xxx[s]	8 2 10	30/-		8	2	10
ffor 3 Sq. 6[f] of naked flooring in y[e] Steeple at iiij[s]	12 4 9			15	0	0
ffor centering y[e] coveing of y[e] Tribune and for centeř. a windꝺ	2 0 0			3	0	0
	31 13 8					

To Richard Pinder Glaiz[r] for worke done by him at y[e] Church of S[t] Stephens Wall brooke & at y[e] Dome feb[r] 24. $167\frac{7}{8}$.

ffor 1054[f] 7[in] of Quarries at vi[d] oꝺ	28 11 2	1/6		110	11	5
ffor 419[f] 8[in] of Squares at viij[d]	13 19 4					
	42 10 6					

To Grove & Doogood Plaister[rs] for worke done by them at S[t] Stephens Wall brooke being between y[e] bottom of y[e] Cornice and the ground Jan: 10[th] 1677.

ffor 387 y[ds] $\frac{1}{2}$ of Rendering att vj[d]	9 13 9	1 2		22	12	1
ffor 8 y[ds] $\frac{1}{2}$ of lath and plaister at xiiij[d]	0 10 7	1/9			14	11
ffor 683 y[ds] of whiting the Stoneworke and rendering ij[d]	5 13 10	2d.		5	13	10
ffor 32[f] of moulding in y[e] No: & South windows 10[in] girt at xij[d]	1 12 0	1/-		1	12	0
ffor 68[f] of baſt: moulding att vj[d]	1 14 0	6d.		1	14	0
ffor pointing 35 windowes at	8 0 0			8	0	0
ffor Scaffolding to y[e] Dome and y[e] Church att	10 0 0			50	0	0
	37 4 2					

To Thomas Aldworth. Plum[r] for worke done and lead ꝺꝺ. to y[e] Masons at S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke Aug[t] 15. 1678.

ffor Sheet lead w[tt] 61: 2: 17 att xvij[s]	52 8 1	30/- cwt.		92	9	7
ffor lead ꝺꝺ. to y[e] Masons 2: 0: 0 att xiiij[s]	1 8 0	25/- cwt.		2	10	0
ffor Sodder w[tt] 0: 2: 19 at ix[d]	2 16 3	9d.		2	16	3
ffor workmanship of Cistornes	3 0 0			4	0	0
	59 12 4					
Recꝺ. of lead & cuttings 031[c]: 3[q]: 2[li] at xiiij[s] and Sodder 9[li] at ix[d]	22 11 6					
Remaines	37 0 6					

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke at y[e] Chuř: & Steeple of S[t] Stephen Wallbrooke, Measꝺ from y[e] under side of y[e] facia to y[e] top of 8[f] above y[e] Same & from y[e] top of 24 Steps of Staires to y[e] top of 40 Steps being 16 more Aug[t] 28. 78.

ffor 26[f] 4[in] of freestone block at ij[s] iiij[d]	3 1 6	6/6		8	11	2
ffor 29[f] 4[in] of Sup[ll] freestone at xiiij[d]	1 14 $2\frac{1}{2}$					
ffor 111[f] of freestone Ashler at ij[s] iiij[d]	12 19 0	5/-		27	15	0
ffor 12[f] 4[in] of Cubick Portland at ij[s] ij[d]	1 6 8	10 6		6	9	6
ffor 3 Rod $\frac{1}{4}$ of Rubble at lij[s]	8 9 0	140/-		22	15	0
ffor 277 y[ds] of finishing at xviij[d]	20 15 6	1/6		20	15	6

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 4 Festoones & Scrowles 2^{f} 10^{in} wide 6^{f} high 10^{in} thick at v^{li} x^{s} each	22	0	0	200/-	40	0	0
ffor cleaning 16 Columes 6 Pilasters 2 Coine Pillaster^{s}	10	10	0		10	10	0
ffor 10 Antick Capitalls at	2	10	0		2	10	0
ffor 163^{f} 9^{in} of parapett 11^{in} ½ Sq. at iiij^{s} vj^{d}	36	16	10	9/6	77	15	8
ffor Carving a Sheild [*sic*] 4 festoones 14 Keystones 2 large Keystones 2 palmes at	13	0	0		52	0	0
ffor 154^{f} 6^{in} of Purbeck Step wrought with an Astragall att iij^{s} vj^{d}	27	0	9	5/-	38	12	6
ffor 50^{f} 6^{in} of rub'd purbeck halfe pace at xij^{d}	2	10	6	2 -	5	1	0
ffor 14^{f} 9^{in} of Purbeck Step at ij^{s} iiij^{d}	1	14	5	4/6	3	6	5
ffor 578^{f} of Kentish Ashler at ij^{s}	57	16	0	3/-	86	14	0
ffor 166^{f} of Coines of freestone at ij^{s} iiij^{d}	19	7	4	5/-	41	10	0
ffor 46^{f} of Sup^{ll} portland att xviij^{d}	3	9	0				
ffor 124^{f} of Circular freestone at ij^{s} vj^{d}	15	10	0	6/6	40	6	0
ffor 62^{f} 6^{in} of Portland facia 15^{in} deep at iiij^{s} viij^{d}	14	11	8	10/6	32	16	3
ffor a Rubble Arch over the freestone Arch in y^{e} doroway [*sic*] to y^{e} Organ loft 5^{f} ½ long 5^{f} wide 3^{f} 6^{in} thick att xij^{d}	1	7	6	2/6	3	8	9
ffor 16 Steps of Staires & a Step to y^{e} Organ loft at vj^{s} each	4	16	0	15/-	12	0	0
ffor Covering y^{e} Walls of y^{e} Church and Steeple against winter	10	0	0		15	0	0
	291	5	10				
Discounted for pulling downe y^{e} East wall and all y^{e} pillars and Arches on y^{e} Noř: Side (y^{e} Same being twice Charged by Mistake in y^{e} preceeding Bills)	30	0	0				
Remaines	261	5	10				

To Roger Davis Joyner for worke done by him at y^{e} Chuř: of S^{t} Stephen Wallbrooke Nov^{r} 18: 1678.

ffor 233^{f} of R^{t} wains^{t} dores at ij^{s} vj^{d}	29	2	6	5/6	64	1	6
ffor carving y^{e} outward dores wth gules & 2 flowers in y^{e} Scroules	1	0	0		5	0	0
	30	2	6				

To William Davis Painter for worke done by him at y^{e} Chuř of S^{t} Stephen Wallbrooke feb^{r} 23: 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

ffor 71 y^{ds} of painting 3 times in Oyle in y^{e} Lanthorn & 5 dores at xij^{d}	3	11	0	10d.	2	19	2
ffor 1405^{f} of Sadle barrs att j^{d} ob^{a}	8	15	7	1d.	5	17	1
ffor 140^{f} of locket barrs at iij^{d}	1	15	0	2d.	1	3	4
ffor 8 Casem^{ts} att xij^{d}	0	8	0	1/-		8	0
ffor 4 y^{ds} of painting in y^{e} Ovalls at xij^{d}	0	4	0	10d.		3	4
	14	13	7				

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke done by them at ye Chuř: of St Stephen Wallbrooke more yn wt as Mesd. in ye other Mesmt				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 5 dayes worke for a Mason to pull downe the wall for ye new dorcase to be put in next to ye Parsons ground att ijs vjd	0	12	6	11/-	2	15	0
ffor 5 dayes worke of a labourer to help ye Sd Mason at xxd per diem	0	8	4	7/6	1	17	6
ffor hewing 15f of Old Rigate Splayes in the dore at viijd	0	10	0		1	10	0
ffor 2 peeces of freestone lett in the Alter for the fastning of ye Joyners worke 18in long 9in Square at	0	5	0	7/6 each		15	0
ffor letting in 4 Rings into ye Paveing of ye Church at ye Opening of the Vaults att	0	6	0	2/6 each		10	0
ffor covering ye Steeple before winter to prevent ye Danger of ye frost	4	10	0		5	0	0
	6	11	10				

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke done by them at the Chuř: & Tower of St Ṡphen: [*sic*] Wallbrooke, being from ye Top of 40 Steps of Staires to ye top of 58 Steps, and in ye Outside from ye top of 8f aboue ye 1st facia to ye top of ye 2D facia Measd: March: 26: 1679.

ffor 739f 6in of Kentish Ashler at per fot ijs	73	19	0	3/-	110	18	6
ffor 50f of Cubick portland at ijs ijd	5	8	4	10/6	26	5	0
ffor 95f of Supll Portland at	7	2	6				
ffor 2736f of Paveing wth Sweedish Stone new wrought & Rubed with Smooth Sand at xijd	136	16	0	2/-	273	12	0
ffor 18 Steps of Staires at vjs	5	8	0	15/-	13	10	0
ffor 66f of black & white Marbel paveing at	9	18	0	3/6	11	11	0
ffor 6f of Rigate Arche 21in wide 20in deep at xijd	0	6	0	3/-		18	0
ffor 49f 8in of Circular Marble Step at xs	24	10	0	25/-	62	1	8
ffor 5 Rod of new Rubble at 5£: 2s: 6d	25	12	6	140/-	35	0	0
ffor 10f of Purbeck Step at ijs ijd	1	1	8	5/-	2	10	0
ffor 79f of facia 15in deep & 12in bed at iiijs viijd	18	8	8	10/6	41	9	6
ffor 144f 6in of Circular Ashler Step deducted at ijs vjd	18	1	3	7/6	54	3	9
ffor 218f of freestone coynes att ijs iiijd	25	8	8	5/-	54	10	0
	352	0	7				

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke done by ym at ye Tower of St Stephen Wallbrooke; Measd from ye top of ye 2d facia to ye top of ye third facia being even wth the Bellflore, & from ye top of 58 Steps to ye top of 85 Steps of Staires being 27 Steps more then ye former Measdmt [*sic*] June: 14th 1679.

ffor 988f 6in of Kentish Ashler att ijs	98	17	0	3/-	148	5	6
ffor 290f of freestone Coynes at ijs iiijd	33	16	8	5/-	72	10	0
ffor 204f 9in of Circular Ashler at ijs vjd	25	11	10	6/-	61	8	6
ffor 27 Steps of Staires at vjs each	8	2	0	15/-	20	5	0
ffor 2 halfepace Steps being twice as broad as ye rest at vjs each	0	12	0	20/-	2	0	0

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 45^{f} of Cubick Portland at ij^{s} ij^{d}	4	17	6	10/6	23	12	6
ffor 75^{f} ½ Sup^{ll} Portland at xviij^{d}	5	13	3				
ffor 11^{f} ½ of cubick Burford Stone ij^{s} iiij^{d}	1	6	10	10/6	6	0	9
ffor 16^{f} ½ Sup^{ll} at xiiij^{d}	0	19	3				
ffor 7 Rod 7^{f} of Rubble at v^{li} 2^{s} vj^{d}	36	0	0	140/-	49	3	7
ffor 81^{f} of Portland facia 15^{in} deep 1^{f} bed at iiij^{s} viij^{d}	18	18	0	10/6	42	10	6
ffor 8^{f} of dripp Stone 9^{in} deep at ij^{s} vj^{d}	1	0	0	10/6	4	4	0
	235	14	4				

To Matt; Roberts Plum^{r} for worke don at Walbrooke Ch̃. feb^{r} 9: 82.

ffor new lead for 2 lengths of pipes w^{tt} 2: 3: 8 at xvj^{s}	2	5	2	25/- cwt.	3	10	7
ffor making the 2 lengths of pipes at xv^{s} each	1	10	0		2	0	0
ffor Spikes and Nayles at	0	3	0			3	0
	3	18	2				

To John Longland Carpent^{r} for a Moulding ab^{t} y^{e} foot of y^{e} Lanthorne at Walbrooke 17^{f} 4^{in} long 2^{f} girt 1^{in} at l^{s} — 2 10 0 — 3 0 0

ffor a pannell of y^{e} well hole in the Steeple 3^{f} 9^{in} over with a mould 12^{f} ab^{t} the Octtagon [*sic*] 20^{in} girt at	3	0	0	10 0 0
ffor 2 firr trunks each 27^{f} at	2	0	0	2 0 0
ffor mending 2 well holes broake by y^{e} Masons at	0	12	0	2 5 0
ffor the Lanthorne over y^{e} Vestry at	5	0	0	10 0 0
	13	2	0	

To Geo: Peowrie Glaiz^{r} for worke done at S^{t} Stephen Walbrooke in exchangeing 53^{f} of glass quaries to fitt y^{e} new casem^{ts} at iiij^{d} — 0 17 8
ffor pining in 2 large Casm^{ts} — 0 2 0
ffor 14 Quarries at — 0 1 2
1 0 10 — 1 0 10

To Dogood & Grove Plaister^{rs} for worke done at Walbrooke Chuř: May: 82.

ffor lathing & plaistering y^{e} Cieling in the Vestry and under y^{e} Gall: wth heart laths 54 y^{ds} ½ at xiiij^{d}	3	3	7	1/9	4	15	5
ffor 58 y^{ds} of Rendering at vj^{d}	1	9	0	1/2	3	7	8
ffor 112 y^{ds} of Whiting at ij^{d}	0	18	8	2d.		18	8
	5	11	3				

To Rich: Pinder Glaiz^{r} for worke done at Walbrook Chuř: May 25: 1682

ffor 190^{f} ½ of Quarries in y^{e} Ringing loft and Vestry at vij^{d}	5	11	1	1 6	14	5	9
ffor 52^{f} ½ of Skie lights at x^{d}	2	3	9	2/-	5	5	0
	7	14	10				

To Step: Leaver Smith for worke done by him at y^e^ Chuř: of S^t^ Stephen Walbrooke from Mar: 28: 1680 to feb^r^ 22: 1682. alld in June 1682.

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor 21 Cramps & plugs w^tt^	o: o: 26	at iij^d^ ob q	0 8 1½	28/- cwt.		6	6
ffor 8 p^r^ of hinges, revitts & nailes	o: 3: 21½	at iiij^d^ ob	1 19 4½	40/- cwt.	1	17	8
ffor 3 revitt barrs & 30 Sadle barrs	3: o: 19½	at iij^d^ ob q	5 11 1	28/- cwt.	4	8	11
ffor 4 Stone hookes at	o: o: 9½	at iiij^d^	0 3 2	30/- cwt.		2	7
ffor 2 Casm^t^ frames & hookes	1: o: 14	at vij^d^	3 13 6		3	13	6
ffor Spikes w^tt^	o: o: 1	at iij^d^ ob q	0 0 3¾				4
ffor lead to ruñ the Stone hookes	o: 2: 2	at j^d^ ob	0 7 3	25/- cwt.		13	0
ffor a plate for y^e^ lock of y^e^ Steeple dore			0 1 0			1	0
ffor 2 bolts & 4 Staples for y^e^ dore going to y^e^ Vestry dore			0 1 8			5	0
ffor a Stock lock to the Same			0 3 0			7	6
ffor 4 hold fastes for the trunk at			0 1 4			1	6
ffor a Rimb lock Staple & lead for y^e^ Vestry dore			1 4 6			15	0
ffor a lock to the leads att			0 3 0			7	6
ffor a Spindle w^tt^ 2^q^ at iiij^d^			0 18 8	30/- cwt.		15	0
ffor Scaffolding to y^e^ Lanthorn to fix y^e^ Spindle and vane			2 0 0		2	0	0
			16 15 11				

To Strong & Kempster Masons for worke done at S^t^ Stephen Walbrõke June 22^d^ 1682.

			@	£	s.	d.
ffor 20^f^ ½ of burford flash over y^e^ Vestry 4^in^ deep 4^in^ projection at xviij^d^	1 10 9	1/9		1	15	11
ffor 7^f^ of rubed purbeck Step at y^e^ Vestry & South west dore at ij^s^ vj^d^	0 17 6	5/-		1	15	0
ffor 14^f^ ¾ of rough purbeck Step out of y^e^ North dore in y^e^ Street at ij^s^ ij^d^	1 11 11½	4/6		3	6	5
ffor a Chimney head at	1 0 0			5	0	0
ffor 16^f^ of brickworke under y^e^ Steps att iiij^d^	0 5 4	1/3		1	0	0
ffor 21^f^ of rough purbeck paving at viij^d^	0 14 4	1/6		1	11	6
ffor 2^f^ ¼ of Rough purbeck Step at ij^s^	0 4 10½	4/6			10	2
ffor 7^f^ ½ of Portland copeing 22^in^ broad 5^in^ thick at v^s^	1 17 6	10/6		3	18	9
ffor 23 days ½ worke for a Mason letting in Iron barrs and making way for y^e^ Carpent^r^ ab^t^ y^e^ Steeple and Vestry, Tyleing and Poarch	3 11 3	11/-		12	18	6
	11 13 6					

To Strong & Kempster Masons the Summe of 10^£^: 10^s^ being Soe much disburst by them upon award of S^r^ Jo: Shorter S^r^ John Moore, and S^r^ Robert Jeffries to be paid to y^e^ Farmers of the Marcates for damage done to the Piazza of the Stckes [*sic*] Marcats in building the Church att | 10 0 0 | | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| ffor their Charges to the Officers | 0 10 0 | | | | 10 | 0 |
| | 10 10 0 | | | | | |

To Tho: Laine Paint[r] for worke don at S[t] Stephen Walbrooke Sept[r] 7[th] 1682

				@	£	s.	d.
ffor painting 6 y[ds] ½ of revitt barrs at iij[d]	0	1	6	3d.		1	8
ffor painting 36 y[ds] runñ of Saddle barr at j[d] ob	0	4	6	1½d.		4	6
ffor 13 y[ds] ½ in y[e] trunks & Lanthorne painted 3 times in Oyle at x[d]	0	11	3	10d.		11	3
	0	17	3				

To Edw; Bird Painter[r] [*sic*] for worke done ab[t] y[e] Vane of Walbrõke Ap: 87

ffor 22[f] of Guilding the Cinq-foyle at iiij[s]	4	8	0		7	10	0
ffor Strowing the Vane Iron with blew at	0	14	0			7	6
	5	2	0				
Totals[1] *for all Accounts*	7831	2	7		15589	15	9
Deduct as below	178	9	0		181	10	3
	£7652	13	7		15408	5	6

DEDUCTIONS.

Cwts.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*			£	s.	d.	@	£	s.	d.
125	3	12	Credit for cuttings on lead	14/-	88	2	0	20/-	125	17	2
35	3	3	Old Iron	14/-	25	0	6	5/-	8	18	11
15	0	12	Small do.	7/-	5	5	0	5/-	3	15	6
9	0	23	Credit for lead cuttings	14/-	6	8	11	20/-	9	4	1
1	2	14	Do. do.		1	1	1½	20/-	1	12	6
31	3	2	Do. do.	14/-	22	11	6	20/-	31	15	4
		9	Credit for soddar	9d.				9d.		6	9
			Item charged twice in error		30	0	0				
					£178	9	0		£181	10	3

[1] See note on page 26.

II.—*Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey.*

By William Page, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 21st January, 1915.

Sir Henry Ellis,[1] Lingard,[2] and others have called attention to the irregularity of the entries relating to churches and priests in the Domesday Survey, and have consequently disparaged the evidence that the Survey affords of ecclesiastical organization of the eleventh century. Although there is some truth in their assertions, yet there are certain points which evolve from a study of the subject which I venture to think are worthy of the consideration of this Society.

One of the principal difficulties with regard to this subject is that several churches which contain architectural remains of pre-Conquest date, and others whose existence before 1086 is vouched for by documentary evidence, are not mentioned in the Survey. This can be accounted for to some extent by the fact that the Survey being compiled for fiscal purposes did not concern itself with churches which for want of endowment or other reasons were not liable to taxation. It is expressly stated that certain churches were not taxed,[3] and some others, not mentioned, there can be little doubt, were likewise exempt. Occasionally also the entry of a church is unrecognized because it appears under the name of a hamlet on the land of whose lord it was probably built.[4] The most usual reason perhaps for not finding an entry of a church in Domesday is that it belonged to a religious body which had either appropriated its endowment, or had established it unendowed and served it from its own house.[5]

[1] Ellis, *Gen. Introd. to Dom. Bk.*, i, 286. [2] Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, i, 398.

[3] See the churches of Frampton Cotteril in Gloucestershire (*Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 169), Wantage and Sparsholt in Berks. (*V. C. H. Berks.*, i, 328, 329; orig. text, 57), Manchester and Blackburn in Lancashire (*V. C. H. Lanc.*, i, 286, 287; orig. text, 270). A hide at Droitwich held by two priests never paid geld (*V. C. H. Worc.*, i, 302; orig. text, 174 *b*). See also Filsham in Sussex (*V. C. H. Sussex*, i, 397; orig. text, 18 *b*).

[4] See the churches of Titchfield in Hants entered under its hamlet of Crofton (*V. C. H. Hants*, i, 476; orig. text, 44), Ash in Surrey under its hamlet of Henley (*V. C. H. Surrey*, i, 311; orig. text, 34), Stanwick and Kirkby Fleetham in Yorks. under their respective hamlets of Aldborough and Fleetham (*V. C. H. Yorks., N. Riding*, i, 133, 322), and many others could be quoted.

[5] At Woodbury in Devonshire the abbot of St. Michael's Mount held in 1086 the church and land which the priest had held in 1066 (*V. C. H. Devon*, i, 410; *Exon. Dom.*, fol. 96 *b*).

It would take a considerable amount of research to trace out the ownership in 1086 of all the known pre-Conquest churches in England not mentioned in Domesday, but it may be stated that the following belonged to religious houses or ecclesiastics, viz. in Devonshire, Sidbury to the Bishop of Exeter; in Wiltshire, Bradford-on-Avon to Shaftesbury Abbey, Bremhill to Malmesbury Abbey, Somerford Keynes to the Bishop of Lisieux; in Hampshire,[1] Tichborne and Hambledon apparently to the Bishop of Winchester; in Sussex,[2] Bishopstone to the Bishop of Chichester; in Kent, St. Martin's Canterbury to the Archbishop of Canterbury; in Essex, Hadstock or Cadenhou and Strethall to Ely Abbey; in Buckinghamshire, Wing to the abbey of St. Nicholas of Angers; in Bedfordshire, Clapham to Ramsey Abbey, Turvey to the Bishop of Coutances; in Hertfordshire, St. Michael's and St. Stephen's, St. Albans, to St. Albans Abbey; in Northamptonshire, Barnack to Peterborough or Crowland, Earls Barton to the abbey of St. Mary de la pré; in Lincolnshire, Bracebridge to Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances, Clee and Glentworth to the Bishop of Bayeux, and Marton to the Bishop of Durham.

It may be noticed also with regard to this point that although there are occasionally entries in the Domesday Book of churches with good endowments on the lands of ecclesiastics, yet in most cases few, and in some instances no churches are shown on the lands of religious bodies. Thus no church or priest will be found in the returns of the vast possessions of the abbey of St. Albans in Hertfordshire, nor yet in the nineteen holdings of the church of Coventry in Warwickshire, and so with regard to the great estates of Glastonbury (with one exception), Muchelney, Athelney, Bath, and many others. Nor is there a priest or a church recorded on the lands of the Bishop of London in Middlesex, and only two in thirty-four holdings of the bishop in Essex. It must not, however, be necessarily supposed that these estates were altogether devoid of churches, in fact we know in some instances[3] this is not so, but it would seem that each religious house considered perhaps all its lands, at all events those vills which surrounded it, as its parish, and any churches which happened to be built upon such lands would be, in most cases, served from it. Thus in 1092 it was decided in a suit that although there were several churches in Worcester, there was no parish but that of the mother or cathedral church,[4] and according to the Domesday Book every hide of land in the great hundred

[1] Unfortunately I have not found evidence of the ownership of the notable pre-Conquest church of Breamore in 1086.

[2] At Arlington the church has pre-Conquest details and is not mentioned in Domesday. The manor belonged to Wilton Abbey in 1066, but the Count of Ou held the manor in 1086; the church, however, may have been retained by the abbey.

[3] For example, as already stated, we know there were churches on the lands of St. Albans.

[4] *V. C. H. Worc.*, iv, 410, quoting Heming Chartulary (ed. Hearne), 528.

of Oswaldslow in Worcestershire paid a horse-load of grain at Martinmas, presumably as church-scot,[1] to the Bishop of Worcester in recognition that Worcester Cathedral was the mother church.[2] A like custom prevailed with regard to the monastic church of Pershore throughout the hundred of Pershore.[3] It may be noticed also that the churches of the Vale of Evesham were chapelries of the mother church or monastery of Evesham almost to the Dissolution, so that in the eleventh century the whole hundred of Blackenhurst in Worcestershire formed the parish of Evesham Abbey. In 1147 Pope Eugenius refers to the *parochiani* of the abbot of Abingdon signifying all the tenants of the abbot, even those outside the county of Berks.[4] Again, in 1178 Pope Alexander issued a bull confirming the privileges of Ramsey Abbey, and in it there is a prohibition for any one to presume to build within the parish of the monastery a church or oratory without the assent of the bishop of the diocese and that of the abbey.[5] In East Anglia the organization of the parish church was more fully developed, and the modern idea of a parish seems possibly to have been recognized in the Domesday Book for Suffolk.[6]

A further point of difficulty is whether the reference to a priest in Domesday implies the existence of a church. This question can be answered only by an examination of the individual entries, for besides the references to what for convenience we will call the parochial clergy there are many notices of priests holding lands in their own right or as almsmen and clerks of the king or others, who had no cures or at all events were without cures at the places where they are entered. But in cases other than these it is generally safe to infer that where there is an entry of a priest in Domesday a church existed.

It will be well, however, to examine the *formulae* as to churches and priests which are used in the Domesday Book in different parts of the country. As will be noted later, what we may term manorial or parish churches[7] had no

[1] As to payment of church-scot to mother church, see Laws of Ine and Edgar, Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i, 46, 111.

[2] *V. C. H. Worc.*, i, 298 (orig. text, 174).

[3] *Ibid.*, 305 (orig. text, 175 *b*).

[4] *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 200.

[5] *Ramsey Cartulary* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 138. The parish here probably refers to the 'banlieu' of Ramsey, where there was no sepulture (*ibid.*, i, 340). It is clear that the word parish down to the fourteenth century merely meant any district over which an ecclesiastic or body of ecclesiastics ministered; thus Bishop Kellaw in 1311 directed the parishioners of the parish church of Staindrop to pay procuration, and in 1312 he ordered the arrest of John Warayn his parishioner (*parochianus noster*), that is of his diocese. *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* (Rolls Ser.), i, 20, 262.

[6] *V. C. H. Suff.*, i, 419, 431 (orig. text, 282, 291 *b*).

[7] It is difficult to give an appropriate designation to the church with a single incumbent. The idea of the parish church as we know it did not exist in 1086 except perhaps in Norfolk and Suffolk. The term manorial church or church of the manor is used in the Domesday Survey, not only for the church with one priest, but also for the small minster or church with a college of priests. In using the

general adoption in the western counties of Cornwall and Devon. In the counties of Somerset,[1] Dorset, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, and occasionally in Hampshire, the expression used is 'So-and-so holds the church of the manor', and as a general rule priests are not referred to. In Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent the usual *formula* is 'there is a church to which belongs so much land'. In Norfolk and Suffolk, except for priests specifically mentioned, there are only references to churches, the entry running 'there is a church with so much land', etc. In Essex both priests and churches mentioned among the incidents of the demesne are referred to. Elsewhere than in Wessex, Essex, and East Anglia, however, the notices of priests become emphasized as compared to the references to churches. In the counties of Hertford, Middlesex, Northants, Leicester, Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Chester, the references are almost wholly to priests. In the Danish counties of York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Rutland, and in Huntingdon, the prevailing *formula* becomes 'there is a church and a priest', or sometimes 'there is a priest with a church'. In Lincolnshire we have the further term of 'the advowson of the church', which seems to equate with 'the church'; for instance, where the ownership of a church or advowson is divided we have the one part expressed as 'half the advowson of the church' belonging to one person, while the other is entered as 'half the church' the property of another. It would seem also that the term advowson was generally used in Lincolnshire where fractions of churches are dealt with. From a comparison of these *formulae* it appears that the term church was more usual in the southern and eastern counties, and that of priest in the midland and western counties. In some cases we have entries at the same places of a priest and two churches, two priests and one church, and at Houghton (Hoctune) in Huntingdonshire there occurs an entry 'there is a church [but] no priest' (*Ibi ecclesia ñ presbiter*),[2] and in Sussex[3] and Gloucestershire[4] we find in one or two instances that the church and the priest of the same place had separate endowments. As a general rule, however, the use of the term church seems to carry with it a more substantial endowment than that of a priest, and may in some instances refer only to the emoluments.[5]

Christianity was largely established among the Saxons through their kings and rulers on whose conversion it followed that the people were baptized. Hence

terms monastery and minster it is not intended to imply that the former denotes a house of regulars and the latter that of seculars, a distinction which has been adopted by some modern writers.

[1] By comparing the entries of the Exchequer Domesday with the Exeter copy, it will be found in some instances that 'presbiter' in the one will be given as 'ecclesia' in the other. See entry as to Long Ashton in *V. C. H. Somers.*, i, 450 (orig. text, 88 *b*) and note 1.

[2] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 204 *b*.

[3] *V. C. H. Sussex*, i. 426 (orig. text, 24).

[4] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 162 *b*, at Cheltenham.

[5] See as to this Rev. O. J. Reichel in *Trans. Devon. Assoc.*, xxxix, 365.

the organization of the church followed to some extent that already adopted for lay purposes. As each Saxon kingdom became Christian a religious house was founded at the principal seat of government, where was placed the see of the bishop, who was intimately connected with the king's court. Additional monasteries were subsequently founded, the majority being endowed with great areas of marsh, forest, and other waste lands which it was intended they should reclaim, settle, and evangelize. Over their own lands the monasteries ministered to their *parochiani*, while the districts not under the rule of a monastery continued to be served by the bishop from his minster of priests. Bede, writing in 731, gives evidence of the itinerant character of the ministration of the clergy in his time. He relates in a famous passage often quoted how when clerks visited places to preach, baptize, and visit the sick, the people flocked to them,[1] and when Cuthbert some fifty years earlier travelled sometimes on foot, and less often on horseback, the people came together to hear his preaching.[2] Aidan, as Bede relates, did the same.[3] The expression frequently used by Bede that a church was built in a particular district apparently refers to the founding of a monastery.

According to a charter of Wihtred, King of Kent (696 to 716), the churches in Kent at that date are stated to be those of St. Peter and Christchurch, Canterbury, Rochester, Folkestone, Lyminge, Reculver, Dover, Hoe, Upminster, Southminster, and Sheppey,[4] all of which were monasteries. By a decree of the Witan as to the disposal of the inheritance of Oswulf among the churches of East Kent in 844, the churches are named, and their number in the latter district had not increased.[5] Thus we have probably the ecclesiastical organization of Kent up to the time of the Danish invasions, consisting of two cathedral establishments, and nine other monasteries, each of which would have its parish served by priests from the monasteries.

At the same time there must have been recognized places of assembly for those who dwelt at a distance from a monastery to receive the rites of religion. Probably there were hallowed spots—*loci orationis*,[6] to use Bede's term—marked by crosses, or possibly chapels or oratories[7] to which the missionary priest would naturally go when visiting the district. In the Life of St. Willibald it is stated that in Saxony many of the nobles and others were 'wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the holy cross dedicated to the Lord, and reverenced with great honour, lifted up on high so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer'.[8] Bede refers to the cross erected by Oswald, King of Bernicia, at the

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. iii, cap. 26.
[2] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, cap. 27; 'Life and Miracles of St. Cuthbert', cap. 14.
[3] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. iii, cap. 5.
[4] Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Doc.*, iii, 238.
[5] Thorpe, *Diplom. Angl.*, 96–100.
[6] Bede, *op. cit.*, bk. iii, cap. 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, bk. v, cap. 12.
[8] *Hodoeporicon Sancti Willebaldi*, cap. 3.

battle of Denisburn in 634 as a place of prayer which was visited by the brethren of Hexham, and where later a church was built. Bede adds that before Oswald set up his cross, there was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar throughout the nations of the Bernicians. It is a significant fact that Celtic, Saxon, and Danish crosses in this country, particularly in the north of England, are commonly found in proximity to churches, which leads to the suggestion that they often marked the sites of *loci orationis*[1] where later the parish churches would be erected.

After the Danish invasion of the ninth century the church like the state seems to have undergone a reformation. An important development under the legislation of Alfred and Edward the Elder was the formation of boroughs as administrative centres to which dependent districts were attached;[2] and the establishment of churches at such places with their ecclesiastical organization would supply a necessary complement to the lay jurisdiction. A little later, possibly, hundreds appear as units of administration which in many instances probably adopted the burghal districts as the areas of their sokes. In Wessex and the west the hundreds usually took their names from the borough towns, and what were later hundred manors, where the meetings of the hundred courts were held. Elsewhere in England the older hundreds, formed probably before those established consequent on the legislation of Alfred and Edward the Elder, were named after the meeting-place of the hundred at some prominent feature such as a conspicuous tree, earthwork, or stone, but the later formed hundreds like those in Wessex were probably called from the borough or vill where the court sat.

As will be shown from the evidence of the parts of the Domesday Book relating to some of the Wessex counties, churches are recorded at the hundred boroughs or manors or other administrative centres which are very frequently the only churches entered in the Survey under such hundreds.[3] Consequently it may perhaps be concluded that in this part of the country one church originally served the district dependent upon such an administrative centre, and became the mother church to the churches subsequently built there, the subsidiary churches being in some instances served from it. At first it would seem that the churches founded at these towns were small minsters or churches with colleges of secular priests or canons,[4] but the later form of foundation was

[1] Mr. L. F. Salzmann, F.S.A., has called my attention to the fact that in the fifteenth century crosses in Cornwall were used as resting-places and places of prayer when carrying the dead to burial (see will of Dr. Reginald Mertherderwa, *Monumenta Academica* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 559).

[2] Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 219–22.

[3] There is no evidence of rural deaneries in the country till the eleventh century (Dansey, *Horae Decanicae Rurales*, i, 85).

[4] These were probably the 'minsterhams' of the Wessex Laws of Alfred where sanctuary was

the parish church with its single incumbent which began to be common in this country toward the close of the tenth century. There is ample evidence of the building of such churches during the eleventh century, and throughout the twelfth century.

The ecclesiastical organization under small minsters or colleges of priests, and after them under manorial or parish churches, differed in other parts of the country from that which existed in Wessex, and the development of churches in such other districts will be hereafter shown for convenience under the ancient English kingdoms. No attempt has been made to identify the different types of churches with the classes set out in the laws of the Saxon and later kings. As will be seen, the organization of the churches varied so greatly in the different parts of the country that a careful and lengthy investigation would have to be made as to the place of origin of the various series of laws, and how far they applied to a particular district.

For examining in detail the evidence of the Domesday Book as to the condition of the church, it will be well to take first the counties comprised in the kingdom of Wessex as it existed at the time of the division between Edwy and Edgar in 957, and to start with Cornwall, where the most primitive conditions prevailed. It must be observed that the entries in the Domesday Book for the western counties are not placed under hundreds or similar divisions as they are elsewhere in England. It is clear, however, from the Exeter Domesday that such divisions existed in 1066. In the reconstruction of the Domesday entries under hundreds, upon which the following observations are based, the Feudal Aids and other later sources have been used for the boundaries of the hundreds.

In Cornwall there was probably a considerable Celtic survival in the eleventh century. We find no houses of monks at the time of the Domesday Survey, the county being apparently served by communities of secular canons. It is clear that the minster of St. Petrock at Bodmin, the seat of the bishopric of Cornwall till its destruction by the Danes in 981, remained the centre of religious organization. As a remnant of its former importance it received from various places the yearly render of an ox and sheep. There was a time possibly when the bishop and the priests of his minster at Bodmin served all Cornwall. By 1086, however, there were small independent houses of secular priests at St. Germain which succeeded Bodmin as the episcopal see in 981, St. Buryan, St. Constantine,

given (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i, 27; compare Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, i, 160); and the Rev. O. J. Reichel, B.C.L., is of opinion that the term church was originally confined to collegiate churches either secular or monastic, because by ancient rule only a collegiate body could administer discipline; only a body which included deacons as well as priests could undertake the administration of ecclesiastical property; only where there were several priests was it possible to discharge the offices for the dead. See 'Churches and church endowments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.*, xxxix, 363, 4.

St. Crantock, St. Goran, St. Keverne, St. Michael's Mount, St. Neots, St. Pieran or Perranzabuloe, and St. Probus.

Little is known of the early organization of the church in Cornwall. The Domesday Book affords no hint of the existence of manorial or parish churches there in 1086. At the same time it is a curious fact that besides the minsters already referred to there are mentioned in the Domesday Book about seven places named after saints mostly Celtic, twenty-four places whose names begin with 'Lan', one beginning with 'Eglos', and one ending in 'Circa', all of which it might be supposed took their names from churches of some sort. Whether such churches represented buildings, or were merely *loci orationis* marked out by the surviving crosses often associated with the existing ancient churches, want of evidence prevents us from forming an opinion.

In Devonshire by the reconstruction of the Domesday entries we have evidence of the organization of the church under administrative centres. The western part of the county, including the high land of Dartmoor Forest, was but slightly settled in the eleventh century. There is here no evidence in the Domesday Book of small minsters or parish churches. The wealthy monastery of Tavistock, with possessions extending into Cornwall, doubtless served the hundred of Lifton (including the later hundred of Tavistock), and perhaps the hundred of Blacktorington in the west, and may account for the omission of all reference to churches here in Domesday. The abbey of Buckfastleigh probably served the hundreds of Stanborough and Roborough in the south, while the Bishop of Exeter would look after the scanty population in the high land and moors of the middle of the county, including the hundreds of Crediton and Teignbridge, from his minster at Crediton, where a community of secular canons no doubt remained after the removal of the see to Exeter in 1050.

In other parts of the county we begin to get evidence of small minsters and manorial churches at administrative centres, apparently serving the hundreds in which they lie. Thus in Hartland hundred, in the north of the county, the only church referred to in Domesday was at Hartland or Nectans Stoke, where there was a community of twelve secular canons, afterwards refounded as a house of Austin canons, who held the manor of Gerold the chaplain.[1] In South Molton hundred there was a community of four priests at the hundred manor of South Molton holding a virgate of land in alms of the king.[2] In Axminster hundred the only church was at Axminster, where there was a minster of priests, holding half a hide, said to have been founded by Athelstan.[3] At Exminster in Exminster hundred, whose name denotes the existence of a religious house, the king had given to Battle Abbey the land which had been allotted by the reeve

[1] *V. C. H. Devon*, i, 518 (Exon. text, 456, 456 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 435 (Exon. text, 194 *b*).
[3] *Ibid.*, 404, 545 (Exon. text, 84 *b*, 503). These are duplicate entries.

to a priest in the time of Edward the Confessor.[1] In Plympton hundred the canons of the minster church of St. Peter of Plympton held two hides,[2] and the priests of the township of Yealmpton had one hide.[3]

In Colyton hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Colyton, endowed with half a virgate of land.[4] In Collumpton hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Collumpton, which had been given to Battle Abbey.[5] In Braunton hundred there was a priest of the manor of Braunton, indicating perhaps a church.[6] In Fremington hundred there was a priest at Instow.[7] In Wonford hundred the only church was at Pinhoe, endowed with a virgate of land also given by Battle Abbey.[8] In Budleigh hundred the only church was at Woodbury, which was held by the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, who had appropriated the endowment of half a hide which the priest there had formerly held.[9] In Kerswell or Haytor hundred the only church in Domesday was at Kerswell with half a virgate,[10] but it would seem probable from the name that there was also a church at St. Marychurch on the land of the Bishop of Exeter.[11] In Axmouth hundred, now included in Axminster hundred, the church of Sidbury still perhaps retains work of pre-Conquest date, but being owned by the Bishop of Exeter,[12] and probably without endowment, it would be served apparently from the bishop's minster, and therefore finds no place in Domesday.

In the city of Exeter, besides the minster church of St. Peter and the church of the canons of St. Mary of the Castle, there is reference to three other churches attached to the estates of the larger landowners. The church of St. Stephen belonged to the bishop's holding;[13] the church of St. Olave to that of the Abbot of Battle;[14] and another unnamed, probably St. Laurence, to that of the Count of Mortain.[15]

In the county of Somerset a very large proportion of the land was in the hands of ecclesiastics. Glastonbury alone, notwithstanding the losses it suffered at the Conquest, owned, it has been reckoned, an eighth part of the county.[16] Besides this abbey there were religious houses at Bath, Wells, Muchelney, and

[1] *Ibid.*, 403, 540 (Exon. text, 83, 498 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 406 (Exon. text, 86).
[3] *Ibid.*, 406 (Exon. text, 86 *b*).
[4] *Ibid.*, 405 (Exon. text, 85).
[5] *Ibid.*, 435 (Exon. text, 195).
[6] *Ibid.*, 405 (Exon. text, 194 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 496 (Exon. text, 390 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 410 (Exon. text, 95 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 410 (Exon. text, 96 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*, 404 (Exon. text, 85).
[11] *Ibid.*, 417 (Exon. text, 120).
[12] *Ibid.*, 416 (Exon. text, 118 *b*). Priests apparently as almsmen of the king held lands at Swymbridge, Clannaborough, Eastanton, Up Ottery, Brockland, Stallenge, Uplowman, Bickington, Raddon, and Shapleigh, but it is doubtful whether they had cures at these places (*ibid.*, 434, 452, 481, 484, 485, 493, 499, 517, 518, 527, 537, 540 (Exon. text, 295 *b*, 296, 337 *b*, 342 *b*, 343, 378, 394, 456, 475 *b*, 496, 498)), and priests possibly held in like manner at Evercreech and Wincanton (*ibid.*, 457, 498).
[13] *Ibid.*, 417 (Exon. text, 120 *b*).
[14] *Ibid.*, 436 (Exon. text, 196).
[15] *Ibid.*, 446 (Exon. text, 222 *b*).
[16] *V. C. H. Somers.*, ii, 85.

Athelney, all well endowed. Few churches are entered in Domesday under the lands of these houses probably for the reasons suggested. The evidence of the borough minsters and churches at hundred manors is still ample. The most interesting of them is the minster at the Bishop of Winchester's borough of Taunton, the only church mentioned in the Domesday Book in the hundred of Taunton. Here we have a remarkable example of an administrative borough with a dependent district attached to it which corresponded with what was then probably the hundred.[1] At the borough of Taunton the courts were held, the customary dues were paid, the host met for military service; here also was the market and the mint. The minster, a house of secular canons, which in 1115 was converted into a priory of Austin canons, was in existence in 904 when Edward the Elder granted Stoke St. Mary to the Bishop of Winchester for its benefit.[2] Throughout the dependent district, with one exception, the lords of the lands when they died were buried at the minster, to the minster was paid the churchscot, and at it was collected Peter's pence.[3]

Of the other churches of Somerset mentioned in Domesday, the only one in Carhampton hundred was that at Carhampton, endowed with one and a half hides, and held by Peter Bishop of Chester.[4] In Williton hundred the only church was at St. Mary 'Warverdinestoch' or Stogumber, held with two hides by Richer de Andeleio, one of the king's clerks.[5] In Brompton hundred there was a priest at King's Brompton holding a hide of land in alms of the king.[6] In Milverton hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Milverton with a virgate and a ferling of land.[7] In Cannington hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Cannington with two and a half virgates of land, which was held by Erchenger, one of the king's clerks.[8] In the hundred of North Petherton the only church was that of St. Mary at North Petherton with three virgates of land, which was held by Peter Bishop of Chester, and afterwards by his nephew Ralph.[9] In the hundred of Abdick there was a church at Curry Rivel,[10] and a priest at Ilminster[11]—a significant name.

In the hundred of South Petherton a priest held a hide in alms of the king at South Petherton. In the hundred of Crewkerne, the only church was at the hundred manor of Crewkerne, held by St. Stephen of Caen with an endowment of ten hides, an endowment which implies a community of priests.[12] In Tintinhull hundred Isaac the provost and the canons of the minster of St. Andrew of

[1] See Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 113.
[2] *V. C. H. Somers.*, ii, 141.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, 442, 443, 527 (orig. text, 87 *b*; Exon. Domesday, 75).
[4] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 91 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.* (orig. text, 90).
[6] *Ibid.*, i, 437 (orig. text, 103).
[7] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 91 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 91 *b*). In the twelfth century there was a house of Benedictine nuns adjoining the church (*ibid.*, ii, 109).
[9] *Ibid.*, i, 471 (orig. text, 91 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, 535.
[12] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 91 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 470 (orig. text, 191).

Ilchester held six hides, and six parish priests held two and a half hides.[1] In Catash hundred there was a clerk at South Cadbury with half a hide of land.[2] In Frome hundred the only church was that of St. John at the king's market town of Frome which was held by Reinbald the priest,[3] one of the king's clerks, who held with it a hide of land.[4] In Kilmersdon hundred the only church was at Kilmersdon with half a hide.[5] In Chewton hundred the only church was at Chewton Mendip, held by the Abbot of Jumièges.[6] In Keynsham hundred there was a priest at Keynsham holding a hide.[7] In Bedminster hundred there was a priest at Bedminster.[8] In Congresbury hundred the only church was at Congresbury with half a hide of land.[9] In Hartcliff hundred the only church was at Long Ashton with a virgate of land.[10]

Although there is only definite evidence of minsters of secular canons at Taunton and Ilchester, and from their names at Ilminster and Bedminster, yet the endowments of most of the other churches of Somerset mentioned in Domesday indicate the existence at one time of small communities of priests rather than single incumbents.

The county of Dorset is not satisfactory for an investigation of this nature. Over a third of it was at the time of the Domesday Survey in the hands of the church, where, for reasons already given, we have little evidence of the ecclesiastical organization, much of the land also was forest, and the hundred system apparently had not fully developed. In the north-west of the county the Bishop of Salisbury held the possessions of the ancient see of Sherborne, including the hundreds of Sherborne, Beaminster, Charminster, and Yetminster. At the last three it is clear there were minsters at the hundred towns, but their endowments having been absorbed apparently by the bishop, we learn nothing about them from Domesday. Besides the bishopric lands the monasteries of Abbotsbury, Milton, Cranbourne, Shaftesbury, Cerne, Wimborne, Horton, and Glastonbury, held considerable possessions. Of the evidence of borough minsters and manorial churches, there were in the hundred of Whitchurch Canonicorum the churches of Whitchurch Canonicorum, Burton Bradstock, and Bridport, with four hides which belonged to the church of St. Wandrille near Rouen.[11] In Gillingham hundred the only church was that of St. Mary, Gillingham.[12] In Wareham the

[1] *Ibid.*, 467, 470, 531 (orig. text, 91, 193 *b*).

[2] *Ibid.*, 515 (orig. text, 382 *b*). Catash may not be a Domesday hundred; it is not quite clear in which hundred South Cadbury was.

[3] See for this great pluralist Round, *Feudal England*, p. 426, and compare p. 78 below.

[4] *V. C. H. Somers.*, i, 436, 437, 470 (orig. text, 90 *b*, 193 *b*.

[5] *Ibid.*, 472 (orig. text, 91 *b*).

[6] *Ibid.*, 441 (orig. text, 113).

[7] *Ibid.*, 527.

[8] *Ibid.*, 436 (orig. text, 90 *b*).

[9] *Ibid.*, 439, 531 (orig. text, 87).

[10] *Ibid.*, 450 (orig. text, 88 *b*).

[11] *Dorset Domesday* (ed. W. Bawdwen), p. 42 (orig. text, 78).

[12] *Ibid.*, 43 (orig. text, 78 *b*).

church of St. Wandrille held one church, and the Abbot of Horton another.[1] In Winfrith hundred Bollo the priest, an almsman of the king, held the churches of Winfrith Newburgh, Puddletown, and East Chaldon, and in Uggscombe hundred, Fleet.[2] Bristwald the priest, another almsman, held the churches of Dorchester and Bere Regis in Bere Regis hundred.[3] The only other foundation in the county was a chapel at Wimborne held by the Abbot of Horton.[4]

Of the forty early hundreds in Wiltshire[5] some eighteen fell into the hands of ecclesiastical bodies. The Bishop of Salisbury held the hundreds of Underditch, 'Rouberghe Episcopi', Cannings, and Ramsbury. At none of these is there mention of a church in Domesday except at the old episcopal see of Ramsbury, where there still remained a community of priests holding four hides.[6] The Bishop of Winchester held the hundreds of Downton and Knoyle Episcopi, in the former of which at Downton there was a church of the manor with four hides, an endowment suggestive of an intention to support a community of priests.[7] The abbeys of Malmesbury, Wilton, and Romsey each held hundreds in which there is no reference to churches in the Domesday Book. The Abbess of Shaftesbury held the hundred of Bradford, where at Bradford there had been a monastery or minster (*coenobium*) which with its endowments was granted by King Ethelred in 1001 to the monastery of Shaftesbury as a place of refuge for the nuns in case of invasion.[8] Shaftesbury apparently appropriated the endowments which are included in the Domesday Survey under the lands of Shaftesbury, and hence this well-known Saxon church not being taxable did not find a place in the Survey; in like manner the Abbot of Glastonbury held the hundred of Damerham, where we know there was a minster at the hundred manor of Damerham about 885,[9] which probably for the same reason as Bradford is not referred to in Domesday. The Prioress of Amesbury held the hundred of Melksham, where the only church was at Melksham, held by Rumbold the priest, and endowed with a hide.[10] The Prior of St. Swithun at Winchester held the hundred of Elstub, in which a ruinous church is returned at Nether Avon,[11] and a priest at Enford.[12] In the hundred of Calne there was at the ancient borough of Calne a church with six hides which claimed five more, said to have belonged to it in the time of Edward the Confessor.[13] Here, again, from the size of the endowment there can be little doubt there was a minster of priests which originally served the whole hundred. In the same hundred there was in 1086 also a

[1] *Dorset Domesday*, 41, 42 (orig. text, 78).
[2] *Ibid.*, 44 (orig. text, 79).
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 41 (orig. text, 78 *b*).
[5] W. H. Jones, *Domesday for Wiltshire*, 155–6.
[6] *Ibid.*, 23 (orig. text, 66).
[7] *Ibid.*, 17 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[8] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 479.
[9] Thorpe, *Diplom. Angl.*, 492.
[10] Jones, *op. cit.*, 12 (orig. text, 65).
[11] *Ibid.*, 14 (orig. text, 65). Saxon work survives in Nether Avon church.
[12] *Ibid.*, 20 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 7 (orig. text, 64 *b*).

church at Bromham endowed with a hide and a virgate of land.[1] In Dole hundred the only church was at Winterbourn Stoke, held by the Abbot of Jumièges, and endowed with a hide.[2] In Westbury hundred the only church was at Westbury, endowed with a hide and a half.[3] In Highworth hundred the only church was at Highworth (Wrde), endowed with three hides.[4] In Heytesbury hundred the only church was at Heytesbury, endowed with three hides,[5] which later we find as a college of four priests. In Alderbury hundred the only church was at Alderbury with two hides.[6] In Chippenham hundred there were churches at Chippenham[7] and Corsham[8] (with the adjoining church of Pewsham), each endowed with two hides, and other churches at Sherston Magna[9] and Haselbury.[10] In Cawden hundred Osbern the priest held the church of the manor of Britford,[11] which still has remains of Anglo-Saxon work, with a hide of land, and Leuric the priest held the church of Combe Basset with half a hide.[12] In Swanborough hundred there was a church at Rushall with two hides held by the abbey of St. Wandrille,[13] and 'a new church' at Wilcote.[14] In Silkley hundred there were churches at Aldbourne[15] and Avebury,[16] where Saxon work survives, each endowed with two hides. In Kinwardston hundred there were two churches at Wootton Rivers, endowed with a hide,[17] and churches also at Burbage,[18] Pewsey,[19] and Bedwin.[20] In the same hundred, at Collingbourn Ducis,[21] which later formed the hundred manor of Collingbourn hundred, there was a church, then ruinous, endowed with a hide.

As might be expected, Hampshire shows a highly developed ecclesiastical organization. The great monasteries still doubtless retained their extensive *parochiae* in which they had established churches, and although somewhat obscured by increased building of manorial churches, which is strongly marked in this county compared with the counties further west, the arrangement under hundreds is traceable. Under Hampshire we begin to get evidence of the foundation of chapels.

On the west side of the county, which was largely forest land, we find in Fordingbridge and Ringwood hundreds that the only churches were at the

[1] *Ibid.*, 13 (orig. text, 65).
[2] *Ibid.*, 14 (orig. text, 65).
[3] *Ibid.*, 13, 14 (orig. text, 65).
[4] *Ibid.*, 15 (orig. text. 65 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 57 (orig. text, 68 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 9 (orig. text, 64 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 11, 12 (orig. text, 65).
[9] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[11] *Ibid.*, 9, 10 (orig. text, 65).
[12] *Ibid.*, 12 (orig. text, 65).
[13] *Ibid.*, 10, 11 (orig. text, 65).
[14] *Ibid.*, 65 (orig. text, 69).
[15] *Ibid.*, 11 (orig. text, 65).
[16] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[17] *Ibid.*, 13 (orig. text, 65).
[18] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[19] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[20] *Ibid.*, 16 (orig. text, 65 *b*).
[21] *Ibid.*, 14, 15 (orig. text, 65). Gerald the priest of Wilton held the tithe of this church (*ibid.*).

hundred manors of Fordingbridge[1] and Ringwood.[2] In 'Egheite' hundred was the minster of Christchurch and the church of Hordle served from it. In 'Rodedic' hundred the only church was at Brockenhurst.[3] In Redbridge hundred there was a manorial church at Eling,[4] where late eleventh-century work survives, and a chapel (*ecclesiola*) at Fawley.[5] In the hundred of Thorngate or Broughton there was evidently a minster on the Archbishop of York's manor of Mottisfont, where there was a church with six dependent chapels taking all customary dues from the living and dead, and endowed with five hides less a virgate.[6] In the same hundred there was a church at Nether Wallop which was endowed with a hide, the moiety of the tithes of the manor, the whole churchscot, and 46*d.* from the villeins' tithes.[7] The payment of churchscot is suggestive of a minster or mother church here.[8] There was also a chapel at Over Wallop,[9] and a manorial church at Shipton Bellinger.[10] In King's Sombourne hundred there were two churches in the hundred manor of King's Sombourne,[11] and two at Houghton,[12] endowed with two hides. In 'Falemer' hundred, which belonged to the monks of Winchester, was the great manor of Chilcomb with its nine churches, assessed only as one hide.[13] In the Domesday hundred of Hoddington there were manorial churches at Upton Grey[14] and Warnborough.[15] In Buddlesgate hundred there was a church at Nursling,[16] where there was an ancient minster which had become attached to the bishopric of Winchester, and manorial churches at Chilbolton,[17] Otterburn,[18] and Stoke Charity.[19] In Mainsbridge hundred the mother church of South Stoneham, endowed with a hide, had two churches near Southampton attached to it;[20] there were also manorial churches at Hinton Ampner,[21] still a pre-Conquest building, Botley,[22] North Baddesley,[23] Chilworth,[24] Allington in South Stoneham,[25] and a chapel (*ecclesiola*) at Netley in Hound.[26] In Titch-

[1] *V. C. H. Hants*, i, 489 (orig. text, 46 *b*). [2] *Ibid.*, 454–5 (orig. text, 39).
[3] *Ibid.*, 516 (orig. text. 51 *b*). [4] *Ibid.*, 454 (orig. text, 38 *b*). [5] *Ibid.*, 467 (orig. text, 41 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 468 (orig. text, 42). The chapels were at Broughton, East Dean, Lockersley, Prittleworth, and East and West Titherley (*ibid.*, iv, 509).
[7] *Ibid.*, 452–3 (orig. text, 38 *b*), but as to the identification of Over and Nether Wallop compare *ibid.*, iv, 525, 531, 534.
[8] Under Edgar's laws churchscot was to go to the old minster. See *Ancient Laws and Inst.* (Thorpe, fol. ed.), i, 111.
[9] *V. C. H. Hants*, i, 453 (orig. text, 38 *b*). [10] *Ibid.*, 493 (orig. text, 47 *b*).
[11] *Ibid.*, 457 (orig. text, 39 *b*). Little Sombourne church is in part Saxon. [12] *Ibid.*, 462 (orig. text, 40 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 463 (orig. text, 41). The churches were at Barton, Buddlesgate, Winnal, Moreshead, St. Faith, Compton, Week, Littleton, and Sparsholt. Compare Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 449, 496–9.
[14] *V. C. H. Hants*, i, 482 (orig. text, 45 *b*). [15] *Ibid.*, 496 (orig. text, 48).
[16] *Ibid.*, 464 (orig. text, 41). [17] *Ibid.* [18] *Ibid.*, 489 (orig. text, 46 *b*).
[19] *Ibid.*, 461 (orig. text, 40 *b*). [20] *Ibid.*, 467 (orig. text, 41 *b*); see also iii, 524.
[21] *Ibid.*, 467 (orig. text, 41 *b*). [22] *Ibid.*, 490 (orig. text, 47). [23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*, 494 (orig. text, 47 *b*). [25] *Ibid.*, 498 (orig. text, 48 *b*). [26] *Ibid.*, 495 (orig. text, 48).

field hundred the only church was at Crofton,[1] a hamlet in Titchfield, representing probably the present parish church of Titchfield, which has considerable remains of Saxon work. In Fareham hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Fareham.[2] In Portsdown hundred there were manorial churches at Boarhunt,[3] where at the present day there is a complete Saxon church, and at Bedhampton.[4] In Bosmere hundred there was a manorial church at Yateley.[5] In Chalton or Finchdean hundred there were churches (*ecclesiae*) at Chalton[6] which served many hamlets, a manorial church at Mapledurham,[7] and a chapel (*ecclesiola*) at Sunworth[8] in Buriton parish. In Meonstoke hundred there was a church endowed with a hide at the manor of West Meon,[9] and manorial churches at Exton,[10] Worthy,[11] Corhampton,[12] still with pre-Conquest work, Lomer in Corhampton,[13] and Hound.[14] In East Meon hundred we have an example of the survival of ecclesiastical organization from an administrative centre. According to the Domesday Survey the only church was at the hundred manor of East Meon[15] with six hides, which would indicate apparently an endowment for the support of a minster of priests. East Meon continued to be the mother church for the whole hundred, and till recently the parish covered 11,370 acres, and included the chapelries of Westbury, Froxfield, Steep, and St. Mary in the Field.[16] In Bishop's Waltham, hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Bishop's Waltham, endowed with two and a half hides.[17] In Fawley hundred there were three churches at Alresford[18] (Medstead, Old and New Alresford), and manorial churches at Twyford[19] and Avington,[20] and two chapels at Easton.[21] In Barton Stacey hundred there was a church at the hundred manor of Barton Stacey,[22] a manorial church at Wonston,[23] and two churches at Sutton Scotney in Wonston.[24] In Bishops Sutton or 'Eselei' hundred there were churches at Bishops Sutton and West Tisted.[25] In Bermondspit hundred there were two manorial churches at Dummer,[26] and one at Ellisfield.[27] In Neteham hundred, later divided into the hundreds of Alton and Selbourne, there were manorial churches at Selbourne,[28] Willhall in Alton,[29] which may represent the church of

[1] *Ibid.*, 476 (orig. text, 44).
[2] *Ibid.*, 462 (orig. text, 40 *b*).
[3] *Ibid.*, 477 (orig. text, 44 *b*).
[4] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 43).
[5] *Ibid.*, 483 (orig. text, 45 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 478 (orig. text, 44 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 451 (orig. text, 38).
[8] *Ibid.*, 478 (orig. text, 44 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 461 (orig. text, 40 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*, 466 (orig. text, 41 *b*).
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, 481 (orig. text, 45).
[13] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 43).
[14] *Ibid.*, 481 (orig. text, 45).
[15] *Ibid.*, 452 (orig. text, 38).
[16] *Ibid.*, iii, 75.
[17] *Ibid.*, i, 460–1 (orig. text, 40).
[18] *Ibid.*, 459 (orig. text, 40).
[19] *Ibid.*, 460 (orig. text, 40).
[20] *Ibid.*, 464 (orig. text, 41).
[21] *Ibid.*, 460 (orig. text, 40).
[22] *Ibid.*, 497 (orig. text, 48 *b*).
[23] *Ibid.*, 467 (orig. text, 41 *b*).
[24] *Ibid.*, 488-9, 504 (orig. text, 46 *b*, 49 *b*).
[25] *Ibid.*, 463, 477 (orig. text, 40 *b*, 44 *b*).
[26] *Ibid.*, 482, 504–5 (orig. text, 45 *b*, 49 *b*).
[27] *Ibid.*, 486 (orig. text, 46).
[28] *Ibid.*, 451 (orig. text, 38).
[29] *Ibid.*, 497 (orig. text, 48 *b*).

Alton built about 1070, Froyle,[1] and Newton Valence.[2] In Crondal hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Crondal.[3] In Odiham or 'Edefele' hundred there were at the hundred manor of Odiham two churches held by one priest endowed with six pounds, and two other churches held by two priests endowed with 67*s.* 6*d.*;[4] there was also a church at Dogmersfield.[5] In Holdshott hundred there was a manorial church at Stratfieldsaye.[6] In Basingstoke hundred there was a church at the hundred manor of Basingstoke,[7] endowed with a hide and the tithes of the manor, and churches at Hurstbourne Tarrant endowed with half a hide,[8] which was consecrated in 902,[9] and at Sherborne St. John,[10] and manorial churches at Bramley,[11] Cliddesden,[12] and Hatch Warren.[13] In Chuteley hundred there were manorial churches at Worting[14] and Church Oakley.[15] In Overton hundred there were two churches at the hundred manor of Overton,[16] and manorial churches at Laverstoke,[17] where pre-Conquest work remains, Ashe,[18] and Polehampton[19] in Overton. In Kingsclere hundred there was a church at the hundred manor of Kingsclere[20] (Clere) with an endowment of four hides, which is suggestive of a minster of priests, and a manorial church at Hannington.[21] In Evingar hundred there were churches at Whitchurch,[22] where there is a Saxon tombstone, Hurstbourne Priors,[23] and Clere,[24] each endowed with a hide. In 'Esseborne' or Pastrow hundred there was a manorial church at Crux Easton.[25] Wherwell or Welford hundred belonged to Wherwell Abbey, founded in 1002, and Wherwell continued the mother church with its chapels of Bullington, Goodworth, Clatford, Tufton, and perhaps Longparish.[26] In Andover hundred there were manorial churches at Quarley,[27] Penton Grafton,[28] Penton Mewsey,[29] Fifield,[30] and Anne.[31]

Hampshire is of particular interest for our present investigation, for in it

[1] *V. C. H. Hants*, i, 474 (orig. text, 43 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 494 (orig. text, 47 *b*).
[3] *Ibid.*, 465 (orig. text, 41).
[4] *Ibid.*, 450 (orig. text, 38); iv, 97.
[5] *Ibid.*, 502 (orig. text, 49 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 496 (orig. text, 48).
[7] *Ibid.*, 469 (orig. text, 42).
[8] *Ibid.*, 456 (orig. text. 39).
[9] Thorpe, *Diplom. Angl.*, 151, 152.
[10] *V. C. H. Hants*, i, 479 (orig. text, 45).
[11] *Ibid.*, 479 (orig. text, 45).
[12] *Ibid.*, 493 (orig. text, 47 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 502 (orig. text, 49).
[14] *Ibid.*, 470–1 (orig. text, 43).
[15] *Ibid.*, 482 (orig. text, 45 *b*).
[16] *Ibid.*, 461 (orig. text, 40).
[17] *Ibid.*, 472 (orig. text, 43).
[18] *Ibid.*, 491 (orig. text, 47).
[19] *Ibid.*, 491 (orig. text, 47).
[20] *Ibid.*, 471 (orig. text, 43). Entered in Domesday under Mansbridge Hundred possibly by a slip.
[21] *Ibid.*, 467–8 (orig. text, 41 *b*).
[22] *Ibid.*, 464 (orig. text, 41).
[23] *Ibid.*, 465 (orig. text, 41).
[24] *Ibid.*, 465 (orig. text, 41).
[25] *Ibid.*, 501 (orig. text, 49).
[26] *Ibid.*, 475 (orig. text, 44). There was an alteration of this hundred after the Domesday Survey.
[27] *Ibid.*, 456 (orig. text, 39).
[28] *Ibid.*, 473 (orig. text, 43 *b*).
[29] *Ibid.*, 477 (orig. text, 44 *b*).
[30] *Ibid.*, 493 (orig. text, 47 *b*).
[31] *Ibid.*, 501 (orig. text, 49).

we see the survival of minsters at administrative centres, and the development of the modern parochial system.

In Berkshire the characteristics of the county as regards the ecclesiastical conditions were much the same as those of Hampshire. In the hundred of Kintbury only a manorial church at Denford[1] is returned in Domesday, but there was a minster at Kintbury[2] in 931 which was probably given to Amesbury Abbey at its foundation in 979, and the endowment absorbed by the abbess.[3] In the hundred of Eagle there was only a manorial church at Letcombe Regis held by the Abbess of Amesbury.[4] In 'Hilleslau' hundred there was at Ashbury a church and a priest holding a hide,[5] and another church at Compton Beauchamp endowed with half a hide.[6] In Shrivenham hundred the only church, which was at the hundred manor of Shrivenham,[7] was, from its endowment of five hides, probably established for a minster. In 'Wifol' hundred, of which Faringdon hundred later formed a part, there was a church at Faringdon held by Bishop Osmund of Salisbury and endowed with a hide, and another church at Great Coxwell endowed with half a hide.[8] In Sutton hundred there was a church at Little Wittenham.[9] In Marcham hundred there was a church at the hundred manor of Marcham.[10] In Ganfield hundred there were churches at Buckland,[11] Pusey,[12] and Hinton Wildrist.[13] In Wantage there was a mother church, probably a minster, at the hundred manor of Wantage,[14] two parts of which were held by Peter Bishop of Chester and endowed with four hides, and the remaining third was held by William the Deacon and endowed with one hide. There were other churches in this hundred, at Sparsholt[15] held by Edred the priest, at West Hanney[16] held by Turold the priest, each endowed with a hide, at East Lockinge,[17] West Hendred,[18] belonging to the Abbot of St. Albans, East Hendred,[19] and Denchworth.[20] In 'Hesletesford' or 'Eletesford' hundred there was on the king's manor of Cholsey a church held by the abbey of Mont St. Michel endowed with a hide; and two priests who were there took the tithes and other profits worth £4.[21] In the same hundred Wilbert the priest held the

[1] *V. C. H. Berks.*, i, 352 (orig. text, 61).
[2] Thorpe, *Diplom. Angl.*, 495.
[3] *V. C. H. Berks.*, i, 344 (orig. text. 60).
[4] *Ibid.*, 332 (orig. text, 57 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, 342 (orig. text), 59 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 351 (orig. text, 61).
[7] *Ibid.*, 332 (orig. text, 57 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 340 (orig. text, 59).
[10] *Ibid.*, 338 (orig. text, 58 *b*).
[11] *Ibid.*, 336 (orig. text, 58 *b*).
[12] *Ibid.*, 361 (orig. text, 62 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 367 (orig. text, 63 *b*).
[14] *Ibid.*, 328 (orig. text, 57).
[15] *Ibid.*, 329 (orig. text, 57).
[16] *Ibid.*, 346 (orig. text, 60).
[17] *Ibid.*, 342 (orig. text, 59 *b*).
[18] *Ibid.*, 343 (orig. text, 59 *b*).
[19] *Ibid.*, 345 (orig. text, 60).
[20] *Ibid.*, 348 (orig. text, 60 *b*).
[21] *Ibid.*, 328 (orig. text, 56 *b*, 57). A minster was founded here by Ethelred about 986 which was possibly destroyed by the Danes in 1006 (Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi, 1615). There is pre-Conquest work in the church.

church on the manor of Geoffrey de Mandeville at Streatley with a hide of land;[1] two priests held two churches at Basildon endowed with a hide,[2] and there were churches at Brightwell[3] and Childrey.[4] In Blewbury hundred there were a church at the hundred manor of Blewbury endowed with five virgates,[5] and other churches at 'Wibaldtone',[6] North Moreton,[7] and South Moreton,[8] and a chapel at Harwell.[9] In 'Nachededowne' hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of 'Nachededowne' held by Ralph the priest, and endowed with a hide and half a virgate.[10] In 'Roeberg' hundred there was a church at Leckhampstead.[11] In Bucklebury hundred there were churches at the hundred manor of Bucklebury,[12] and at Hampstead Norris.[13] In Thatcham hundred there was apparently a small minster at the hundred manor of Thatcham,[14] with two clerks holding three hides, and one church at Greenham,[15] and two at Brimpton.[16] In Reading hundred there were four or more priests, possibly forming a community, and a church at Aldermaston,[17] and manorial churches at Sulham,[18] Stratfield Mortimer,[19] and Burghfield.[20] In Charlton hundred, later called Sonning hundred, there was a church belonging to Sonning at Wallingford,[21] but the mother church of the hundred manor of Sonning was in the hands of the Bishop of Salisbury, and hence perhaps does not appear in Domesday. In Beynhurst hundred there was apparently a minster at Cookham (later the hundred manor of the hundred of Cookham), where Reinbald the priest[22] held one and a half hides in alms together with the church, and certain other lands and tenements, a hide of the endowment being held by two clerks.[23] This church also held a hide of land at Boveney in Buckinghamshire.[24] At White Waltham the manor was held by the Bishop of Durham, Ulwin a canon formerly held it as three hides of Earl Harold, as the endowment of the church, which from its wealth was at one time probably a minster.[25] There were also churches in this hundred at Hurley,[26] Shottisbrooke,[27] and Bras[28] (Bray Wood?). In Bray hundred the only church was at the hundred manor of Bray, where Reinbald the priest held a hide of the endowment.[29]

[1] *V. C. H. Berks.*, i, 358 (orig. text, 62).
[2] *Ibid.*, 328 (orig. text, 57).
[3] *Ibid.*, 335 (orig. text, 58).
[4] *Ibid.*, 364 (orig. text, 63).
[5] *Ibid.*, 327–8 (orig. text, 56 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 348 (orig. text, 60 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 353 (orig. text, 61).
[8] *Ibid.*, 364 (orig. text, 63).
[9] *Ibid.*, 361 (orig. text, 62 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*, 330 (orig. text, 57 *b*).
[11] *Ibid.*, 338 (orig. text, 58 *b*).
[12] *Ibid.*, 330 (orig. text, 57).
[13] *Ibid.*, 366 (orig. text, 63).
[14] *Ibid.*, 327 (orig. text, 56 *b*).
[15] *Ibid.*, 347 (orig. text, 60 *b*).
[16] *Ibid.*, 359, 361 (orig. text, 62, 62 *b*).
[17] *Ibid.*, 326, 334 (orig. text, 56 *b*, 58).
[18] *Ibid.*, 353 (orig. text, 61).
[19] *Ibid.*, 361–2 (orig. text, 62 *b*).
[20] *Ibid.*, 362 (orig. text, 62 *b*)
[21] *Ibid.*, 335 (orig. text, 58).
[22] See p. 71, note.
[23] *Ibid.*, 327 (orig. text, 56 *b*).
[24] *V. C. H. Bucks.*, i, 243 (orig. text, 146).
[25] *V. C. H. Berks.*, i, 336 (orig. text, 58).
[26] *Ibid.*, 358 (orig. text, 62).
[27] *Ibid.*, 367 (orig. text, 63 *b*).
[28] *Ibid.*, 368 (orig. text, 63 *b*).
[29] *Ibid.*, 330 (orig. text, 57). See p. 71, note.

In Sussex a great difference is noticeable in the eleventh century between the ecclesiastical organization of the older settled districts in the south and that of the later settlements on the verge of the forest in the north. In the former we find the older system of minsters of secular priests at the hundred boroughs and manors, in some instances still possibly serving the whole hundred, and at others having their areas of ministration encroached upon by more recently established manorial churches. In the forest lands of the north, however, manorial churches only are to be found, and they are few in number.

Of the older southern hundreds, Bosham hundred was of course served by the ancient minster of Bosham,[1] founded as it was claimed before 681, and endowed with 112 hides. The minster and its endowment had been granted by Edward the Confessor to his Norman chaplain Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, who left them to his see. Eastward in Box hundred there was clearly a minster at Boxgrove where the clerks of the church held a hide of land.[2] Here the church was granted by Robert de la Haye in 1105 to the abbey of Lessay, and became an alien priory. There were two other churches at the time of the Domesday Survey in Box hundred, one at Aldingbourne[3] on the Bishop of Chichester's land, and the other at West Hampnett,[4] where Saxon work still exists. In Singleton hundred there was a small minster at the hundred manor of Singleton with a community of clerks, endowed with three hides and a virgate of land, together with £10 a year.[5] This church also retains evidence of Saxon work. There was further a church at Binderton in this hundred.[6] In Steyning hundred were two churches at the hundred borough of Steyning,[7] held by the abbey of Fécamp by grant of Edward the Confessor; one of these was possibly at Warminghurst, and the other the minster or college of priests which existed here shortly after the Conquest, and is said to have received privileges from King Alfred.[8] It is interesting to note with regard to this church that when William de Braose founded a small college of priests in the church of St. Nicholas, Bramber, and claimed the right of burial there, the Abbot of Fécamp compelled the dean of Bramber college to restore the bodies buried and refund the fees, apparently in respect of Steyning church, as the mother church of the district.[9] There were also manorial churches in Steyning hundred at Annington,[10] Wiston,[11] and Coombe.[12] In South Malling or Loxfield hundred the only church was the

[1] *V. C. H. Sussex*, i, 392 (orig. text, 17). There was another church at Bosham which has been identified possibly with West Stoke (*ibid.*, 387). There may have been a third church the tithes of which were held by the clerks of the minster (*ibid.*, 392). There is much Saxon work at Bosham church.

[2] *Ibid.*, 433 (orig. text, 25 *b*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 390 (orig. text, 16 *b*).

[4] *Ibid.*, 433 (orig. text, 25 *b*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 421 (orig. text, 23).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 392 (orig. text, 17).

[8] *Ibid.*, ii, 122.

[9] Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, 38.

[10] *V. C. H. Sussex*, i, 444 (orig. text, 28).

[11] *Ibid.*, 445 (orig. text, 28).

[12] *Ibid.*, 446 (orig. text, 28 *b*).

minster of St. Michael at the hundred manor of South Malling, the secular canons of which held four hides.[1] In Willingdon hundred Godfrey the priest held a hide and a virgate at the hundred manor of Willingdon.[2] In Bexhill hundred the only churches were two at Bexhill, where Geoffrey and Roger, clerks, held a hide as a benefice.[3] In the Archbishop of Canterbury's important hundred of Pagham there was a church at the hundred manor of Pagham,[4] and what was apparently a small minster of secular clerks who held the manor at Tangmere.[5] In 'Risberg' or Poling hundred there was at Lyminster or Nonneminster,[6] probably the chief town in the hundred, a cell of the abbey of Almenesches, where it is evident there had been a minster which Roger de Montgomery converted into a house of nuns, and granted as a cell to Almenesches shortly after the Conquest. There were also manorial churches at Patching,[7] North Stoke,[8] and Burpham[9] in this hundred. In Benstede hundred the minster of St. Nicholas at Arundel seems to have been the chief church, but besides it there were eight manorial churches (Felpham, Climping, Walberton, Barnham, Middleton, South Stoke, Eastergate, and Slindon[10]) in the hundred. In Totnore hundred there had been a minster at Bedingham which is mentioned in the ninth century. At the time of Edward the Confessor Ulnod the priest had held there two hides, probably representing the endowment of the minster, which the Count of Mortain had given before 1086 to the Abbot of Grestain in Normandy.[11] In Foxearle hundred there was possibly a minster at Hurstmonceaux where the priest held the whole manor,[12] while at Wartling there was a priest,[13] and at Ashburnham a church.[14] In Westbourne hundred the chief church was evidently at Stoughton (Estone),[15] endowed with a hide and a half of land; there was also a manorial church at Compton.[16]

In the hundreds in the middle strip of the county running east and west which were apparently of more recent formation and settlement than those on the sea-coast, we still have evidence of hundred manor organization. In Bury hundred there were churches at Bury[17] and Bignor.[18] In Hamfield or Henfield hundred there were churches at Henfield[19] and Woodmancote.[20] In Preston hundred there was a church at Preston.[21] In Poynings hundred there were churches

[1] *V. C. H. Sussex*, i, 388 (orig. text, 16 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 411 (orig. text, 21).
[3] *Ibid.*, 397 (orig. text, 18).
[4] *Ibid.*, 389 (orig. text, 16 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.* 429 (orig. text, 24 *b*). Possibly pre-Conquest work at Lyminster.
[7] *Ibid.*, 389 (orig. text, 16 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 429 (orig. text, 24 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, 395, 430, 431, 432 (orig. text, 17 *b*, 25, 25 *b*). Eastgate church has eleventh-century masonry.
[11] *Ibid.*, 409 (orig. text, 20 *b*).
[12] *Ibid.*, 396 (orig. text, 18).
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, 426 (orig. text, 24).
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, 392 (orig. text, 17).
[18] *Ibid.*, 430 (orig. text, 25).
[19] *Ibid.*, 390 (orig. text, 16 *b*).
[20] *Ibid.*, 446 (orig. text, 28 *b*).
[21] *Ibid.*, 391 (orig. text, 17).

at Poynings,[1] and Godwin the priest held Saddlescombe in Newtimber,[2] as part of the great Bosham manor. In Street hundred there were two chapels at Street[3] and a church at Plumpton.[4] In Barcombe hundred there were churches at Barcombe[5] and Hamsey.[6] In Falmer hundred there was only one manorial church at Falmer.[7]

In a great number of the forest hundreds in the north, however, manorial churches seem to have been established independently of any hundred organization. Thus at Henhurst hundred there was a manorial church at Salehurst;[8] in Shoyswell hundred at Hazelhurst[9] in Ticehurst; in Gostrow or 'Babinrerode' hundred at Udimore.[10] In Easebourne hundred there were six manorial churches, at one of which, Woolbeding,[11] Saxon remains still survive. In Buttinghill hundred there were churches at Hurstpierpoint,[12] Keymer,[13] and Clayton,[14] at the last of which there is still pre-Conquest work, and with the other northern hundreds the evidence is of the same nature.

Domesday Book is practically silent as to the ecclesiastical organization at Chichester,[15] whither the bishop had only transferred his see from Selsey some eleven years. The churches of the city were probably attached to the ownership of properties, but the only church mentioned there is that of All Saints in the Pallant belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury and attached to his manor at Pagham.[16] The bishop's minster at Chichester or Selsey probably served the hundreds of Stockbridge and Somerley or Manhood. The only church mentioned in either of these hundreds was at Mundham in Stockbridge hundred[17] which had been held by Countess Goda. Domesday gives us no information as to the ecclesiastical organization of Lewes.

The north-eastern and the southern parts of Surrey, like the northern parts of Sussex, were forest land and were sparsely settled. The only important monastery in the county at the time of the Domesday Survey was Chertsey. This abbey held the hundred of Godley, in which only a church and chapel at Chobham[18] are returned, but on their lands in other hundreds there seem to have been churches at many of the manors, while at Epsom[19] and Sutton[20] near Cheam there were two churches. The minster of secular priests at Lambeth had only

[1] *Ibid.*, 440 (orig. text, 27).
[2] *Ibid.* See for the holdings of Godwin the priest in Sussex in the time of King Edward, Round in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xliv, 142–3.
[3] *V. C. H. Sussex*, i, 441 (orig. text, 27).
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 442 (orig. text, 27 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 436–7 (orig. text, 26).
[8] *Ibid.*, 403 (orig. text, 19 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 401 (orig. text, 19).
[10] *Ibid.*, 404 (orig. text, 19 *b*).
[11] *Ibid.*, 450 (orig. text, 29).
[12] *Ibid.*, 440 (orig. text, 27).
[13] *Ibid.*, 441 (orig. text, 27).
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, 421 (orig. text, 23).
[16] *Ibid.*, 388–9 (orig. text, 16 *b*).
[17] *Ibid.*, 426–7 (orig. text, 24).
[18] *V. C. H. Surrey*, i, 310 (orig. text, 32 *b*).
[19] *Ibid.*, 308 (orig. text, 32 *b*).
[20] *Ibid.*, 307 (orig. text, 32 *b*).

a small endowment in Surrey[1] and a little land in Gloucestershire.[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Bayeux each had several churches on their estates, but on the lands of the Abbot of Westminster few are returned.

There seems to be evidence of the survival of borough minsters on the western side of the county; thus at the manor of the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham[3] there was 'a church of the manor' held by Osbern de Ow, which was then, as it is now, the mother church for apparently the whole hundred, containing some 26,250 acres and comprising the chapelries of Elsted, Frensham, Seal, and Bentley. At Godalming[4] in Godalming hundred there was a church, identified as that of St. Peter and St. Paul, held by the famous Ranulf Flambard with a valuable endowment of three hides, which suggests the existence at one time of a small community of priests. There was also in this hundred a church at Compton[5] which still has eleventh-century remains. The church of Kingston[6] was probably the mother church of the hundred of Kingston, but in 1086 there were also a minster at Southwark[7] and churches at Petersham[8] (a chapelry of Kingston), Long Ditton,[9] Malden,[10] and West Horsley[11] in this hundred. In the other hundreds we lose sight of the churches at the hundred manors and manorial churches become frequent, particularly on the eastern side of the county. These churches are entered in the usual way with the villein tenants, mills, meadows, &c.; even the 'new and handsome church' of the Cluniac priory of Bermondsey[12] appears in this manner. There were three churches at Bramley,[13] and the church of Leatherhead is said to have belonged to the manor of Ewell.[14]

There seems to have been no ecclesiastical organization in Kent under lathes, and the spread of manorial churches had largely obscured such organization as may have existed at civil administrative centres. It is probable that in some places the churches mentioned represent borough minsters, but the entries as to churches in the Domesday Survey of Kent are so meagre that there is little to indicate the existence of communities of priests. At the king's manor of Dartford (Tarentefort), in Axton hundred, the Bishop of Rochester held the church worth 60*s.* with its three chapels,[15] and in the hundred manor of Milton Regis (Middeltune) the Abbot of St. Augustine held the churches and tithes,[16] but at the king's manors of Aylesford[17] and Faversham[18] there is no reference to churches, nor is there any mention of a church at the archbishop's town of

[1] *V. C. H. Surrey*, i, 312 (orig. text, 33 *b*, 34).
[2] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 166 *b*.
[3] *V. C. H. Surrey*, i, 300 (orig. text, 31).
[4] *Ibid.*, 298 (orig. text, 30 *b*). There is Saxon work here.
[5] *Ibid.*, 322-3 (orig. text, 36).
[6] *Ibid.*, 297 (orig. text, 30 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 305 (orig. text, 31 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 308 (orig. text, 32 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 317 (orig. text, 35).
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*, 323 (orig. text, 36).
[12] *Ibid.*, 296 (orig. text, 30).
[13] *Ibid.*, 301 (orig. text, 31).
[14] *Ibid.*, 297 (orig. text, 30 *b*).
[15] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 2 *b*. In Dartford church is work probably of Bishop Gundulf's time.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*

Sandwich.[1] There was a church at Maidstone,[2] in the hundred of Maidstone, then only a manor of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and another church at East Farleigh[3] in the same hundred. In Hoo hundred there were six churches at the town of Hoo St. Werburg[4] held by the Bishop of Bayeux, and a church at Stoke.[5] In Chatham hundred there was a church at Chatham,[6] and another at Gillingham.[7] In Wye hundred there were churches at the *villa regalis* of Wye[8] and at Boughton Alulph.[9] In Petham hundred there were two churches at Petham.[10] In Barham hundred there were churches at Barham[11] and Bishopsbourne (Burnes).[12] In Reculver hundred there were churches at Reculver,[13] where there had been a minster, and where early Saxon work survives, and at Norton.[14] In Chislet hundred there was a church at Chislet.[15] In Sturry hundred there was a church at Sturry.[16] In St. Mildreds or Thanet hundred there were the minster at Minster[17] and two churches at Monkton.[18] In Folkestone hundred there were five churches at Folkestone,[19] from which the archbishop had 55*s*. In Street hundred there was a church at Street in Lympne,[20] and others at Sellinge[21] and Bonnington.[22] In Loningborough (Moneberge) hundred there seem to have been three churches at Lyminge,[23] one at Acres,[24] and another at Elham.[25]

As will be noticed, most of the hundred manors of the smaller hundreds lying on the east and north side of the county were probably administrative centres[26] with minsters or manorial churches; on the other hand, however, in the larger hundreds of Axton,[27] 'Helmestrei',[28] Toltingtrough,[29] Eyhorne,[30] and others in the west, many manorial churches are recorded, but there is no trace of organization under hundreds. This west Kent district corresponds with the adjoining parts of east Surrey, in both of which the prevalence of the manorial church is caused possibly by the later settlement of the forest and high lands here existing.

In the extensive property held by the canons of St. Martin's of Dover, besides three churches in Dover,[31] the only church mentioned is at Buckland near Dover.[32] It is probable, however, that there were churches on the prebendal manors of the canons.

Essex partook of the Mercian system of church organization, and there is no evidence of administrative centres at hundred manors and boroughs such as is to be found in Wessex. Colchester was the only large town, and although

[1] *Ibid.*, 3. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, 4*b*.
[4] *Ibid*, 8*b*. [5] *Ibid.*, 5*b*. [6] *Ibid.*, 8*b*. [7] *Ibid.*, 3*b*. [8] *Ibid.*, 5, 11*b*, 14. [9] *Ibid.*, 14.
[10] *Ibid.*, 3*b*. [11] *Ibid.*, 9*b*. [12] *Ibid.*, 3*b*. [13] *Ibid.* [14] *Ibid.* [15] *Ibid.*, 12.
[16] *Ibid.* [17] *Ibid.* [18] *Ibid.*, 4*b*. [19] *Ibid.*, 9*b*. [20] *Ibid.*, 13*b*. [21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*, 13*b*–14. [23] *Ibid.*, 4. [24] *Ibid.*, 11*b*.
[25] *Ibid.*, 9*b*. The parish church is of late eleventh-century date, and the foundations of a far earlier church adjoin it.
[26] Many of them were *villae regales*; see Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 249.
[27] With churches at six vills. [28] Now Ruxley. With churches at six vills.
[29] With churches at six vills.
[30] With churches at sixteen vills; at each of the hundreds of Larkfield and Faversham there were churches at nine vills.
[31] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 2. [32] *Ibid.*, 1*b*.

in the list of its burgesses there appear the names of some three priests who may have had churches, St. Peter's is the only church in the town mentioned in the Survey.[1] Possibly for the reasons already suggested scarcely any churches are returned on the lands of the Bishop of London,[2] Canons of St. Paul's,[3] nor on the great estates of the monasteries which had possessions in the county, although we know that the abbey of Ely had a church at Hadstock, at which pre-Conquest work still remains, and probably the Bishop of London also had a church at Great Hallingham, where likewise there is Saxon work. On the other hand, the well-known timber church at Greenstead near Ongar, which is supposed to be of pre-Conquest date, and has been identified with the chapel at Ongar,[4] is not entered in Domesday, although both the manors of Greenstead[5] and Ongar[6] were in lay hands.

There were several priests in Essex holding considerable estates either in their own right or as almsmen of the king, but whether they held cures is uncertain though probable; thus a priest, described as a freeman, held Dunton as seven hides four acres,[7] and another, also a freeman, at Horndon on the Hill held two hides as a manor, identified as Wythefeld manor.[8] Harold gave a hide in Writtle to one of his priests,[9] and almsmen of the king and others also had lands elsewhere.[10]

There can be little doubt that South Benfleet was an administrative centre, and apparently the church of St. Mary had been a minster which William the Conqueror had given with its endowment of seven hides and thirty acres to St. Peter's of Westminster.[11] Some of the other better-endowed churches may have been minsters of secular priests, but the evidence regarding them is slight. There was, we know, a small minster at Earls Colne, of which Ælfric the priest was appointed head by the will of Leofgifu in 1045.[12]

About a dozen manorial churches in the county are returned in Domesday Book; each of them had a glebe usually of thirty acres, which seems to have been the normal endowment, but the church of Hatfield Broadoak had as much as a hide and thirty acres.[13] At Horndon on the Hill there were three ecclesiastical endowments, but it is not clear that they were all for the parish church,[14] while

[1] *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 576, 578 (orig. text, 106 *b*, 107 *b*). The church in its suburb of Greenstead, however, is there mentioned. Holy Trinity church, Colchester, is a Saxon building.

[2] *Ibid.*, 437 (orig. text, 9 *b*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 442 (orig. text, 12 *b*).

[4] Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, ii, 40. The identification of Greenstead church, near Ongar, with the wooden chapel erected in 1013 at Ongar to hold the body of St. Edmund for a night is, however, not quite proved.

[5] *V. C. H. Essex*, i. 502 (orig. text, 56).

[6] *Ibid.*, 467, 545 (orig. text, 30 *b*, 84 *b*).

[7] *Ibid.*, 455 (orig. text, 22 *b*).

[8] *Ibid.*, 482 (orig. text, 42, 42 *b*).

[9] *Ibid.*, 433–4 (orig. text, 5, 5 *b*).

[10] *Ibid.*, 431, 477, 558 (orig. text, 3 *b*, 39, 93 *b*).

[11] *Ibid.*, 444 (orig. text, 14).

[12] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 569–71.

[13] *V. C. H. Essex*, i, 429 (orig. text, 2, 2 *b*).

[14] *Ibid.*, 460, 482, 558 (orig. text, 26, 42, 93 *b*).

at Stifford we get a glimpse of a system which had become fully developed in East Anglia whereby the church of the manor had been endowed with thirty acres in alms by the neighbours,[1] and again at Prittlewell, where the endowment of the church of the manor had been increased by thirty acres by the benevolence of two unnamed benefactors.[2] In some seventeen instances we have entries relating to priests, doubtless indicating the existence of churches, which occur with the villeins, meadows, and other incidents of the demesne, and in these cases there is no record of any endowment.

The development of the parish or manorial church in Norfolk and Suffolk was altogether different from that of Wessex. The conquest of East Anglia by the Danes in the middle of the ninth century practically obliterated organized Christianity in this district. For some time there was no Bishop of Elmham, and so far as we know every monastery in Norfolk and Suffolk was destroyed. The land therefore being swept of all its religious institutions, a new organization was introduced when the bishopric of Elmham was re-established at the end of the tenth century. The greater monasteries were not founded or refounded till the time of Cnut, but minsters or colleges of priests at administrative centres were possibly established at an earlier date. Such, for instance, it would seem from its endowment, was the church of Blythborough in Blything hundred, with two carucates of land, and having two churches without land attached to it.[3] In the same hundred was the minster of Wissett with a chapel subordinate to it, endowed with two carucates of land and served by twelve monks.[4] At Clare in Risbridge hundred there was a small community of clerks at the church of St. John the Baptist, built by Ælfric son of Wlgar,[5] and at Hoxne in Bishops hundred, so lately the seat of the bishopric, the church was probably served by a community of secular priests.[6] Stoke, Mendham, and Sudbury were probably served in a like manner.[7] There were minsters also at Thetford, Ipswich, and Elmham, referred to later, and the large endowments held by the churches of Eye in Hartesmere hundred[8] and Melford in Babergh hundred[9] suggest that they also were intended for the support of small communities of priests.

The instances, however, of the survival of the ancient organization under minsters at administrative centres in East Anglia are few and scattered, and it is clear that this system quickly gave place to the more direct and democratic one of ministration by means of modern parish churches or, as they are called in the numerous eleventh-century Norfolk and Suffolk wills which survive, tūn or town churches.[10] The organization of the country under these churches was

[1] *Ibid.*, 458 (orig. text, 24 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 485 (orig. text, 44).
[3] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i. 420 (orig. text, 282).
[4] *Ibid.*, 433 (orig. text, 292 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, 527 (orig. text, 389 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 515 (orig. text, 379); Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 513, 569.
[7] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 506, 513, 517.
[8] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 459 (orig. text, 319 *b*, 320).
[9] *Ibid.*, 494 (orig. text, 359, 359 *b*).
[10] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 459 et seq.

so enthusiastically undertaken that within some sixty or seventy years of the re-establishment of the bishopric of Elmham the number of churches founded in Suffolk particularly, and to an almost equal degree in Norfolk, cannot have been many less than that which exists at the present day. At first, no doubt, these churches were built in towns, following the older system of the foundation of churches at administrative centres. At Norwich, although not yet the seat of the bishop, we have reference to no less than twenty-five churches and forty-three chapels. Of these, fifteen churches and the forty-three chapels seem to have been held by the burgesses collectively. The church of Holy Trinity was held by twelve burgesses, while the remaining churches were attached in the time of Edward the Confessor to various holdings, some belonging to the king and others to Archbishop Stigand, the Abbot of Bury, the Abbot of Ely, and others.[1] In the new borough Earl Ralph had built a church which he gave to his chaplain.[2] At Thetford there were, besides the minster held by Roger Bigot, twelve churches, one of which, St. Mary's, was a mother church with four subordinate churches.[3] At Ipswich, beyond St. Peter's already referred to, there were seven other churches with small endowments, three of them being held by priests and four by laymen.[4] At Bungay there were four parish churches;[5] at Elmham there was apparently a minster of priests in 1037,[6] but in 1086 there is mention of five parish churches;[7] at Dunwich there was only one church in the time of King Edward the Confessor, but by 1086 two more had been built, owing apparently to the increase of the number of burgesses from 120 to 236.[8] At Stonham there were eight churches[9] and at Coddenham eight.[10] At Aldeburgh two[11] and Debenham two.[12] At Thorney there was a mother church endowed with a carucate of land, which, being found too small for the parish, four brothers, to give further accommodation, built a chapel on their own land adjoining the church.[13]

But the most interesting part of the ecclesiastical organization in East Anglia is the development of the parish church in the rural districts. Elsewhere in England the churches had been apparently built and held by thegns and large landowners, but in East Anglia they were frequently on the lands of groups of freemen and others by whom or their predecessors they were probably built and endowed. Professor Maitland has called attention to the communal action in

[1] *V. C. H. Norf.*, ii, 46 7 (orig. text, 116-18).
[2] *Ibid.*, 47 (orig. text, 118).
[3] *Ibid.*, 47, 48, 63 (orig. text, 118 *b*, 119, 136).
[4] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 429, 557, 579 (orig. text, 290, 421 *b*, 446, 446 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, 428, 441 (orig. text, 288, 288 *b*, 300).
[6] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 568.
[7] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 491, 517 (orig. text, 356, 380, 380 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 451 (orig. text, 311 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 486–7, 511, 512, 557, 572 (orig. text, 350 *b*, 374 *b*, 375 *b*, 422, 438).
[10] *Ibid.*, 475, 512, 553, 557 (orig. text, 338, 375, 417, 422).
[11] *Ibid.*, 455 (orig. text, 316).
[12] *Ibid.*, 446, 513 (orig. text, 305 *b*, 376 *b*. Debenham church has a Saxon tower.
[13] *Ibid.*, 419 (orig. text, 281 *b*).

the holding of churches which is fully exemplified in Suffolk.[1] We are expressly told that several persons had shares in the churches of Ringsfield,[2] Worlingham,[3] Kenton,[4] Loudham,[5] and Willingham,[6] while at Stonham there was a church with 20 acres which nine freemen had given for the health of their souls,[7] and at Swanton (Tuanatuna) in Norfolk was a church with 60 acres given in alms by many men.[8] At Weston, where there seems to have been a church in 1045,[9] the king's freemen held the church with 20 acres.[10] A group of twelve freemen dwelling in Mutford, Rushmere, Gisleham, Pakefield, and Kirkley had two churches attached to their lands at Mutford.[11] At Cotton the church with 11 acres was on the land of three freemen.[12] Fifteen freemen under Stigand's commendation held with their land at Bungay a church with 30 acres.[13] The church of Bucklesham with 8 acres was on the land of thirty freemen under commendation of Harold.[14] In Norfolk the church of Letton with 12 acres was on the holding of a group of nine freemen,[15] that of Shereford on the holding of a group of six freemen,[16] and that of Hempton, a church with one acre, on the holding of a group of four freemen,[17] and many other similar instances could be quoted.

In some cases apparently it was by the devotion of the smaller holders that the church was built and endowed; thus at Rendlesham the church with 20 acres belonged to a holding of a freeman in the time of King Edward who only had 30 acres,[18] while there were holdings of a carucate held as a manor and other smaller properties. At Culpho the church with 10 acres was on the holding of five freemen under commendation of Ely Abbey having only 21 acres.[19] At Alteston in Trimley the church with 5 acres was on the holding of two freemen having only 11 acres.[20]

Frequently the ownership of churches was split up into parts. Thus at Wantisden half the church was attached to the holding of twenty-two freemen,[21] a quarter to that of two other freemen,[22] and the remaining quarter to that of one freeman.[23] At Thornham three-quarters of the church belonged to one holding[24] and one-quarter to another.[25] At Braiseworth half the church with 17 acres belonged to the holding of Ulveva,[26] and half with 15 acres to fifteen freemen.[27] At Chepenhall half the church with 20 acres was on the land of nine freemen,[28]

[1] Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 144.
[2] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 420 (orig. text, 282 *b*).
[3] *Ibid.*, 421 (orig. text, 283).
[4] *Ibid.*, 465 (orig. text, 326).
[5] *Ibid.*, 526 (orig. text, 388 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 543–4 (orig. text, 407).
[7] *Ibid.*, 572 (orig. text, 438).
[8] *V. C. H. Norf.*, ii, 113 (orig. text, 189 *b*).
[9] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 572.
[10] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 421 (orig. text, 283).
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, 426 (orig. text, 286 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 428 (orig. text, 288 *b*).
[14] *Ibid.*, 431 (orig. text, 292).
[15] *V. C. H. Norf.*, ii, 89 (orig. text, 166 *b*).
[16] *Ibid.*, 92 (orig. text, 170).
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 465 (orig. text, 326 *b*).
[19] *Ibid.*, 482 (orig. text, 346).
[20] *Ibid.*, 478 (orig. text, 341).
[21] *Ibid.*, 446 (orig. text, 306 *b*).
[22] *Ibid.*, 447 (orig. text, 307).
[23] *Ibid.*, 481 (orig. text, 344).
[24] *Ibid.*, 461 (orig. text, 322 *b*).
[25] *Ibid.*, 572 (orig. text, 437 *b*).
[26] *Ibid.*, 462 (orig. text, 323 *b*).
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*, 468 (orig. text, 329).

and the other half with 20 acres on that of the men of Bury St. Edmunds.[1] At Baylham half the church with 12 acres was attached to the land of a freeman,[2] and the other half with 12 acres to that of Queen Edith.[3] At Helmingham a quarter of the church with $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres belonged to the holding of Godric a freeman,[4] another quarter with $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres to Levestan a freeman,[5] and a half with 3 acres to eleven freemen.[6] At Stonham one-third of a church went with the holding of Uluric, another third with that of Ulmar, and the final third with that of Alflet.[7] At Creeting St. Peter's half the church with 10 acres was attached to the holding of one freeman,[8] and the other half with 10 acres to that of another.[9] Many other instances could be given.

It is tempting to suggest that in some cases the freemen of different vills held churches jointly and consequently, we may assume, combined to found and endow them. Thus at Ringshall there was an isolated half of a church with 15 acres on the land of Lewin, a freeman under the abbey of Ely,[10] and on the adjoining vill of Battisford was another isolated half of a church with 20 acres,[11] and we find that a twelfth part of the church of Ringshall was in Battisford.[12] At Saxham there were two-thirds of a church with 6 acres,[13] while on the adjoining vill of Westley there was a third of a church with 4 acres on the lands of eleven freemen.[14] At Mendham and Weybread, whose lands were intermixed,[15] from fractions of churches three complete churches can be made.[16] In Norfolk we can account for one and a half churches at Stoke Holy Cross,[17] and there is an isolated half church at the adjoining vill of Shottesham.[18]

Some churches, it is stated, had no land attached to them, a few of which were on the lands of religious houses and were probably served by them, and some may have been chapels.[19] Churches also sometimes held lands outside their vill. The church of Clopton had 15 acres taken from four demesnes (*dominationibus*),[20] and the church of Rumburgh held 40 acres in Elmham.[21]

The evidence of the ecclesiastical organization, like the lay constitution, of the counties of Danish Mercia (which included the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Rutland, Derby, Leicester, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Bedford) differed altogether from those of East Anglia. Although the religious progress of the district had been retarded by the Danish invasions, there had not been that entire loss

[1] *V.C.H. Suffolk*, i, 504 (orig. text, 368). [2] *Ibid.*, 474 (orig. text, 336 *b*). [3] *Ibid.*, 581 (orig. text, 448 *b*).
[4] *Ibid.*, 513 (orig. text, 376). [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*, 487 (orig. text, 350 *b*, 351).
[8] *Ibid.*, 526 (orig. text, 389). [9] *Ibid.*, 567 (orig. text, 432 *b*). [10] *Ibid.*, 474 (orig. text, 336).
[11] *Ibid.*, 569 (orig. text, 434 *b*). [12] *Ibid.*, 431 (orig. text, 291 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 493 (orig. text, 357 *b*). [14] *Ibid.*, 494 (orig. text, 358 *b*). [15] *Ibid.*, 485 (orig. text, 349).
[16] *Ibid.*, 468, 485, 504, 516 (orig. text, 329 *b*, 349, 368, 368 *b*, 379).
[17] *V. C. H. Norf.*, ii, 187 (orig. text, 264 *b*). [18] *Ibid.*, 97 (orig. text, 174 *b*).
[19] *Ibid.*, 91, 92, 141-2, 148, 187, 193; *V. C. H. Suff.*, i, 420, 426, 490, 519, 523, 528, 546.
[20] *V. C. H. Suff.*, i, 554 (orig. text, 417 *b*). [21] *Ibid.*, 439 (orig. text, 298).

of ecclesiastical authority which seems to have marked the Danish domination of Norfolk and Suffolk. Consequently more evidence of the survival of earlier conditions is to be found in the parts of the Domesday Survey relating to this district.

At the more important towns, chiefly in the north of Danish Mercia, probably the older and principal churches were or had been small minsters or colleges of secular priests which had served wide dependent districts. But the development of parish churches was fast overshadowing this earlier system and obliterating the evidence of the organization from administrative centres.

The chief town of Danish Mercia was Lincoln, which in 1086 had only lately become the seat of the great Mercian bishopric. Here, of course, the cathedral church of St. Mary with its secular canons was the centre, not only of the city, but of the whole diocese. Parish churches, however, had been fully established in the city of Lincoln. The canons of St. Mary's held there two churches and the moiety of a third which we may assume to be of this character,[1] while the bishop had two others in the suburb. Besides the cathedral there were two churches, St. Peter's and All Saints, which from their endowments were apparently intended to support more than one resident priest, and may well at one time have had small communities of priests. St. Peter's, where Saxon remains still exist, was endowed with the church of Wellingore;[2] and All Saints was endowed with a carucate of land and 12 tofts and 4 crofts, and was held by Godric son of Garewin, who seems to have become a monk of Peterborough, and hence it was claimed by the abbot of that house.[3] There are references also to the church of St. Laurence and other churches not named.[4] An instance occurs of an eleventh-century land speculator Colswen, who obtained from King William a grant of some waste land outside Lincoln, upon which he built thirty-six houses, and as a further attraction to intending tenants he erected two churches for their spiritual welfare.[5]

At Stow St. Mary there was a minster of secular canons founded in 1040 which was later removed to Eynsham in Oxfordshire.[6] At the king's great manor of Grantham, with its extensive soke, there was the wealthy church of St. Wulfran with endowments extending into Londonthorp, Houghton (Nougeton), and Gunnerby, together with the tithes and ecclesiastical payments throughout Wivebridge wapentake and 'Treos' hundred.[7] From the nature and extent of its endowments there can be little doubt that it was originally a minster of secular priests. This and another church at Grantham were granted to the cathedral of Old Sarum in 1091, and became the prebends of North and South Grantham.

In Nottinghamshire was the ancient minster of secular canons at Southwell,

[1] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 336. [2] *Ibid.*, 337 *b*. [3] *Ibid.*, 336 *b*. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*, 344, 345; Dugdale, *Mon.*, iii, p. 1. Saxon work exists at Stow.
[7] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 337 *b*, 343 *b*, 377. The identification of Nougeton is kindly given by Col. A. Welby.

returned in the Domesday Book as a house of three clerks who held one and a half carucates of land.[1] At Derby there were two minsters, the one served by seven secular clerks endowed with two carucates of land at Little Chester,[2] and the other by six secular clerks endowed with nine oxgangs of land at Quarndon and Little Eaton.[3] Besides these there were four manorial or parish churches belonging to the larger landowners in the town,[4] and one Stori, it is stated, could build a church on his land and assign his tithes as he wished without the consent of any one.[5]

At Huntingdon there was a church held by Eustace the sheriff, which, from its endowment of two hides and twenty-two burgesses with their houses with soc and sac,[6] was or had been apparently a minster. In the town were two other churches, one belonging to Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances,[7] and the other, that of St. Mary, tells a story of traffic in churches. It had belonged to the abbey of Thorney, which mortgaged it to the burgesses; King William, however, gave it to his priests Vitalis and Bernard, and they sold it to Hugh the king's chamberlain. Hugh sold it to two priests of Huntingdon who had a confirmation under the royal seal, but at the time of the Domesday Survey it is said that Eustace held it without livery or seisin.[8]

At Bedford there was the house of St. Paul, a minster of secular priests, who held separate prebends.[9] From the endowments of the churches at Luton, which held five hides,[10] and Leighton Buzzard, which held four hides,[11] it seems probable that they were minsters serving their extensive parishes. In Cambridgeshire there was a minster (*monasterium*) at Shelford.[12]

There is no trace in Domesday of minsters at the towns of Leicester, Northampton, Oakham, or Cambridge. The religious ministration at all these places seems to have been organized under parish churches. At Leicester there had been a minster of secular priests,[13] but in Domesday we have mention only of four churches, all on the holding of Hugh de Grentemaisnil.[14] At Northampton,[15] Oakham,[16] and Cambridge[17] references occur respectively to only one church or priest, but these returns may not be complete. They stand out in strong contrast to Newark with its two berewicks served by ten churches

[1] *V. C. H. Notts.*, i, 255–6 (orig. text, 283). [2] *V. C. H. Derby*, i, 327 (orig. text, 280).
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 328 (orig. text, 280). From their endowments there may have been minsters at Repton, Bakewell, and Ashbourne. [6] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 203. [7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 208. [9] *V. C. H. Bedford*, i, 221, 227, 230 (orig. text, 209, 210 *b*, 211).
[10] *Ibid.*, 222 (orig. text, 209). [11] *Ibid.* [12] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 191.
[13] Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi, 1456. The minster is said to have been destroyed at the time of the Conquest.
[14] *V. C. H. Leicester*, i, 306 (orig. text, 230). [15] *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 301–2 (orig. text, 219).
[16] *V. C. H. Rutland*, i, 139 (orig. text, 293 *b*). [17] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 189 *a*.

with eight priests,[1] and Stamford served by three churches on the Lincolnshire side of the river, and one, St. Peter's, on the Northamptonshire side.[2]

Here as elsewhere the ecclesiastical administration was maintained by the owners of the soil for the religious care of their own tenants. At many places, such as Granby, where there were two holdings, each had its own church.[3] In Danish Mercia, as perhaps might be expected, there is occasionally evidence of the development of religious ministration from chief manors to their dependent berewicks or members. Thus at Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire there were two priests who apparently alone served this great manor and its eight members.[4] On the other hand the accounts of the important royal manors of Rothley with its twenty-two members,[5] Great Bowden with its eleven members,[6] and the manor of Barrow on Soar with its thirteen members,[7] in the same county contain no mention of church or priest in the Domesday Survey. In the county of Rutland there were three priests and three churches to serve the manor of Hambleton and its seven berewicks,[8] and two priests and three churches to serve the manor of Ridlington[9] and its seven berewicks. In Nottinghamshire there were two priests and a church to serve the manor of Orston and its two berewicks.[10] The same principle does not apply to the great sokes which occur in this district as they were judicial rather than proprietary areas. Evidence of this is forthcoming with regard to the soke of Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, where there are some three churches, and parts of two others. At the chief manor which was the head of the hundred and soke there was possibly a small community of priests;[11] there were also a church with a carucate of land on a berewick of Willoughby, in Willoughby manor,[12] a priest and a church on land at Willoughby, parcel of the soke of Folkingham,[13] half a church with a priest on land in Willoughby, parcel of the soke of Osbernby,[14] and a quarter of the advowson of a church on land at Willoughby, parcel of the manor of Holm.[15]

With the splitting up of estates, however, the system of the ministration from the chief manor to its berewicks was becoming obscured. In some cases there are references to churches at berewicks while none are entered at the chief manors. The fact is that in the northern part of Danish Mercia, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Huntingdon, the evidence of the adoption of manorial churches built by the lords on the demesnes near their places of residence had become general, and so obscures the evidence of the ministration from what were apparently mother churches at the chief manors.

[1] *V. C. H. Notts.*, i, 257 (orig. text, 283 *b*).
[2] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 336 *b*.
[3] *V. C. H. Notts.*, i, 274, 284 (orig. text, 289, 292).
[4] *V. C. H. Leicestershire*, i, 329 (orig. text, 235 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, 307 (orig. text, 230).
[6] *Ibid.*, 308 (orig. text, 230 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 335 (orig. text, 237.)
[8] *V. C. H. Rutland*, i, 139 (orig. text, 293 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 140 (orig. text, 293 *b*).
[10] *V. C. H. Notts.*, i, 252 (orig. text, 281 *b*).
[11] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 363.
[12] *Ibid.*, 355.
[13] *Ibid.*, 355 *b*.
[14] *Ibid.*, 367 *b*.
[15] *Ibid.*, 355 *b*.

The southern counties of Danish Mercia, namely, Cambridge, Bedford, and Buckingham, belong to a group of counties which includes also Middlesex, Oxfordshire, and the western part of Hertfordshire, where evidence of churches has for some reason been omitted from the Domesday Survey. Possibly this district was so largely in the hands of religious bodies that no endowments existed to be noted in the Survey, or, owing to forest and marshland, it was very sparsely inhabited.

In Lincolnshire there is evidence of about 255 manorial churches, Nottinghamshire about 90, Rutland about 16, Northamptonshire about 55, Derbyshire about 47, Leicestershire about 42, Huntingdonshire about 53, Cambridgeshire about 13, and in Bedfordshire only about 3 entries refer to parish or manorial churches or priests. The churches are entered here as elsewhere among the villein tenants, mills, fisheries, etc., and their endowments are seldom given.

The East Anglian system of churches which are held by groups of sokemen occurs but rarely among the counties comprising Danish Mercia. Thus in Nottinghamshire, at a holding in East Markham which in the time of King Edward was held by twenty-five sokemen, there was a church and a priest,[1] and at Carlton in Lindwick[2] and at Rampton,[3] which were held at the same time by six and seven thegns respectively, there were churches. In Lincolnshire the holding to which the church of North Carlton belonged was held by three sokemen and three bordars.[4] In Derbyshire there were groups of two, three, or more tenants holding, apparently jointly, properties to which a church was attached. Thus at Sudbury, Godric, Ulvric, and Elmer held in the time of King Edward two carucates, under the demesnes of which holding a priest and a church are returned.[5] Similar entries occur under Barton Blunt,[6] Sutton-on-the-Hill,[7] Shirley,[8] and Sandiacre,[9] while on a holding extending into Codnor, Heanor, Langley, and Enticote, held by eight thegns, there was a church among the incidents of the demesnes.[10] This system, however, does not extend into the other counties of Danish Mercia.

In Lincolnshire there is evidence of fractions of churches belonging to different holders of estates, a practice which more generally prevailed in East Anglia. For instance, the monks of Durham had one half of the advowson of Blyborough church[11] and Robert the other.[12] In the same way the churches of Pickworth,[13] Rauceby,[14] Ringstone,[15] Thorpe,[16] Bourne,[17] and others were divided into fractions: in most cases the various parts on being added together form a whole. The system can be traced into Nottinghamshire and to a very slight extent to Derby-

[1] *V. C. H. Notts.*, i, 249 (orig. text, 281).
[2] *Ibid.*, 262 (orig. text, 285).
[3] *Ibid.*, 268 (orig. text, 287).
[4] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 370 *b*.
[5] *V. C. H. Derby*, i, 339 (orig. text, 274 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 340 (orig. text, 274 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 354 (orig. text, 279).
[10] *Ibid.*, 346 (orig. text, 276).
[11] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 340 *b*.
[12] *Ibid.*, 369 *b*.
[13] *Ibid.*, 341, 357.
[14] *Ibid.*, 341, 368 *b*.
[15] *Ibid.*, 344 *b*, 353.
[16] *Ibid.*, 341 *b*, 359 *b*.
[17] *Ibid.*, 364 *b*.

shire, but there is no evidence of it in the more southern counties of Leicester, Northampton, Rutland, Bedford, and Cambridge.

It appears that in English Mercia[1] the church was still largely organized under minsters at the larger towns or administrative centres in its north-western parts, although there is no trace anywhere in this district of a hundredal organization. Earl Roger de Montgomery seems to have taken a personal interest in the development of religious ministrations in Cheshire and Shropshire. In the borough of Chester we have mention of three minsters of secular canons, namely, St. Werburg,[2] St. John,[3] and St. Mary,[4] but there are no references to parish churches. There may have been a small minster at Farndon,[5] where there were two priests with a hide and a half of land besides the priest of the vill; but elsewhere in the county there were churches and priests on the demesne at some twenty-three places.

At Shrewsbury Earl Roger was founding his new Benedictine abbey of St. Peter which had been a minster of secular canons,[6] and there were also five other minsters of secular canons, namely, those of St. Mary, St. Chad, St. Alkmund, with twelve houses in the borough for the canons and two hides at Hencote which two canons held, St. Milburg which Earl Roger had converted into an abbey, and St. Juliana and St. Michael in the castle founded by the same earl.[7] These minsters of secular priests apparently served the borough, for there is no reference to a parish church. Outside the chief town Shropshire was well provided with small minsters of secular canons. At St. Mary Broomfield there was a minster of twelve canons;[8] at North Lydbury there was also a minster, William the clerk holding there a member of the manor and the church of the manor with the priests;[9] at Stoke St. Milborough there was a minster with twenty hides which Earl Roger gave to his chaplains;[10] at the great manor of Morville with eighteen berewicks there was a church of the manor dedicated to the honour of St. Gregory, which was a minster with eight canons who were endowed with eight hides, five of which Earl Roger had given to his new abbey of St. Peter of Shrewsbury and the other three to his chaplains;[11] at Wroxeter there were four priests possibly forming a community,[12] and at Stottesden there was a church which from the endowment of two and a half hides[13] may have supported a community of clerks.

In Staffordshire there was the episcopal house of canons at Lichfield; and at Wolverhampton,[14] Tettenhall,[15] and Penkridge[16] there were also apparently

[1] We may take English Mercia to include the counties of Chester, Salop, Stafford, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Warwick, Oxford, Buckingham, Middlesex, and the western part of Hertford.

[2] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 263. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

[6] *V. C. H. Shrops.*, i, 311 (orig. text, 252 *b*). [7] *Ibid.*, 311, 312 (orig. text, 252 *b*).

[8] *Ibid.*, 313 (and note 17), (orig. text, 252 *b*). [9] *Ibid.*, 311 (orig. text, 252).

[10] *Ibid.*, 312 (orig. text, 252). [11] *Ibid.*, 315 (orig. text, 253). [12] *Ibid.*, 321 (orig. text, 254 *b*).

[13] *Ibid.*, 318 (orig. text, 254). [14] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 247, 249; *V. C. H. Worc.*, i, 308 (orig. text, 176).

[15] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 247. [16] *Ibid.*

minsters of secular priests. At Hanbury, Lapley, Trentham, and Tutbury also there were or had been minsters.

We probably find the survival of a more ancient system of church organization in the return of the lands of the canons of Hereford. These lands were spread over the county, and on many of them were established well-endowed priests, clerks, and chaplains, in some instances described as the clerks or chaplains of the bishop. These ecclesiastics were possibly a survival of the time when the bishop and his priests served the whole diocese. It is not very clear whether these clerks of the bishop were the canons themselves living on separate prebends and serving the adjoining districts, or whether they were vicars put in the place of the canons. Thus we find that Withington, Canon Pyon, Moreton, and Moore near Hereford, each had three clerks who held from two and a half to four and a half hides; that Lulham in Eaton Bishop, Preston Wye, Woolhope, and land at the gate of Hereford each had two clerks or chaplains holding from a hide to two and a half hides; and that Ledbury, Donnington, Huntingdon, Bromyard, and Little Hereford each had a priest, clerk, or chaplain holding from half a hide to two hides of land.[1] The royal manor of Leominster, to which were attached sixteen members covering an extensive area, was an administrative centre where apparently there was a minster of ancient foundation with six priests.[2] The large endowments of other churches and priests, such as Monmouth with two carucates and all the tithes[3] and Ledbury with two and a half hides,[4] are suggestive also of an intention to support more than a single incumbent.

Three out of the five hundreds in Worcestershire in the eleventh century were held by the Benedictine houses of St. Mary Worcester, Evesham, Pershore, Great Malvern, and Westminster. There is evidence that minsters of secular priests had existed in the eighth and ninth centuries at Bredon,[5] Blockley,[6] Fladbury,[7] Hanbury,[8] Kempsey,[9] Kidderminster,[10] and probably, from its name, at Alderminster.[11] All were given to the church of Worcester except Alderminster, which was granted to Pershore. In all cases the endowments were absorbed by the religious houses, and by 1086 Blockley, Fladbury, Hanbury, and Kempsey[12] had each only a priest with a small endowment, while at Bredon, Kidderminster, and Alderminster[13] there is no mention in Domesday of a church or priest.

In Gloucestershire we can trace minsters of secular priests at many of the larger towns. At the borough of Gloucester we know that St. Oswald's was a

[1] *V. C. H. Hereford*, i, 320–4 (orig. text, 181 *b*–182 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 314 (orig. text, 180).
[3] *Ibid.*, 318 (orig. text, 180 *b*).
[4] *Ibid.*, 322 (orig. text, 182).
[5] *V. C. H. Worc.*, iii, 55, 252.
[6] *Ibid.*, 267.
[7] *Ibid.*, 353.
[8] *Ibid.*, 330, 374.
[9] *Ibid.*, 431.
[10] *Ibid.*, 158.
[11] *Ibid.*, iv, 7.
[12] *Ibid.*, i, 293, 289, 298, 288 (orig. text, 173, 172 *b*, 174, 172 *b*).
[13] *Ibid.*, 291, 286, 305 (orig. text, 173, 172, 175).

minster of secular canons which passed to the Archbishop of York.[1] Two priests, Arnulf and Abraham, also held lands in the town,[2] but whether they undertook any cure is uncertain. The abbeys of St. Peter's in Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Winchcombe had lately been changed from houses of seculars into houses of regulars. At Cirencester,[3] Stanway,[4] and probably Bristol,[5] there were minsters of priests, and at Boxwell, Brimpsfield, Deerhurst, Horsley, Kinley in Nimpsfield, Newent, Tetbury, and Westbury on Trym[6] there were also or had been similar minsters.

In Warwickshire the monastery of Coventry was probably the only Benedictine house in the county at the time of the Conquest. On its lands no churches or priests are returned. The alien priory of Monks Kirby, which was founded in 1077 by Geoffrey de Wirche, had amongst its endowments the church of Kirkbury, which the founder rebuilt, and gave with two priests, Francis and Osgot, mentioned in the Domesday Book,[7] and their possessions to the priory.

At Oxford there was a minster of secular canons at St. Frideswide's,[8] a community of priests at St. Michael's,[9] and possibly at St. Peter's.[10] At Eynsham there was a house of Benedictine monks whose abbot, Columbanus, held a considerable endowment under the Bishop of Lincoln.[11] At Dorchester there must at one time have been an episcopal minster which probably survived in 1086, but there is no trace of it in the Domesday Survey, although the Bishop of Lincoln held there 100 hides.[12] Churchscot was paid at Bensington and Headington, so that we may perhaps presume there were mother churches there.[13]

At Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, which had probably always been the chief town of the county, the church, it would seem, had been a minster of secular priests. Its endowment consisted of the manor of Stoke Mandeville, and a contribution of grain from the sokemen in the eight hundreds surrounding Aylesbury.[14] The church and the endowments passed to the bishops of Dorchester, and later to their successors at Lincoln, and eventually became a prebendal church. At Buckingham there was probably another minster which was endowed with the manor of Gawcott,[15] and in like manner had passed to the bishops of Dorchester or Lincoln. The church of St. Firmin of North Crawley is described as a minster (*monasterium*) in the Domesday Survey, and held half a virgate in Hardmead.[16] At the archbishop's manor of Haddenham (Nedreham), Gilbert

[1] *V. C. H. Glouc.*, ii, 84; *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 165. [2] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 162.
[3] *Ibid.*, 166 *b*; *V. C. H. Glouc.*, ii, 79. [4] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 163 *b*. [5] *Ibid.*, 163.
[6] See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, and *V. C. H. Glouc.*, ii, 'Religious Houses'. The Saxon minster at Deerhurst still stands.
[7] *V. C. H. Warw.*, i, 335 (orig. text, 243 *b*). [8] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 154, 157. [9] *Ibid.*, 154.
[10] *Ibid.*, 158. [11] *Ibid.*, 155; *V. C. H. Oxon.*, ii, 65. [12] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 155.
[13] *Ibid.*, 154. [14] *V. C. H. Bucks.*, i, 233 (orig. text, 143 *b*).
[15] *Ibid.*, 230, 234 (orig. text, 143, 144). [16] *Ibid.*, 257 (orig. text, 149).

the priest held three hides and the church with its tithes,[1] an endowment suggestive of having at one time supported a small community.

At Staines in Middlesex there had probably been a minster which with its endowment had been given to Westminster Abbey[2] and hence perhaps omitted from the Domesday Survey for Middlesex, but from Buckinghamshire we find that the minster (*monasterium*) of Staines received 5 ores from three thegns at East Burnham.[3] In Hertfordshire the wealthy abbey of St. Albans dominated all the western side of the county, but there is evidence of minsters at Hitchin,[4] Braughing,[5] and Welwyn.[6]

Although we have a considerable amount of evidence of the organization of the church by small minsters or churches with colleges of priests in the western counties of English Mercia, yet the introduction of manorial churches built on the lords' demesnes was by no means undeveloped. In Cheshire there were some twenty-four manorial churches or priests, and in Shropshire about forty-seven, mostly entered as parcel of the demesnes. In Staffordshire there was a good number. In Herefordshire about thirty priests are entered. Three of the churches in Archenfield in the south of the county had to provide priests to act as the king's envoys into Wales and to sing masses for his soul.[7] At Ewyas Harold there were three churches and one priest,[8] and at Bromyard two priests and a chaplain.[9] Many of the better endowed churches had been given to foreign monasteries.

Notwithstanding the fact that so much of the land in Worcestershire was held by ecclesiastics, many priests are entered in the Domesday Survey. On the lands of the church of Worcester there was an unusual number of beneficed clergy. The entries occur at Inkberrow,[10] Rous Lench,[11] Bishampton,[12] Cutsdean,[13] Ripple,[14] Blockley,[15] Tredington,[16] where there are still remains of a Saxon church, Churchill,[17] Sedgeberrow,[18] Lapworth,[19] Cropthorn,[20] Clive,[21] Hanbury, Stoke Prior (with two berewicks), Hartlebury (with six berewicks), Wolverley, Alvechurch (with four berewicks), and Eardiston in Lindridge.[22] Of these places eleven were held by the church in demesne and the remaining six were subinfeudated. The Abbot of Westminster had a church on his lands at Pershore,[23]

[1] *V. C. H. Bucks.*, i, 232 (orig. text, 143 *b*).
[2] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 128.
[3] *V. C. H. Bucks.*, i, 242 (orig. text, 145 *b*).
[4] *V. C. H. Herts.*, i, 302 (orig. text, 132 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, iv, 289, 290.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *V. C. H. Hereford*, i, 310 (orig. text, 179).
[8] *Ibid.*, 334 (orig. text, 185).
[9] *Ibid.*, 324 (orig. text, 182 *b*).
[10] *V. C. H. Worc.* i, 289 (orig. text, 173).
[11] *Ibid.*, 290 (orig. text, 173).
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*, 291 (orig. text, 173).
[14] *Ibid.*, 292 (orig. text, 173).
[15] *Ibid.*, 293 (orig. text, 173).
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, 295 (orig. text, 173 *b*).
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, 296 (orig. text, 174); iii, 511.
[20] *Ibid.*, i, 296 (orig. text, 174).
[21] *Ibid.*, 297 (orig. text, 174).
[22] *Ibid.*, 298 (orig. text, 174).
[23] *Ibid.*, 299–300 (orig. text, 174 *b*).

and some eight priests on his great possessions elsewhere in the county.[1] On the lands of Pershore Abbey only two priests are returned,[2] and the same number occurs on the lands of Evesham Abbey.[3] Some sixteen priests are mentioned on the lands of laymen elsewhere in the county. In Warwickshire there was a fairly large number of manorial priests, some fifty-eight in all, but with one or two exceptions no endowments are given.

There is not apparently a church referred to in Domesday under Oxfordshire or Buckinghamshire which can be put down as manorial. Both in Middlesex and the western side of Hertfordshire the land was mainly in the hands of religious houses; consequently perhaps the references to manorial churches and priests are not frequent, but those that are mentioned were usually well endowed, holding in many instances from half a hide to a hide of land. The east of Hertfordshire partakes of the characteristics of Essex, and at three manors, Boreson in Little Hormead,[4] Wyddial,[5] and Barley,[6] we find manorial priests on the lands of groups of sokemen similar to what has been described in East Anglia.

In Yorkshire there were the three great minsters: York, which took a thrave from each plough in Yorkshire; Beverley, in like manner taking four thraves from each plough in the East Riding; and Ripon, situated in the West Riding. Christchurch, later Holy Trinity of York, had recently been destroyed. Selby Abbey, Whitby or Lastingham, and St. Olave's or St. Mary's of York, had probably been founded a few years before the Survey, but we learn little of them from it.[7] At Howden and Hemingbrough it is generally thought there were early communities of canons, but Domesday only records a church and a priest at each.[8] Elsewhere in the county the vills were served by manorial churches. In the city of York there were eight parish churches, each belonging to a separate estate or group of holdings. On the Bishop of Durham's holding was the church of All Saints; on that of the Count of Mortain, St. Cross; on that of William de Percy the churches of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert; on that of Hugh son of Baldric the church of St. Andrew; on that of Erneis the church of St. Martin; on that of Odo the crossbowman a church (unnamed); and on that of Richard son of Erfast the church of Holy Trinity.[9] Other large towns with berewicks attached had perhaps two churches, as Wakefield,[10] Sherburn,[11] Featherstone,[12] and Whixley.[13] In the rural parishes there is only evidence of about one hundred and eighty manorial churches which were reckoned as before among

[1] These were at Besford, Longdon (two priests), Droitwich (two priests), Comberton, Nafford in Birlingham, and Severnstoke (*ibid.*, 300–4, orig. text, 174 *b* to 175).

[2] These were at Broadway and Mathon (*ibid.*, 305, orig. text, 175, 175 *b*).

[3] These were at Church Honeybourne and Church Lench (*ibid.*, 307, 308, orig. text, 175 *b*).

[4] *V. C. H. Herts.*, i, 322 (orig. text, 137 *b*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 340 (orig. text, 141 *b*).

[6] *Ibid.*, 339 (orig. text, 141 *b*).

[7] See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxix, 351.

[8] *V. C. H. Yorks.*, ii, 196, 217 (orig. text, 299, 304 *b*).

[9] *Ibid.*, 191, 192 (orig. text, 298).

[10] *Ibid.*, 198 (orig. text, 299 *b*). There were three priests.

[11] *Ibid.*, 210 (orig. text, 302 *b*).

[12] *Ibid.*, 247 (orig. text, 316).

[13] *Ibid.*, 281 (orig. text, 329 *b*).

the incidents of the demesne, the mills, fisheries, and meadowland. There is an interesting group of churches in the southern part of Rydale Wapentake, which from architectural evidence all date probably from the middle of the eleventh century.[1] Three churches, namely at Hackness, Suffield, and Everley, were served apparently by one priest.[2] At Old Byland was a wooden church.[3]

There are only some twelve churches and priests returned under Lancashire, but they were better endowed apparently than those of Yorkshire. At Manchester there were two churches (St. Mary and St. Michael), each endowed with a carucate.[4] The church of Walton-on-the-Hill was endowed with a carucate in Bootle,[5] and the church of Winwick with two carucates in Newton in Makerfield.[6] At Preston there were three churches.[7]

A point which impresses any one studying this subject is the essentially proprietary character of the church organization revealed by the Domesday Book. If we reconstruct the Domesday entries under the holders of 1066 we shall find in a number of cases that where a thegn or other lay tenant had many holdings in a county there is frequently the record of a church or a priest at one of them only, and that at the place where the tenant lived. We generally find also that the church or priest was associated in the Domesday entry with the incidents of the demesne, and in some cases it is expressly stated that the church or priest was on the demesne. This will give the reason why in so many instances the churches adjoin the manor houses at the present day, and are sometimes a considerable distance from the present village. I have already discussed this point as regards the entries for Hertfordshire, but perhaps I may be allowed to repeat what I have written with regard to it.[8] Thus Æthelmar of Bennington, a thegn of King Edward, had lands at Bennington, Sacombe, Layston, Ashwell, Hinxworth, Radwell, and Bengeo, but there was only a priest on his lands at Bennington,[9] where we know he lived, and a clerk is mentioned on his land at Sacombe; Wlwin of Eastwick, a thegn of Earl Harold, had lands at Hailey and Eastwick, but it was on his land at Eastwick where he lived that we find a priest;[10] Anschil of Ware had lands at Ware and Knebworth, but it was on his lands at Ware where he resided that there was a priest;[11] Osulf, son of Franc, had lands at Miswell in Tring, and Barwith in Studham, but it was on his land at Studham where he lived,[12] and where we know that he and his wife built a church in 1064,[13] that a priest is mentioned; Alwin

[1] The churches are Appleton le Street, Barton le Street, Gilling, Hovingham, Kirkdale, and Lastingham (*V. C. H. Yorks. N. R.*, i, 469, 475, 483, 509, 521, 526).

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 264 (orig. text, 323).

[3] *Ibid.*, 257 (orig. text, 320 *b*).

[4] *V. C. H. Lanc.*, i, 287 (orig. text, 270).

[5] *Ibid.*, 284 (orig. text, 269 *b*).

[6] *Ibid.*, 286 (orig. text, 269 *b*).

[7] *Ibid.*, 288 (orig. text, 301 *b*).

[8] *V. C. H. Herts.*, iv, 291.

[9] *Ibid.*, i, 336–8 (orig. text, 141).

[10] *Ibid.*, 334–5 (orig. text, 140, 140 *b*).

[11] *Ibid.*, 326–9 (orig. text, 138 *b*, 139).

[12] *Ibid.*, 324, 325 (orig. text, 138).

[13] Thorpe, *Dipl. Angl.*, 374.

Horne, a thegn of King Edward, had lands at Watton, Walkern, and Sacombe, but there was only a priest on his lands at Walkern where he probably lived.[1] In the same way other tenants provided land for a priest at one of their holdings, presumably where they lived, as, for instance, Aldred, a thegn of King Edward, had lands at Widford, Layston, and Aspenden, but there was a priest only on his lands at Aspenden;[2] Ælfric Blac, a man of Archbishop Stigand, had lands at Watton, Shephall, Libury in Little Munden, Sacombe, Langport, Datchworth, and Throcking, but it was only on his lands at Watton that there was a priest;[3] Alward, a man of the same archbishop, had lands at Widford, Meesden, and Libury, but it was only on his lands at Meesden that there was a priest;[4] Wulfward, a man of Asgar the staller, held lands at Hormead and Wormley with a priest on his lands at Hormead.[5] Some who held only one manor had provided a priest, such as Anand, the housecarl of King Edward at Bengeo,[6] or Sailt, a man of Earl Lewin at Buckland.[7]

Evidence of a similar nature is to be found throughout the greater part of England. In Hampshire Saxi had a church at Thruxton,[8] which was given before 1086 to Cormeilles Abbey, but none on his lands at Clatford[9] and Empshott;[10] and Azor had a church at Upton Grey (Aoltone),[11] but none on his lands at Littleton in Kempton,[12] and Clanville in Penton Grafton.[13] The wealthy Saxon thegn Cheping, whose tombstone still exists in the church of Stratfield Mortimer, had a church on his land at Headbourne Worthy,[14] where we know he lived, and other churches also at Otterburn,[15] Shirley in Millbrook,[16] and Botley,[17] where he may have had residences, but on his immense estates extending into fourteen other vills in this county there is no record of a church. Bundi had churches at Stratfieldsaye[18] and Warnborough,[19] but none are recorded on his estates in four other vills.

In Surrey Oswald, apparently the brother of Wulfwold, abbot of Chertsey, and a large landowner in the time of Edward the Confessor who made his submission to William, held lands at that time at Wisley,[20] Effingham,[21] Walkhampstead or Godstone,[22] Lower Tooting,[23] Mickleham,[24] Addington,[25] 'Pechingeorde',[26] and Fetcham.[27] He lost his lands at Walkhampstead, Lower Tooting, and Adding-

[1] *V. C. H. Herts*, i, 342 (orig. text, 142). There is Saxon work here.
[2] *Ibid.*, 306, 329 (orig. text, 133 *b*, 139). [3] *Ibid.*, 305, 320, 321 (orig. text, 133, 133 *b*, 137).
[4] *Ibid.*, 306, 307, 309 (orig. text, 133 *b*, 134, 134 *b*). [5] *Ibid.*, 322, 342 (orig. text, 137 *b*, 142.)
[6] *Ibid.*, 334 (orig. text, 140 *b*). [7] *Ibid.*, 310 (orig. text, 134 *b*).
[8] *V. C. H. Hants*, i, 501 (orig. text, 49). [9] *Ibid.*, 453 (orig. text, 38 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*, 501 (orig. text, 49). [11] *Ibid.*, 482 (orig. text, 45 *b*). [12] *Ibid.*, 484 (orig. text, 46).
[13] *Ibid.* [14] *Ibid.*, 489 (orig. text, 46 *b*). A Saxon church. [15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.* [17] *Ibid.*, 490 (orig. text, 47). [18] *Ibid.*, 496 (orig. text, 48).
[19] *Ibid.* [20] *V. C. H. Surr.*, i, 328 (orig. text, 36 *b*). [21] *Ibid.*, 309 (orig. text, 32 *b*).
[22] *Ibid.*, 312 (orig. text, 34). [23] *Ibid.*, 310 (orig. text, 33). [24] *Ibid.*, 317 (orig. text, 35).
[25] *Ibid.*, 327 (orig. text, 36 *b*). [26] *Ibid.* [27] *Ibid.*

ton at the Conquest, but retained the rest, and acquired further lands at Wotton[1] belonging to Harold. The only land upon which there was a church was at Wisley. Cola had a church on his land at Betchworth,[2] but none on his other lands at Thorncroft[3] and Coombe.[4] Tovi had a church on his land at West Moulsey,[5] but none on his other lands at Rodsell[6] in Puttenham, Esher,[7] and Farley.[8] Godtovi had a church on his land at Titsey,[9] but none on his lands at Tadworth.[10]

In Kent the wealthy Adelwold of Eltham evidently had his chief residence at Leeds,[11] where there was a church, but there was no church on his other lands at Deal,[12] Harbledown in Harrietsham,[13] Broomfield,[14] Teston,[15] Bensted,[16] 'Eswalt',[17] Dean Court in Westwell,[18] and Sandwich,[19] although there was a church on the land he held jointly with Hugh, nephew of Herbert, at Frinstead.[20] Ulvric had a church on his lands at Allenton,[21] but none apparently on his lands at Offham[22] or Popeshall in Coldred.[23] Osward de Norton, on the other hand, had three churches at Norton, near Faversham,[24] where he apparently lived, two churches at Sellinge,[25] one at Allington in Hollingbourne,[26] one at Harrietsham,[27] and one at Tonge,[28] but on six other holdings[29] there were no churches.

In Gloucestershire Wulfward Wit, a landowner in many counties, and a friend apparently of Queen Edith, had a priest on his lands at Salperton,[30] but none on his holdings in Chedworth,[31] Pebworth,[32] Shepton Solars,[33] Bagendon,[34] Hatherop,[35] and Winston.[36] Brictric, son of Algar, had a priest on his demesne at Fairford,[37] but no priest on his lands at Tewkesbury,[38] Thornbury,[39] Old Sodbury,[40] Avening,[41] and Woollaston.[42] On the lands of Godric there was a priest at Swindon[43] (Svintone), but none on his lands at Amney St. Mary[44] (Omenie), Wotton near Gloucester[45] (Uletone), Littleton,[46] Windrush,[47] Wapley,[48] Stanley,[49] Haresfield,[50] and Postlip.[51] On the lands of Alestan of Boscomb there was a church at Frampton Cotterel,[52] but none at 'Wigheiate',[53] Duntisbourne Rous,[54] and Badgeworth.[55] There were also others in this county, such as Lewin, Ælworld, and Turchil, who had lands at several places, but priests only at one of them.

In Derbyshire the celebrated Siward Barn, who joined Hereward in 1071, held considerable estates extending into some fourteen places,[56] but it was only

[1] *V. C. H. Surr.*, i, 328 (orig. text, 36 *b*).
[2] *Ibid.*, 321 (orig. text, 35 *b*).
[3] *Ibid.*, 319 (orig. text, 35 *b*).
[4] *Ibid.*, 328 (orig. text, 36 *b*).
[5] *Ibid.*, 327 (orig. text, 36 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 301 (orig. text, 31).
[7] *Ibid.*, 311 (orig. text, 34).
[8] *Ibid.*, 315 (orig. text, 34 *b*).
[9] *Ibid.*, 325–6 (orig. text, 36 *b*).
[10] *Ibid.*, 321 (orig. text, 35 *b*).
[11] *Dom. Bk.*, orig. text, 29.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1 *b*.
[13] *Ibid.*, 8.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*, 8 *b*.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, 9 *b*.
[18] *Ibid.*, 10 *b*.
[19] *Ibid.*, 11.
[20] *Ibid.*, 7 *b*.
[21] *Ibid.*, 7.
[22] *Ibid.*, 7 *b*.
[23] *Ibid.*, 9 *b*.
[24] *Ibid.*, 10.
[25] *Ibid.*, 13 *b*.
[26] *Ibid.*, 29.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*, 9.
[29] *Ibid.*, 8 *b*, 9, 10.
[30] *Ibid.*, 169.
[31] *Ibid.*, 164.
[32] *Ibid.*, 167.
[33] *Ibid.*, 169.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*, 168 *b*.
[36] *Ibid.*, 169 *b*.
[37] *Ibid.*, 163 *b*.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*, 166 *b*.
[43] *Ibid.*, 167 *b*.
[44] *Ibid.*, 166 *b*.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*, 168.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*, 168 *b*.
[51] *Ibid.*, 169 *b*.
[52] *Ibid.*, 169.
[53] *Ibid.*, 166 *b*.
[54] *Ibid.*, 166 *b*.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *V. C. H. Derb.*, i, 336, 337, 338, 342, 343, 346 (orig. text. 274–6).

at Norbury[1] and Breadsall[2] that he had priests and churches. Gamel had lands extending into eight vills, but only a church at Mugginton.[3] Levenot had estates extending into eighteen vills, but only a priest on that at Eckington.[4]

In Leicestershire Leofric son of Lewin had two priests at his great vill of Melton Mowbray[5] with its nine members, where there is little doubt he had his residence, but no priest on his lands at Stathern;[6] and if, as seems probable, he can be identified with Leofric, he had also a priest at Swepstone,[7] but no priest on his lands at Bottesford,[8] Storworth,[9] Husband Bosworth,[10] and 'Plotelei'.[11] Alwin had a priest with a deacon on his great manor of Market Bosworth,[12] but no priest on his lands at Sharnford,[13] Thurlaston,[14] Barton-in-the-Beans,[15] Frowlesworth,[16] East Norton,[17] and Barsby.[18] Saxi had a priest on his lands at Huncote,[19] but none on his lands at Ayleston,[20] Frowlesworth,[21] Cosby,[22] Market Bosworth,[23] Shawell,[24] and Bagworth.[25] Harding and his men held Knaptoft,[26] where there was a priest, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and lands at Sapcote, Hinckley, Sibson, Shenton, Shearsby, Croft, Broughton Astley, Fenny Drayton, Bitteswell, Swinford, Walton near Kimcote, Theddingworth, Thorpe Parva, Wanlip, Shoby, and Walton on the Wolds, but at none of these except Bitteswell was there a church. This holding passed to Aubrey Earl of Northumbria at the Conquest, and was in the hands of the Crown in 1086, and during this period the conditions remained the same. Ulf held Ratby,[27] where there was a priest, and lands in Groby,[28] East Norton,[29] Markfield,[30] and Blaby,[31] on which there was no priest.

On the other hand there are instances like that of Brixi Cild, a Kentish nobleman who had four holdings in Surrey at three of which there were churches, while in the same county Erding had churches at each of his three holdings. Bolla had nine holdings in Hampshire at not one of which was there a church. There is, however, probably enough evidence to show that in 1066 and for some little time before it had been a common practice for thegns and others to build churches on their demesnes near their houses.

In conclusion, it may be well to inquire what became of the smaller minsters and parish churches of the Conquest period. Many of the former, particularly

[1] *Ibid.*, 341–2 (orig. text, 275).
[2] *Ibid.*, 343 (orig. text, 275 *b*).
[3] *Ibid.*, 345 (orig. text, 275 *b*).
[4] *Ibid.*, 348 (orig. text, 277).
[5] *V. C. H. Leic.*, i, 329 (orig. text, 235 *b*).
[6] *Ibid.*, 330 (orig. text, 235 *b*).
[7] *Ibid.*, 320 (orig. text, 233 *b*).
[8] *Ibid.*, 322 (orig. text, 234).
[9] *Ibid.*, 327 (orig. text, 235).
[10] *Ibid.*, 328 (orig. text, 235).
[11] *Ibid.*, 337 (orig. text, 237).
[12] *Ibid.*, 319 (orig. text, 233).
[13] *Ibid.*, 314 (orig. text, 232).
[14] *Ibid.*, 315–16 (orig. text, 232).
[15] *Ibid.*, 319 (orig. text, 233).
[16] *Ibid.*, 323 (orig. text, 234).
[17] *Ibid.*, 329 (orig. text, 235 *b*).
[18] *Ibid.*, 331 (orig. text, 236).
[19] *Ibid.*, 312 (orig. text, 231 *b*).
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*, 337 (orig. text, 237).
[25] *Ibid.*, 338 (orig. text, 237).
[26] *Ibid.*, 312–13 (orig. text, 231 *b*).
[27] *Ibid.*, 314 (orig. text, 232).
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*, 329 (orig. text, 235 *b*).
[30] *Ibid.*, 333 (orig. text, 236).
[31] *Ibid.*, 337 (orig. text, 237).

those in Wessex, had already, in the time of Edward the Confessor and before, been granted to monasteries and episcopal establishments both at home and abroad. The Normans had more faith in the regular than in the secular orders of religion. As therefore it was a recognized rule, though one not always acted upon, that what had been given to God and the Church should not be converted to secular uses, Norman lords regarded it convenient to endow the numerous monasteries which they founded with English minsters and parish churches and their extensive glebes.

There can be little doubt that these small minsters or colleges of priests originally served wide areas, but as subordinate churches were built and the area of ministration of the older church became restricted, the necessity for a community of priests ceased. The monasteries to which so many of these churches were granted took advantage of this fact and appropriated the endowments, while they served the churches in the least expensive manner they could devise. This system, as is well known, led to the ordination of vicarages. When granted to foreign monasteries the small minsters sometimes became alien priories, such, among many others, as Boxgrove, Steyning, and Lyminster in Sussex. The development of some of these churches is illustrated by the visitation of the Dean of Salisbury of his churches in 1220. Thus we find Heytesbury in Wiltshire, probably a borough minster in the time of Domesday, had been constituted, like many others, a college of four secular canons in 1165, and within its ancient parish had then been built the dependent chapels of Tetherington, Knook with a wooden church, Hill Deverell and Honingsham with stone churches. The mother church of Sonning, probably a minster in 1066, had nine churches or chapels built in its ancient parish, two of which, Erlegh St. Bartholomew and Arborfield, were of wood. The mother churches of Mere in Wiltshire and Godalming in Surrey had respectively three and five dependent chapels.

The parish churches of East Anglia, which in the time of Edward the Confessor had been in the hands of groups of freemen, passed with the lands of such groups to single Norman owners, and thus in many instances went to endow the monasteries.

The church organization in England immediately before and after the Conquest reflected the struggle between the seculars and regulars. Before the Conquest the country wavered between the two opinions, but afterwards the regulars held the power, and the secular priests, whether incumbents of parish churches or members of communities, were forced to relinquish much of their endowments to increase the wealth of the monks.[1]

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Round, M.A., LL.D., for reading the proofs of this paper, and kindly making some suggestions and corrections; and to Mr. C. R. Peers, M.A., for notes as to Saxon work still surviving in some of the churches referred to.

Block kindly lent by the Editors of the Burlington Magazine

THE MASS OF ST. GILES

From the picture in the possession of Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

III.—*The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its Ancient Treasures.*
By Sir W. Martin Conway, *F.S.A.*

Read 4th February, 1915.

The authorities relied upon for the following account of the Abbey Church and treasures of St.-Denis are in the first instance the three well-known published volumes:—

Jacques Doublet: *Histoire de . . . S. Denys.* Paris, 1625. 4to.

S. G. Millet: *Le Tresor Sacré . . . de Sainct-Denis* (4me. éd.). Paris, 1645. 12mo.

Michel Félibien: *Histoire de . . . Saint-Denys.* Paris, 1706. fol.

I shall cite these frequently by the initial letters, *D*, *M*, and *F*.

Besides these books are also such of the inventories of the treasures, made at different dates, as have been preserved. The oldest existing inventory is dated 22 janvier 1504 (1505, n. s.). This has been published *in extenso* from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale (f. fr. 18766) by Monsieur H. Omont in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, etc., tome xxviii (Paris, 1902, 8vo), pp. 166–99. I shall cite this as 'Inv. 1505'. Monsieur Omont evidently considers it to be an original and complete document; but a careful comparison of it with the inventory next to be mentioned proves it to be merely an abstract, the omissions in which are important and sometimes misleading. For example, the item no. 199 begins 'joygnant ledict autel'; now the last altar mentioned is 'le grant autel', but the altar intended to be referred to is 'the altar of the relics' or 'of Saint-Denis', which had been mentioned in the complete inventory though passed over in the abstract. There are several other like obscurities due to abbreviation or omission.[1] According to Millet (p. 83) an inventory was made in 1534, whilst Félibien (pp. 460, 464) refers to others of the years 1576, 1581, 1598, and 1634. Of these only the last mentioned exists, actually in three manuscript copies, two in the Bibliothèque nationale (f. fr. 4611 and 18765) and one in the Archives nationales (LL 1327). The example examined by me is the MS. f. fr. 4611, the leaves of which are numbered; I shall refer to this as 'Inv. 1634' followed by the number of the leaf. The corresponding

[1] Vide p. 111 below.

leaf in MS. f. fr. 18765 can be found by adding one to the figure. There is also an inventory made in the year 1739, likewise printed in full by Monsieur Omont in the publication above referred to (pp. 199-212); I shall cite this as 'Inv. 1739'.

It is necessary to say a word or two more about the inventory of 1634. This obviously incorporates in full the complete inventory from which the abstract was made in 1505 which Monsieur Omont printed. The order in which the objects are enumerated is the same, and so for the most part are the actual words employed, but the later document is much fuller and has besides many additions made in the year 1634, describing changes in the condition of particular objects, damage done to them, losses of stones, or actual complete destruction undergone in the intervening 130 years. Hence the inventory of 1634 is the really important document, which deserves to be studied in much more detail than I was able to attain during a short visit to Paris. It catalogues practically every stone of any value in each of the wonderful treasures which belonged to St.-Denis at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The earliest writing to give any account of St.-Denis is an anonymous manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (no. 12710), entitled *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Kalvus haec ad sanctum Dyonisium retulerit.* It was composed and written at St.-Denis before 1100 and probably even before the First Crusade.[1]

Besides these texts there are the five large engravings included by Félibien in his volume. Four of these (pl. III and IV) depict the contents of the four armoires in which the treasure was displayed throughout the eighteenth century. Each object is distinguished by a letter on Félibien's plates, which I shall cite thus, e.g. 'F. pl. iii M.' Other representations of treasures once belonging to St.-Denis have been preserved. Thus there is an engraving of 'L'escriptouere monsr. Sainct Denis' facing p. 23 in the *Palaeographia Graeca* of Bernard de Montfaucon (Paris, 1708, in-fol.). There are also coloured facsimiles of three important lost objects amongst the drawings which belonged to Peiresc and are now in the Cabinet des Estampes; while in the same collection is a most important drawing of 'l'Escrain Charlemaigne'. This and the Peiresc drawings, which will be referred to in their place, have been admirably reproduced in colour in the following work: J. Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc*, etc. Paris, 1910. 4to.[2]

[1] See the text in G. Rauschen, *Legende Karls d. Gr.*, Leipzig, 1890, and *Neue Untersuchungen über die Descriptio*, etc., in Hist. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft, vol. xv, München, 1894, p. 257.

[2] A vague and almost valueless account of some of the treasures is given by Thomas Platter the younger of Basle, who visited St.-Denis in 1599. It is included in his *Description de Paris*, printed in the *Mémoires de la Société historique de Paris* (vol. xxiii, 1896, p. 218).

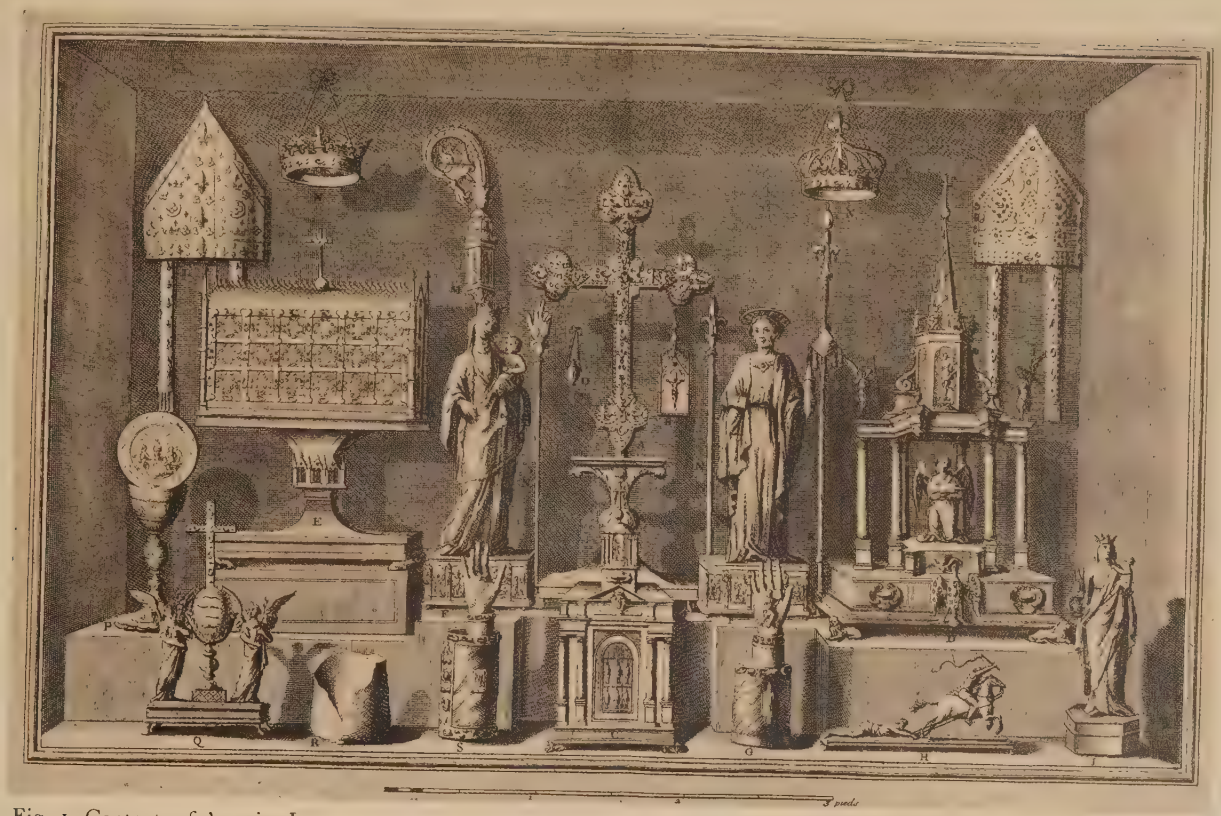


Fig. 1. Contents of Armoire I

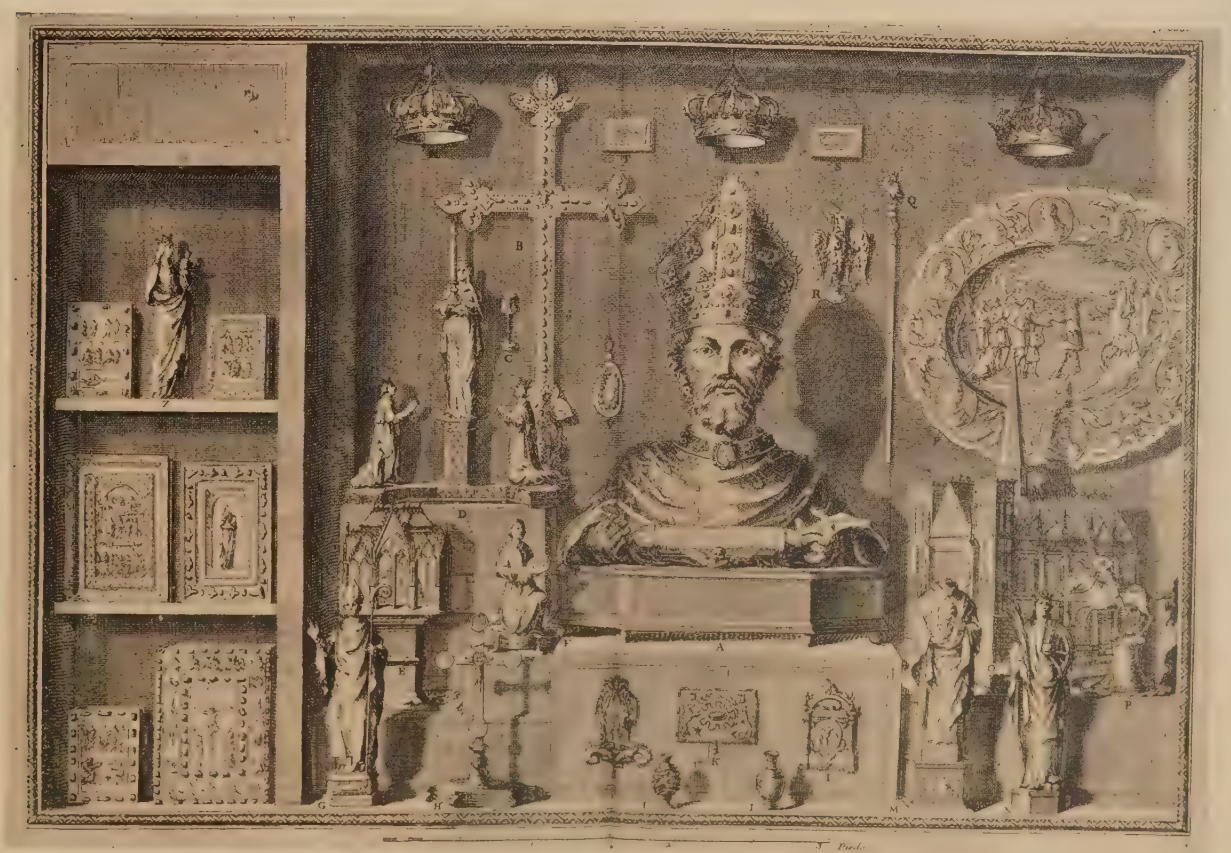


Fig. 2. Contents of Armoire II

THE TREASURE OF ST. DENIS

Plates I and II from Félibien, *Histoire de S. Denys*

Finally, and in some respects most important of all, is the remarkable picture (one of two wings of a late fifteenth-century altar-piece representing incidents in the legend of St. Giles) formerly in the Dudley Collection, on the sale of which collection one wing was purchased by the National Gallery; it will not here concern us. The other, the important wing for us, now belongs to Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie (pl. II). It is curious that no careful study of it has ever been made. The painter's name is not known. He was probably a north-French or south-Netherlandish master, who worked in France, and, like the Maître de Moulins, shows the influence of Hugo van der Goes. The subject of the wing in question is 'St. Giles saying Mass', and the painter has chosen to show him as officiating in the great church of St.-Denis, with Charles Martel[1] kneeling beside him at the glorious altar of which we shall hereafter have much to say. The picture, therefore, is of extraordinary historical importance, because the altar in question was of great beauty and fame, and this is not only the single representation of it that exists, but is the only record of the aspect of the great Royal Abbey of France in the time of its splendour, as it were photographed in colour in actual use, before civil wars, reformations, and revolutions had swept it and so many other wonderful medieval treasures off the face of the earth.

Viollet-le-Duc knew of the existence of this picture, but never saw it, and relied upon an inaccurate drawing of it which is printed in his *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*.[2] He states that the altar in question is the Matutinal altar of St. Denis and that the cross above it was Suger's, and he invents a chasse and introduces it under the canopy behind the altar. I shall show that the altar is not the Matutinal altar, whilst others have long ago proved that the cross was not Suger's. St. Louis's chasse, moreover, lay above and not beneath the canopy. If Viollet-le-Duc had put himself to the inconvenience of crossing the Channel to see the picture, which was easily accessible in Lord Dudley's house, it is safe to assert that he would have restored the chevet of the church differently, and that he would not have put the monument of Dagobert together exactly as was done, omitting the deep recess or hollow moulding which should divide the sculptured background from the framing archivolt. The head of the

[1] The following is the account of the incident taken out of Caxton's edition of the Golden Legend: 'King Charles heard speak of the renown of him (St. Giles) and implored him that he might see him. And he received him much honourably, and he prayed him to pray for him, among other things because he had done a sin so foul & villainous that he durst not be shriven thereof to him, nor to any other. And on the Sunday after, as Saint Giles said mass and prayed for the King, the Angel of our Lord appeared to him and laid upon the altar a cedule wherein the sin of the King was written by order, and that it was pardoned him by the prayers of Saint Giles, so that he were thereof repentant and abstained him from doing it any more.'

[2] Article 'Autel', vol. ii, p. 26.

figure of Queen Nanthilde would likewise not have needed to be wholly invented by the sculptor Geoffroy-Dechaume in 1862.

Before beginning the detailed description of such of the treasures of St.-Denis as survive, or of which representations exist, it will conduce to clearness if we first of all consider the ancient arrangement of the church itself and the place occupied by some of the more important objects. And first let us reply to the question, How many principal altars were there in the axis of the church, and what were their positions? In the seventeenth century there were only two, as shown in Félibien's plan, and so Viollet-le-Duc restored them; but in the time of Suger and down to the year 1610 there were three, and only one of them, the altar of St. Denis, occupied the position of either of the restored altars. Thus, in 1529, when Cardinal de Bourbon came to take possession of St.-Denis as its Abbot, and was received by the clergy, he 'fit trois stations en entrant dans l'église, la première devant l'autel matutinal, où reposait le saint Sacrement, la seconde devant le grand autel, et la troisième à l'autel de Saint Denis' (F., p. 383). Doublet says that the Matutinal altar is so called because of the High Mass which was celebrated there immediately after Prime. He says there were four High Masses celebrated every day: the first at the altar of the Martyrs (St.-Denis), the second at the Matutinal altar, the third in the Chapel of Our Lady (chanted by the novices), the fourth, the great Mass of the day, at the 'Maistre Autel'. Each of these altars stood within its own enclosure-screens and was the centre of a number of precious objects placed in relation to it. We shall more easily avoid confusion, therefore, if we take each enclosure and its altar in turn and discover how each was decorated and by what treasures it was accompanied, before proceeding to consider the treasures themselves individually in chronological sequence.

The choir was entered from the nave through a screen, on the 'frontispiece' of which, says Doublet (p. 286), was the legend of St. Denis 'industrieusement taillez et bien representez' in stone, but at what date he does not say. Above it was one of Suger's crucifixes, a wooden one, between images of the Virgin and St. John, whilst on the gallery of it was planted, likewise by Suger, a *pulpitum* whence the Gospel was read. This *pulpitum* was made up out of old materials, which appear formerly to have covered the whole gallery, and consisted of tablets of ivory sculptured with figures (presumably like the ivory throne at Ravenna) mixed with animals made of copper. The whole thing was ruined by the Huguenots at a later date. The pulpit presented to Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral by the Emperor Heinrich II before 1014 may give some idea as to how these decorative panels were arranged.

Within the choir the central object was the eagle lectern of bronze. It

Fig. 1. Contents of Armoire III

Fig. 2. Contents of Armoire IV

THE TREASURE OF ST. DENIS

Plates III and IV from Félibien, *Histoire de S. Denys*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

was adorned with figures of the four Evangelists and others. Dagobert captured it at Poitiers and presented it to St.-Denis, and Suger had it gilded. The altar of this part of the building was the Matutinal altar. It was also called the altar of the Trinity and the Choir altar, and in the time of Suger 'l'Autel Sainct'.[1] Its position can be fixed with some accuracy. In Félibien's plan the position (A A) of Charles the Bald's tomb is plainly marked.[2] It is sometimes described as being beneath and sometimes in front of the altar of the Trinity, so that this altar must have stood approximately in a line with the east end of the stalls. Moreover, the altar was attached to the iron screen which here closed the choir, and no doubt was fixed to the two great arcading piers against which the stalls end. Again, we are told[3] that the Matutinal altar was under a beam of wood which was at the east end of the choir and on which at one time stood the gold cross of St. Eloy. The altar itself was built by Suger of black marble and embellished with sculptures in white marble representing the martyrdom of St. Denis. Upon it was an image of the Trinity in silver-gilt, which was destroyed in the time of the Armagnacs in the reign of Charles VII. A silver-gilt retable for the altar on this site had been given by Robert, Abbot of Corbie; Suger preserved it and enriched it with gems.[4] Further, to the old altar, which Suger thus replaced, certain relics had been attached by Charles the Bald. Suger reset these in what appears to have been a portable altar of porphyry, described as framed in a chassis of wood, 'et ce chassis remply d'or fin' and set with gems. This portable altar is later on found in the Treasury. The other fittings and treasures belonging to the altar are enumerated in the inventory of 1505 (nos. 162–84).[5]

Immediately behind and belonging to it was an elaborate structure consisting of a square column of copper-gilt supporting a wooden cross, covered with gold, and a unicorn's (narwhal's) horn 6½ ft. long with a silver crown round it. From this cross, or a jutting bracket, there hung an openwork lantern of silver-gilt, containing a round cup of gold set with stones, and in it a smaller round box, likewise of gold, and set with many stones, which was the ciborium to hold the Host. These gold boxes were stolen in 1601 and the thief never discovered.[6] There hung from the roof down in front of this altar a silver basin, six lamps, and a 'nef'. A piece of wall behind this altar supported the chasse of St. Denis of Corinth. It was of copper-gilt garnished with embossed images and capitals

[1] D., p. 24, A.

[2] Platter, in 1599, says that the bronze tomb of Charles the Bald was in the middle of the choir; those of Clodomir, Charles Martel, and a son of Dagobert were to the right, those of Hugues Capet and Othon to the left. These were of white marble. He noted eleven other royal tombs farther back.

[3] M., p. 71.

[4] D., pp. 245, 1247; F., p. 174.

[5] More fully in the Inv. 1634, pp. 220–33.

[6] F., p. 428.

of silver-gilt and set with stones, probably a thirteenth-century work. Beside this altar was a wooden chest containing two chalices and patens, a spoon pierced with many holes, described as 'of ancient fashion', to which we shall recur, two silver basins, a 'byberon' with a lion's head, two silver candlesticks, two censers of silver, a silver pax, some minor implements, and a finely bound MS. of the Gospels.

East of the choir-screen and Trinity altar was an open square space beneath the crossing, and this was given up to the monuments of kings and the opening to the royal vault. We are not concerned with these monuments except in so far as what we learn about them throws light on other matters. Immediately behind the Trinity altar St. Louis was buried in a stone coffin between the graves of his father Louis VIII and Philip Augustus.[1] His body only remained there till 1298, when, after his canonization, it was taken up and put into a chasse, but the tomb with the silver effigy upon it remained till the precious metal was stripped off by the Armagnacs or the English in the days of Charles VII.[2] Other tombs in that wretched time were treated in the same fashion, so that the two remaining near this altar were mere anonymous wrecks in 1505.[3] At the east side of the crossing was another iron screen, perhaps led up to by some steps which, however, were farther east than the steps made in 1610 and shown on Félibien's plan, because these are recorded to have partly covered the tomb of the wife of St. Louis.

We thus come to the enclosure which contained the High altar, the 'Maistre Autel' or 'grand autel' as it is sometimes called, the altar of St. Peter and St. Paul, as was its correct designation. We possess numerous descriptions of it, and it is this and no other that is depicted in the picture of the Mass of St. Giles. But that picture proves that its position about the year 1500, doubtless its original position, was directly in a line with or even a little west of the centre of Dagobert's monument, whereas in 1610 it was moved somewhat to the east of it as marked on Félibien's plan, where the restored altar now stands.

It is related[4] that when Pope Stephen II visited France in the year 754 to appeal to Pepin for protection against the Lombards, one day during his stay at St.-Denis kneeling before this altar he had a vision of 'the good shepherd Monseigneur St. Peter, and the master and doctor of the Gentiles Monseigneur St. Paul' and also of St. Denis who was splendidly clad, and of his two fellow saints, and he heard and reported word for word their conversation and even their gestures, but unfortunately the passage is too long to be copied

[1] F., p. 555. [2] D., p. 1240.

[3] Inv. 1505, nos. 185, 186, where there is a mistake. St. Louis was not buried 'devant' (where lay Charles the Bald) but 'derrière' the Matutinal altar.

[4] D., p. 182.

here. The upshot was that the Pope, who had been suffering from illness, was forthwith restored to health and next day consecrated this altar to the honour of the two saints; and thereat he crowned Pepin king and anointed his sons Charlemagne and Carloman. In memory of this very important event, which led to such great future developments as the revival of the Empire of the West and the solid foundation of the temporal power of the Popes, Pepin gave two life-sized figures in gold of St. Peter and St. Paul and two fine porphyry columns for them to stand on, which were placed close to the back angles of the altar ('joignant les deux boutz du derrière dudict autel', Inv. 1505). If the columns do not appear in the St. Giles picture, though the gold figures had before then been destroyed, it is because they were hidden by the curtain. The altar was of black and white marble and stood on four white marble columns, on one of which were the letters M. P. V. IIII. Dagobert was buried beneath it,[1] though his monument was to the south where St. Louis afterwards reconstructed it, and it is the reconstructed monument that appears in our picture, the prominent standing figure on the left being Queen Nanthilde, Dagobert's second wife, who was buried with or near him.

Suger himself has described for us the splendid decorations of this altar in his day. He relates how there was in front of the altar a very precious altar-frontal of gold (seen above the altar as a retable in our picture (pl. II and XI)), given by Charles the Bald, which alone did not seem to him fine enough to make the altar as splendid as he wished it to be. So he encased it (as Angilbert encased the still existing altar at Milan) with three more golden sides, one with figures in relief of a singular and admirable sort, but all enriched with precious stones, so that about this altar nothing was seen except gold and jewels. It was made to appear still more sumptuous by the golden jewelled table itself and by the precious treasures placed upon it, when Mass was celebrated there on days of solemnity. There were the fine gold candlesticks, weighing twenty marks, enriched with jacinths, emeralds, garnets, and other sorts of gems given by King Louis le Gros; also the great cross of gold made by St. Eloy, Bishop of Noyon, with many other smaller crosses, and above all these was that very precious treasure named 'l'Escrin de Charlemagne' (pl. X), given by his grandson, the Emperor Charles the Bald. All these objects were enriched with so many jewels that they produced an admirable and ravishing effect. If one adds to all this the two great golden images of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the height of a man, which were given by King Pepin and placed on two columns of porphyry at the sides of this altar, it must be admitted that it was altogether resplendent and majestic. So that Abbot Suger said that when he looked at it, with all its

[1] D., p. 1196, 'Son corps gist sous le Maistre Autel, qui est dès lors du premier bastiment de l'eglise.'

fittings, he was so ravished by the sight as to imagine himself not on this earth, but near Paradise; and some inhabitants of Jerusalem, who came to France and saw these rare magnificences of St.-Denis, told him that they surpassed the treasures of the temple of St. Sophia of Constantinople which they had seen.

As for the gold encasement of the altar, that also had disappeared by 1500, except the frontal, which was used as a retable, and two of Suger's panels, hidden in the picture perhaps by the embroidered frontal. Millet (p. 40) relates that there used to be six 'great tables of gold' belonging to St.-Denis, one given by Dagobert, one by Charles the Bald, and four by Suger. Of these, he says only the second remained in his time. The others, as well as Pepin's two gold images, Louis le Gros's candlesticks, the image of the Trinity belonging to the Matutinal altar, Suger's great cross, and many other treasures, were destroyed in the troublous times of Charles VI and VII—'ravies par les Anglois', he says, though Félibien tells another story.

One other feature shown in our picture connected with the High altar remains to be considered: the four columns surmounted by figures of angels holding candlesticks, which columns support the rods for the curtains enclosing the altar on three sides. They are mentioned (no. 191) in the inventory of 1505, where it is stated that the columns are of latten and the angels of copper-gilt. Evidently they belong to about the time of St. Louis, during whose days so much was done in the way of rebuilding and decorating the church.[1]

Behind the High altar in our picture rises a metallic vaulted structure which was the platform that supported the chasse of St. Louis. At first sight it seems to be a canopy resting on six columns, but it is important to observe that there are only four, the two arches on either long side being separated by cusps, not by columns. The cusp on the south side can be plainly seen. This structure is thus described in the inventory of 1505 (no. 192): 'Au derrière dudict autel (the High altar) quatre coulompnes de laton de fonte, et sur icelles ung entablement aussi de laton doré d'or de painctre: et sur icelles columpnes et entablement ung coffre de bahu d'ancienne façon, fort caducque, rompu dessus, plus par caducqueté que par force, et dedans icellui le corps de monseigneur saint Loys, roy de France.' The following important passage from the inventory of 1634 (f. 259^{v}), which I could not entirely decipher, was kindly copied out for me by Monsieur J. J. Marquet de Vasselot of the Louvre: 'Au derrière dud. autel quatre colomnes de fonte et dessus icelles un entablement aussy de laitton doré d'or de peintre, garny tout allentour de fleurs de lys placqués; quatre angeles aux quatre coings, tenans chascun un chandellier aussy de laiton, l'un

[1] In this connexion a remark of Rohault de Fleury (*La Messe*, ii, p. 38) may be cited: 'Lorsqu'on renonça aux ciboria en France leur souvenir fut conservé par quatre colonnes placées aux angles de l'autel sans couronnement, mais reliées par des tringles pour les rideaux.'

des chandelliers rompu, et estoient au derrière du dit entablement; l'an m. IIIc. IIII.xx douze et six [sic] fut cy présent ce tabernacle assis; Charles de France Roy size [sic] le donna, Pierre Rozette le fist et acheva; et a esté par lesd. relligieux dict et déclaré que les susd. quatre colomns de laiton et les quatre angeles furent desmolis lors du couronnement de la royne en six cent dix, et furent vendus pour réparer la demolition qui en avoit esté faicte.

'Dessus le dict entablement un coffre de bahut d'environ deux pieds et demy de long et un pied de large, couvert de cuir bandé de fer et semé de petits clouds, fermant à clef et scellé sur le bou de la clef d'un scel de cire || (fol. 260) et dedans icelluy coffre les ossemens du corps Monsieur St Louis, ledit coffre for ancien et caducque rompu dessus à force plus que par caduceté. Dessus ledt coffre un tapis semé de fleurs de lys.' [1]

St. Louis's much venerated remains had a very chequered history. When he died in Tunis in 1270, the flesh was boiled off his bones in a cauldron of wine and water.[2] The flesh was taken to Monreale in Sicily and there buried, whilst the bones were wrapped in scented silk and brought with the heart to France. On the 22nd of May, 1271, the bones were buried in St.-Denis in a stone coffin behind the altar of the Trinity and adjacent to the tombs of Louis VIII and Philip Augustus. St. Louis had prescribed that his grave should be quite plain, but his son 'luy fit dresser un tombeau magnifique où l'or et l'argent estoient ce qu'il y avoit de moins considéré', says Félibien (p. 249) in his vague fashion. Doublet (p. 1240), whom Félibien despised as a writer, more accurately states that the tomb was covered with silver, which was carried off later on by the English and Armagnacs in the time of Charles VI.

In 1297 St. Louis was canonized, and in the following year, on the twenty-eighth anniversary of his death, his bones were taken up out of their grave and with great ceremony put into a chasse which Millet (p. 76) was mistaken in describing as of gold. This chasse was set behind and above the High altar.

Seven years later, in 1305, the skull of St. Louis, except the jaw-bone, was given to the Sainte Chapelle, at the request of Jeanne d'Évreux, in exchange for a reliquary in the shape of a chapel containing specimens from all the relics in the Sainte Chapelle. The jaw-bone, retained at St.-Denis, was in the fourteenth century set in a special reliquary, of which an engraving is included in Félibien's

[1] It is evident that the bulk of this passage is copied from a much older inventory, the passage about the changes made in 1610 alone referring to later conditions. It will be observed that the passage in the 1505 inventory is an inaccurate abbreviation of the original as embodied in the inventory of 1634.

[2] Félibien, p. 247. This was a way they had in those days. Our Henry V's body was likewise dismembered and boiled, and only the bones and, I believe, the heart brought to Westminster Abbey. So at least Félibien states.

plates (F. pl. iii c). Later on at different times other fragments of St. Louis's bones were parted with as gifts or in exchange.

In 1368 Charles V gave money to cover the chasse of St. Louis with gold, so that obviously it cannot have been of gold to start with. Apparently what was done, however, was to begin making an entirely new gold chasse. This, according to the inventory of 1634, was made by Juivre Vogette and was not finished until 1392, when Charles VI brought it to St.-Denis and saw the relics moved into it.[1] At the same time the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Touraine gave the jewels they were wearing to be fastened on to the chasse, whilst the king also gave 1,000 francs to pay for making the tabernacle above described.

The gold chasse only lasted twenty-five years. In 1418, in the evil days of the English wars, the gold was melted down and made into coin for the needs of the government, and the relics remained in the iron-bound box. The *fort caduque* condition of this box in 1505 has been noted above. Finally Cardinal de Bourbon, who was Abbot of St.-Denis (1529–57), had a new silver-gilt chasse made in 1557 which, after being restored in 1657, lasted till the Revolution and is engraved by Félibien (pl. v A). This chasse stood (I suppose after the choir-rearrangement in 1610) on a pillar of wood with a copper base behind the High altar. But in 1633 the royal commissioners thought that 'this position was not decent', so they had the chasse removed into the Treasury, till a more honourable place should be prepared. It seems, however, thenceforward to have remained in the Treasury. It was there at all events in 1739.

The alterations in the church, made in preparation for the coronation of Marie de Médicis, changed the whole aspect of the Maître Autel and all that lay eastward of it. Unfortunately Viollet-le-Duc reconstructed the interior as thus changed, not as originally planned by Suger and represented in our picture. The best succinct account of what was done in 1610 is given by Millet (p. 71), who relates how the Matutinal altar 'fut demoly et transporté au lieu où il est maintenant, servant de grand autel, car le grand autel qui estoit pour lors fut aussi demoly et n'a point esté restably depuis; mais les matériaux d'iceluy, qui estoient de marbre, ont esté employez en la fabrique du bel autel des corps saincts, qui est au chevet. Fut aussi ostée la closture de fer qui fermoit le chœur par en haut, et le separoit d'avec cette grande place, qui est soubs le milieu de la grande croisée entre le maistre autel et le mesme chœur, dans laquelle on voit tant de sepultures de Rois anciennes et modernes'. New stone stairs were also made on either side of the Maître Autel by which to ascend to the chevet.

It is the church thus altered that is represented on Félibien's plan, and was reconstructed by Viollet-le-Duc. It is not difficult to imagine how injurious all these changes must have been to the old church; but they pleased the people

[1] F., p. 306. He gives the date 1393, but the MS. inventory says 1392.

who made them. Marie de Médicis was majestically crowned before the new High altar on May 13, 1610. The herald mounted to the gallery of the Jubé, cried aloud '*largesse!*' and cast down numbers of silver medals, with the likeness of the queen on one side and on the other a crown and emblems, whilst gold pieces were distributed among the courtiers and ambassadors. Great preparations had been made, and decorations set up for the triumphal entry of the king and queen into Paris. But before this could happen all the glory and rejoicings were turned into sadness by the murder of Henri IV on the day after his queen's coronation. His body in due course was brought to St.-Denis, and there lay till it and the bodies of all the kings were torn from their graves by the mad Revolutionary mob, who likewise destroyed every destructible feature of the great church, so that for years it lay abandoned like a ruin and open to the sky. The history of its restoration can be read in the admirable handbook by MM. Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, entitled *L'Église abbatiale de Saint-Denis et ses Tombeaux* (Paris, 1908).

The inventory of 1634 (f. 260^{r} *et seq.*) enables us, with the help of other authorities and of our picture, to form an accurate idea of the arrangements that existed behind the Maître Autel prior to 1610, and they are very important for a proper understanding of our subject. All authorities make frequent reference to a vault existing behind the Maître Autel and under the pavement in front of the altar of Saint-Denis or of the relics.[1] Doublet (p. 1196) in describing the tomb of Dagobert writes: 'Son corps gist sous le Maistre Autel, qui est dès lors du premier bastiment de l'Église de Sainct Denys, avec le caveau des Saincts Martyrs, vis à vis d'iceluy, où reposoient leurs saincts et sacrez corps.' Elsewhere (p. 250) he describes it as 'l'ancien caveau où le Roy Dagobert avoit mis iceux corps saincts'.[2] He also tells us (p. 252) that when Suger had made his great crucifix of gold he set it up 'au lieu et endroit où avoient reposé les corps de S. Denys et de ses compagnons par longues années, afin que la memoire n'en fust perdue, et que l'on honorast tousjours ce sainct lieu'.[3] Finally (p. 286)

[1] Thus Inv. 1634, f. 260^{r}, begins the paragraph corresponding to Item 193 in the printed Inv. 1505 thus: 'Soubs une voulte ayant entrée derrière ledict grant autel, ung crucifix,' etc. Inv. 1634, f. 261^{r} (corresponding to Item 195, Inv. 1505), says: 'Dessus la dicte voulte dessus le pavement devant l'autel des corps saints . . . au dessus de la porte de la dicte voulte un pilier,' etc., i. e. the great cross of Suger. Again, Inv. 1634, f. 267^{v}, continues 'au dessus de la voulte devant declarée', the altar of St. Denis (which Inv. 1505 omits), so that the vault was under the altar of St. Denis and therefore under the chevet.

[2] On the history of the burying-place of St. Denis, and on the chasse or tomb made for his bones by St. Eloy, see G. Bapst in *Revue archéol.*, viii (1886), p. 306.

[3] Rigord, a monk of St.-Denis, in his biography of Philip Augustus, refers to the raising of the bones of St. Denis on the 9th of June, 1053, before which time they had lain 'reclusa in alia cryptula auro et gemmis extrinsecus decorata in qua duabus seris etiam Christi Domini clavus et corona simul asservabantur'. See Mabillon, *Ann. ord. S. Bened.*, iv, Paris, 1707, p. 538. It has, however, been

Doublet, in reference to the crucifix that spoke to Dagobert, says that Suger set it up on 'la cave basse et Chapelle de S. Demetre martyr, derrière le Maistre Autel, où autresfois avoient reposé les corps des Saincts martyrs'. This is the only mention I have anywhere found of a chapel of St. Demetrius. Félibien says nothing about it, and his plan affords no assistance.

The inventory of 1505 (no. 193) likewise describes the Talking Crucifix as being in a vault 'derrière ledict grant autel', and indicates (no. 194) an armoire as up against the door of the said vault, outside it on the left ('joygnant l'huys de ladicte voute à costé senestre par dehors'). Finally, over the portal of the same vault the inventories of 1505 and 1634 locate (nos. 195–8) the great cross of Suger.

From all this it is clear, I think, that the vault so often referred to is no other than the existing crypt under the chevet, in which are the coffins of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and other royal personages. That vault, at the time when our picture was painted, was entered by the door depicted in the middle of its west end and immediately behind the Maître Autel. At present the entrance to it is at its south-west corner, immediately behind the monument of Dagobert. The only reason for hesitating to accept the evidence of the picture on this point is that it does not show any trace of the cross of Suger, which must have been standing above the entrance when the picture was painted, and ought to appear in it. One must conclude that the artist simply left it out. If he had known how much that cross would interest posterity he would have given himself the needful extra trouble involved in depicting it. Clearly the front wall of the crypt under the chevet stood somewhat farther back, eastward, than now. The ascent to it was made, not by steps corresponding in position to the present stone staircases, but by a steep wooden staircase, which can be perceived in the picture leading up to a wooden door in the wooden screen which enclosed the chevet along its west front. The said door admitted into a kind of wooden porch, and that to the chevet. Before leaving the picture we may finally note how it shows the apse-walls, above the great arcade, to be hung with tapestries, the hanging of the church with such on the occasion of great ceremonials being often mentioned in contemporary descriptions.

The inventories give detailed information, where the picture fails us, as to the arrangements on the upper level within the chevet. Here was the altar called of Saint Denis, or of the Martyrs, or of the Relics. We do not know exactly where it stood because, in 1628, it was entirely rebuilt, partly out of materials taken from the old Maître Autel, and it was set up in a new position, at the extreme east end of the apse, close against the arcade piers. Suger's altar, however, stood well out away from these piers, for it had the tabernacle

suspected that the above statement may be a later addition to support the authenticity of the Nail and Thorn relics.

covering the chasses of the martyrs behind it and the great 'Cuve de porphyre', which Dagobert gave, behind the tabernacle. The inventory of 1505 (no. 227) describes the chapel of St. Eustace as being on the left of the altar of St. Denis. This chapel still exists; it is on the north side of the most westerly part of the chevet. The altar can scarcely have been level with that. Viollet-le-Duc set up his Autel des Reliques in the centre encircled by the apse, and this was no doubt approximately the correct original position. His restoration of the altar and the tabernacle behind it,[1] made in accordance with Doublet's description, is praised by Labarte for its general form;[2] but he adds that the decorative details are all incorrect, as is shown by the minute description of them given in the inventory of 1634 (f. 267^{v}). On the left side of the altar was an armoire, on the right side three armoires in a row, all containing treasures. In front of it was an eagle lectern and a coffer containing a chalice and so forth for use at the altar. When the new altar was made in 1628 the 'Cuve de porphyre' was moved into the chapel of St. Hilaire. Before 1739 it was put into the chapel of Notre-Dame-la-Blanche, where it was used for the blessing of holy water on Easter and Whitsun eves. In 1791 it was sent with the throne of Dagobert and other objects to the Cabinet des Médailles; and there it can still be seen on the ground floor just facing a person entering from the street.

As nothing remains, either of the altar of St. Denis, or of the retable given by Pepin, or of the tabernacle behind it and the chasses it contained, it is not necessary for us to consider them here in detail.[3] Suffice it to say that the tabernacle was in the form of a building with central nave and lower aisles, containing chasses under the roofs, and the actual coffins of St. Denis, St. Rusticus, and St. Eleutherius in the basement beneath and extending in part also under the altar. The tabernacle and altar were constructed by Suger; the retable used was one that had been given by Pepin. The altar and reliquaries were consecrated with great ceremony in the presence of royalties, archbishops, bishops, and all the hierarchies, and they existed in splendour to the joy of many generations till the evil days of the Huguenot wars. In 1567 the altar was dreadfully damaged, 'sacrilegé, pillé et desrobé', says Doublet, only certain movable parts of the front of it having been taken away in time and hidden. But for that caution, he says, nothing would have been left. In 1627 it was decided to make a new altar and reliquary, in place of the old which was entirely taken away. The new altar was set up at the very end of the chevet against a wall, the three chasses being put into a niche contrived in the wall about six feet above the floor and behind the altar.[4] Of course this in turn was utterly destroyed in the Revolution.

[1] *Dict. de l'Architecture*, T. ii, p. 25.
[2] *Arts industriels*, T. i, p. 412 note.
[3] The full description is in Doublet, pp. 248, 289.
[4] F., p. 447.

Fastened against the two most easterly piers in the chevet were two important relics. One was the pastoral staff of St. Denis. The other was the Oriflamme. 'Against a pillar in the corner, on the left side, a standard of "cendal",[1] very dilapidated, twisted round a staff covered with copper-gilt with a longish iron point at the top end, which the said monks say is the Oriflamme' (Inv. 1505, no. 201).

The Oriflamme was, in fact, a red silk flag on a gilt staff; those were the essential colours according to Doublet, who wrote a chapter on it (p. 299). Guillaume Guyart, a poet of the thirteenth century, thus describes it:

L'oriflamme est une bannière
Aucun poi plus forte que quimple,
De cendal roujoyans et simple,
Sans pourctraiture d'autre affaire.

Félibien says that it had the form of an old-fashioned banner or gonfalon, with three points or tails ending in green tassels. Much has been written about this flag, but the central fact in connexion with it seems to be that it was the flag, not of the kings of France, but of St. Denis. A Merovingian king gave Le Vexin to the abbey. By the ninth century it had been enfeoffed to a family of counts, and the Count of the Vexin was called the premier vassal of St. Denis, and as such carried the flag of St. Denis. When the Vexin was reunited to the royal domain under Philip I, the king became a kind of honorary feudatory of St. Denis, and so thenceforward adopted the Oriflamme. It was customary for the king, before going to war, to come in state to the abbey and take the flag from the shrine of the Saints, to whom it was returned with equal ceremony when the war was over. Charlemagne was fabled to have borne it. Philip Augustus certainly took it in 1190. St. Louis fetched it away to both his crusades. King after king carried it to the wars. All through the fourteenth century they fought beneath it. Last of all, Charles VI, after flying it in the Civil wars, whereby it seems to have lost its luck, came to St.-Denis for it on the eve of Agincourt, at which battle the bearer of it was slain. On this occasion we read nothing of any ceremonial return of it to St.-Denis. Its prestige was gone. No king ever bore it to the wars again. The kings of France adopted a new flag, 'la cornette blanche', and the old magic banner passed into oblivion. The last mention of it is in the inventory of 1594.[2]

With the contents of the ten chapels round the chevet, each of which contained in a chasse the body of a saint, and of the other chapels in different parts of the edifice we need not be concerned at any length. In Millet's days (p. 81) the chasses remaining were two of copper (St. Hippolyte's and one of an Inno-

[1] 'Cendal' was a silk fabric.

[2] F., p. 335.

cent), the rest of wood painted and gilt, made by the Cardinal of Lorraine to replace the wrecks. Originally, he says inaccurately, all were of silver-gilt except two, and some were enriched with many jewels, but the Huguenots in 1562 and 1567 robbed and destroyed them. The inventory of 1505 (nos. 227 and later) contains a list of the treasures at that time in the chapels. They include four silver-gilt and seven copper-gilt chasses, only one of the latter being said to be enamelled, ten reliquaries (some evidently very fine), nineteen silver chalices and patens, three precious statuettes of the Virgin, and various silver lamps, candelabra, ivory and other pyxes, crucifixes, altar frontals, and other objects, beside several boxes of precious fragments fallen from chasses, and the like. In the chapel of the Abbot were seven mitres, four fine pontifical rings, and three crosiers. Finally (no. 321), in the last chapel in the nave there was a wooden monument 'and on it the figure of a man in armour, the whole very decayed and damaged, but once covered with copper-gilt, enamels, and jewels'—the finest and richest tomb in the church—and beneath it, on the pavement, a long coffer of wood, unnailed and open, containing the bones of Alphonse, Count of Eu, 'fils de Jehan de Basme, roy de Jherusalem et empereur de Constantinoble' —evidently a Limoges monument resembling that of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey. Of enamel work on such tombs splendid fragments remain at St.-Denis, from the tombs of the children of St. Louis.[1] These tombs were originally set up in the choir of the abbey of Royaumont, but have been removed to St.-Denis in recent times. They are examples of the best work of their day. It is evident that the Limoges enamellers were much employed by St. Louis for chasses and other fine objects given by him to the abbey, none of which have survived. The plaques from the tombs of his children may, however, be taken to represent the kind of work of which they were composed. A small Limoges chasse, of copper enamelled and gilt, of thirteenth-century date, preserved in the Galerie d'Apollon at the Louvre,[2] certainly belonged to St.-Denis, but I cannot identify it in the inventories. It may well enough have come from one of the chapels. Another existing Limoges chasse will be referred to later.

Having thus briefly considered the arrangement and contents of the abbey church of St.-Denis in the days of its splendour, let us now turn our attention to some of the individual treasures, whether placed permanently in the church or generally kept in the Treasury. It will be convenient to treat them in their chronological order. The most ancient still existing object, which belonged to St.-Denis, is probably the broken fragment of an alabaster vase preserved in

[1] See plates in V.-le-Duc's *Dict. du Mobilier*, t. ii, p. 220.

[2] See the Catalogue of Orfèvrerie, etc., in the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre by Monsieur J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, no. 64.

the Cabinet des Médailles. It was already broken when engraved by Félibien,[1] and a further fragment has parted company from it since. The vase was evidently Egyptian, perhaps of Saite days, or even later. It had a slightly tapering body and a flat shoulder with two handles. It is a portion of the upper part that remains with parts of the handles. Neck and base are gone. It was fabled to have been one of the vessels used at Cana for the miracle of turning water into wine. Several so-called Cana vases still exist in ancient ecclesiastical treasuries. There is one of alabaster in Quedlinburg Cathedral, a wedding present to the Empress Theophanu, wife of Otto II. Its broken-off handle is said to be preserved as a relic at Cologne or Aix-la-Chapelle. There is a porphyry Cana vase in Santa Maria in Porto at Ravenna, and a porphyry fragment at Hildesheim; one of pottery is at Mittelzell in Reichenau. Best of all is an Egyptian vase of grey granite inscribed with the name of Artaxerxes in the Treasury of St. Mark at Venice. This was not the only Cana vase at Venice, for San Niccolò of the Lido claimed to possess one. There is yet another of alabaster in the Jewish gallery in the Louvre from Port-Royal, and a porphyry example with two masks in relief in Angers Museum (from the cathedral), which King René brought from the convent of St. Paul at Marseilles. These do not exhaust the list, but they are those I have personally come in contact with. All are genuine antiques, and several are of hard stones, probably Egyptian in origin. The alabaster examples are likewise probably Egyptian.[2]

It might have been suspected that the vase of Egyptian porphyry, which Suger set so splendidly with the head and wings of an eagle (pl. XVII, fig. 2), would likewise be called a Cana vase, but Suger himself says nothing about it. The hard material and the finish of the workmanship excited his admiration. This vase in the Galerie d'Apollon at the Louvre always attracts attention. There is something compelling about its aspect and it has been admired from that day to this. It is, however, the setting rather than the vase itself that receives the praise. We could easily make another such porphyry vase, but who now could design for it an eagle's head and wings like Suger's?

The great 'Cuve de porphyre',[3] now in the Cabinet des Médailles, which Suger placed behind the altar of St. Denis in the chevet of his church, is evidently an antique bath. No doubt it was made in Alexandria in early imperial days. Some wealthy Roman we may believe brought it to Gaul to furnish the

[1] F., pl. i R; D., p. 347; M., p. 112. F.'s engraving shows it upside down.

[2] For a list of so-called Cana vases and remarks on them see F. de Mély in *Monuments et Mémoires* (Piot), vol. x. The Reichenau vase is mentioned early in the tenth century, and is the first to be recorded. Many Cana vases were merely 'Vases de la Cène', i. e. Byzantine chalices inscribed with the formula for the benediction of wine. According to the legend six vases were used for the miracle.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 221; Inv. 1634, f. 320; Inv. 1739, no. 107; M., p. 64.

Photo : Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. The Sword 'Joyeuse'. (Width of quillons, 22 cm.)

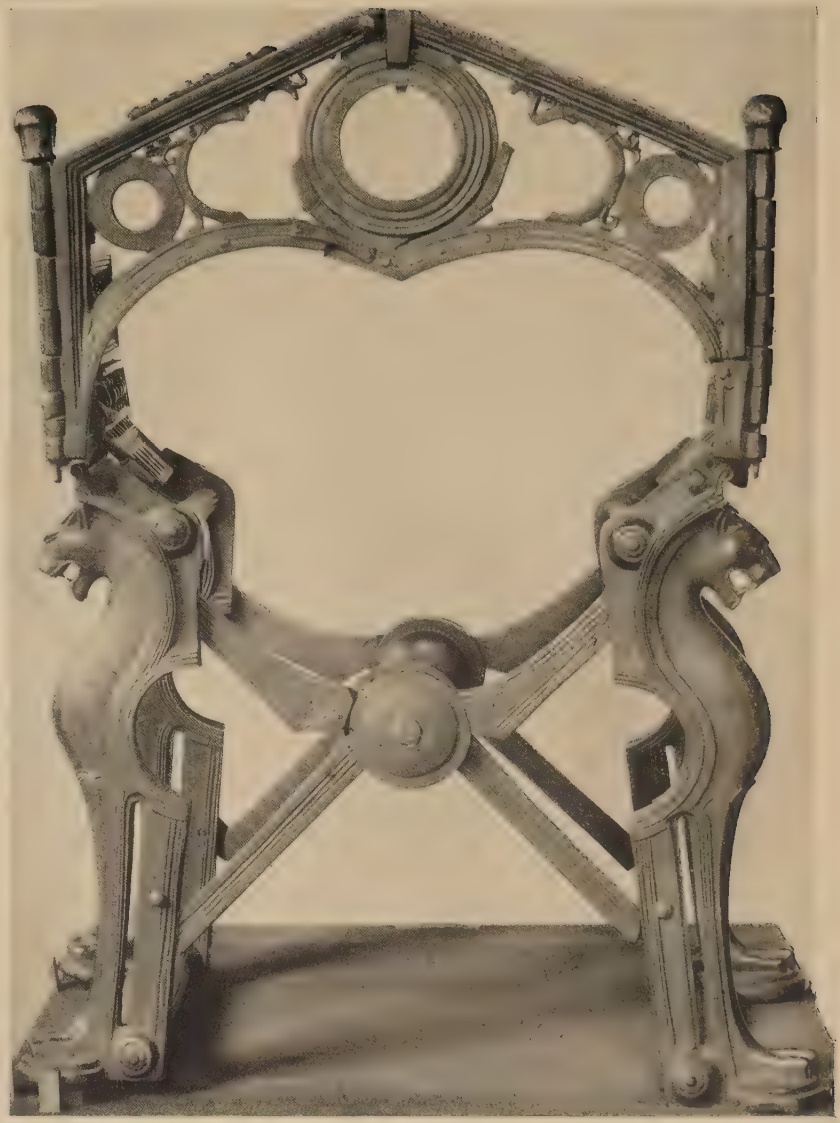


Photo : Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 2. The 'Throne of Dagobert'

bath-room of a stately palace. Thence it appears to have passed into the baptistry at Poitiers, where it was used as a font. St. Martin of Tours is said to have been baptized in it by St. Hilary. When Dagobert captured and looted Poitiers this was one of the fine things he carried away.[1] He presented it to St.-Denis and there five centuries later Suger found it. Like all such great porphyry basins it is of very simple form—the size and shape of a modern bath rounded at both ends. Except for two imitation round handles carved on the front, the visible parts of the bath are quite plain. The lip is conveniently moulded for comfort of entry, and that is all; but the workmanship is excellent and the preservation perfect.

Fig. 1. Sardonyx vase, called 'La coupe des Ptolémées'.

Far more important than the foregoing objects, which are rather of manufacture than of art, is the splendid two-handled cantharus of agate, generally known as the 'Coupe des Ptolémées', now one of the greatest treasures in the Cabinet des Médailles (fig. 1).[2] It is engraved by Félibien on a large scale in the fine setting of gold and jewels with which Suger endowed it, but this was stolen and melted down in 1804, only the vase itself being recovered. The vase is so

[1] Thomas Platter records having seen at St.-Denis in 1599: 'une cuvette en jaspe dans laquelle le roi Dagobert se serait lavé et qui sert maintenant pour l'eau bénite; sur les bords ont été sculptées des têtes de dieux païens.' I can find no other mention of this vessel.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 69; Inv. 1634, f. 169r; Inv. 1739, no. 70; D., p. 342; M., p. 109; F., pl. iii F and pl. vi. E. Babelon, *Cat. des Camées*, p. 201.

well known that we may deal with it briefly. The surface is covered with figures wrought in high relief representing Bacchic scenes and emblems. Its date may be about the first or even the second century, A.D., but some think it Hellenistic. The dating of objects of this class is uncertain, as few exist for comparison. The Farnese Tazza at Naples is the most splendid, and is probably Alexandrian work of late Hellenistic date. The Gonzaga vase at Brunswick is attributed to the age of Augustus. The beautiful ewer of St. Martin at St. Maurice d'Agaune belongs to about the same period. All these cameo-vases of sardonyx are enriched with figure-decoration. The Hamilton vase, now in the Wyndham-Cook collection, is another splendid example of such work in precious stone, but, except for two satyrs' heads, its embellishment is of foliation. It is doubtfully called Hellenistic. The beautiful Waddesdon vase in the British Museum is likewise decorated with foliation cut in cameo, but it is of later date and has even been set down to the fourth century A.D., though, in my opinion, that is at least a century too late. The inscription on the foot of the 'Coupe des Ptolémées', added by Suger, states that it was presented by Charles III, who has been wrongly assumed to be Charles the Simple. Seeing that Suger himself in his own writings calls Charles the Bald Charles III, and as Charles the Bald gave many treasures of great value to St. Denis, whereas Charles the Simple is not otherwise known to have given any, it is practically certain that Charles the Bald was the donor.[1] How he came by it we shall probably never know, but we may guess that it had belonged previously to Charlemagne. On the occasion of their coronation the queens of France, says Millet (p. 110), 'prennent l'ablution en ce calice, après la saincte communion'.

The golden sceptre,[2] called the sceptre of Dagobert, raises questions no longer answerable. Doublet describes it in detail, and Félibien's engraving helps us to picture it. He notes that some antiquaries of his day thought it to have been a consular staff. On the top was a golden group of Ganymede carried by an eagle, each of whose wings was set with four emeralds and a garnet surrounded by eight pearls. This was planted on a globe held by a hand, with likewise a little branch garnished with pearls, enamels, and coral. The hand was at the end of a golden rod, also enamelled and set with stones. Probably the summit group and perhaps other parts of this sceptre were antique, but it is unlikely that we shall ever know more about it.

The bronze throne of Dagobert, on which the kings of France were crowned, was repaired and used for Napoleon and is still in existence—one of the most

[1] Suger, referring to Charles the Bald's tomb, writes: 'Karolus imperator tertius qui eidem altari subiacet gloriose sepultus', *loc. cit.*, p. 202.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 87; Inv. 1634, f. 176^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 32; F., pl. ii 9; D., p. 368.

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

THE BOWL OF CHOSROES

Crystals and coloured glasses set in gold (d. 28¼ cm.)

interesting pieces of furniture that have come to us from antiquity (pl. V, fig. 2).[1] St. Eloy was said to have made it, but this is no longer believed. St. Eloy did make two chairs for Dagobert, as his eighth-century biographer clearly records, but they appear to have been a pair, and one of them was certainly of gold and set with gems. There is no reason why the chair from St.-Denis in the Cabinet des Médailles must be one of these, though Suger thought it was. Modern archaeologists are of opinion that it is more ancient, and that it is a Roman Curule Chair, of the folding X type, which maintained itself from the days of ancient Egypt down to the sixteenth century. On ivory diptychs of the sixth century consuls are seated in such chairs as this, which brings us down to a date not far removed from Dagobert. Of course it originally had no back-piece and only the lower, narrow member of the arms. Suger added the upper members with foliated scrolls and the back-piece, all finely cast in bronze, and an authoritative example of the kind of bronze casting that was done at St.-Denis in the twelfth century. As for the rough clamps and other coarse mends, they were the work of some common blacksmith, botching the thing together for Napoleon's coronation.

The famous bowl of Chosroes II, Sassanian king of Persia (A.D. 590–628), is another precious object so well known as to call only for brief mention here (pl. VI). Charles the Bald is said to have given it to St.-Denis. The bowl is of gold; the medallions of crystal, and red and green coloured glass are set in it *à jour*. The large central medallion is finely cut into a cameo of Chosroes seated on his throne, and it is scarcely necessary to remark that, in the Middle Ages, this was believed to be a likeness of Solomon in all his glory.[2]

Five relics were said to have belonged to St. Denis himself—two staves, a ring, a chalice, and an inkstand. Of the two staves, we have seen that one was attached to a pillar in the chevet behind the altar of the Saint.[3] This was the top end only of his pastoral staff, or, as Millet says, 'le crosson qui n'estoit que de bois, maintenant est couvert d'or, enrichi d'émaux et de pierreries, et de 48 perles orientales'. Félibien's print shows it as a most peculiarly shaped, wide opened crook, with a fleur-de-lys stuck on at the end. The decoration may not date from before the time of Suger, and the fleur-de-lys looks like a yet later addition. Dublin Museum possesses several examples of the staves of Irish saints thus embellished.

The other staff is called the walking-stick of St. Denis.[4] This was quite as elaborately mounted; it was inscribed 'Baculus Beati Dionysii Areopagitae'.

[1] At St. Denis it was also used daily by the celebrant at Mass at the High altar.
[2] Inv. 1505, no. 76; Inv. 1634, f. 174^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 76; D., p. 342; M., p. 128; F., pl. iv M.
[3] Inv. 1505, no. 202; Inv. 1739, no. 63; F., pl. iii Z; M., p. 99.
[4] Inv. 1505, no. 53; Inv. 1634, f. 163^{v}; D., p. 346; M., p. 100.

Neither of these relics survives, and we can gather little from Félibien's engraving; but the splendidly mounted fragment of the staff of St. Peter in the cathedral of Limburg-on-the-Lahn is an existing example of the way such relics were treated towards the end of the tenth century.[1]

As for St. Denis's inkstand, we can do no more than reproduce the engraving (pl. VII, fig. 1) of it inserted by B. de Montfaucon in his *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708, p. 23), and add a translation[2] of the description with which he accompanied it. The object itself may have been at least as old as the fifth century of our era.

In the treasury of the monastery of Saint-Denis in France there is an inkstand of the most remote antiquity, for the use, once upon a time, as they think, of Saint Denis, the first bishop of Paris. It is a tablet of ebony, of the shape and size here depicted. From the middle of the lowest, which is also the narrower part of the tablet, there stands out a case constructed with four holes for putting in four reed-pens; since the holes are bigger than would be necessary for putting in quill-pens. At the top, which is broader, the tablet is faced on both sides with silver-plate, about a thumb's breadth, ornamented with birds and other figures. Likewise the top of the case is enclosed with a silver plate, where the four holes are. And in the same way the bottom of the case, which is narrower, is faced with a silver plate ornamented with figures. The four edges of the case are held from top to bottom by four little plates of silver which are smaller and held on by silver nails, as you can see in the engraving. The lower part of the case is covered with blackish leather ornamented with designs. The vessel for the ink is of wood, likewise covered with blackish leather, and edged round the top with a silver plate, and it contains another vessel of bronze for receiving the ink. The original lid of that has long ago perished; but the one now remaining, substituted several centuries ago, is different both in material and shape and is already worn away and damaged by age. On each side of the wooden tablet there are rings for passing a cord or strap through, by which the whole contrivance used to be hung up. On the upper part of the tablet in an unornamented round space there projects a movable ring of brass, made up of four semicircles, from which the ink-vessel is suspended.

To this rather verbose description there is little to add. The engraving seems to be accurate, but it is possible that the decoration may have been refined by the engraver. The ornament at the top presents a singular resemblance to that of a gilt bronze brooch of which two examples exist in the Mayence Museum, one of them engraved with runes attributed to the fifth or sixth century. The clamps which hold the cord-rings closely resemble a strap-fastening from Charnay, now in the Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which is probably of the fifth century, so that that may be the approximate date for 'L'escriptouere mons^r. sainct Denis' of the 1505 inventory.[3]

[1] E. Aus'm Weerth: *Das Siegeskreuz*, etc. Bonn, 1866, with coloured plate.
[2] For which I have to thank Prof. R. S. Conway, of Manchester University.
[3] Inv. 1505, no. 52; Inv. 1634, f. 163^v. According to the latter the silver mountings were gilt.

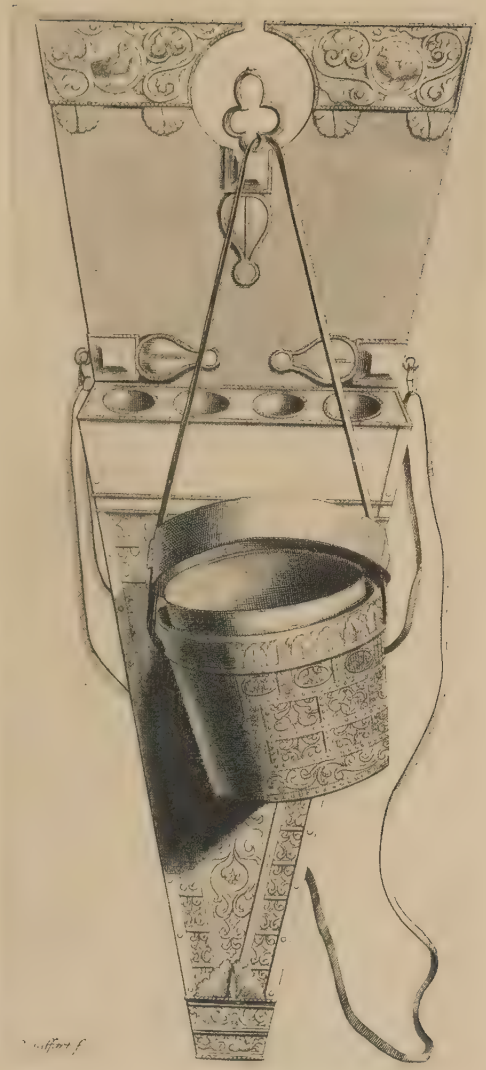


Fig. 1. The Scriptorium of St. Denis

Fig. 2. Foot of cross : called the cross of St. Bertin : St. Omer Museum (ht. 30 cm.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

In the Galerie d'Apollon is a well-known paten (pl. VIII, fig. 1) made of a disc of green serpentine set in a border of gold and gems.[1] Eight golden dolphins were inlaid in the serpentine, whereof one had been already lost in 1634 and another has fallen out since. The inventory of 1634 also notes the stones gone from the setting. Félibien falls into an error in grouping this paten with the chalice of Suger. All the earlier authorities clearly state that it belonged with the 'Coupe des Ptolémées'. It is always considered to have been of Carolingian date, yet I have no doubt but that it was, in fact, made in the East, perhaps at Byzantium, about the time of Justinian. The probability is that both the splendid agate chalice and this paten came together as gifts from some Eastern emperor to Charlemagne or some other king of the Franks. Such gifts were constantly coming from quite early days and are frequently recorded. The chalice most likely belonged to the imperial treasure, which by the sixth century retained almost a monopoly of such objects. Treasures of that kind, if carried off as loot by barbarian chieftains, soon met an untimely end by rough usage. Only in the ancient world were there hands deft enough to preserve them through such troublous times as the fifth to the ninth centuries. Probably it was to Charlemagne himself that both chalice and paten were sent, and Charles the Bald gave both together to the abbey of St.-Denis. The gold dolphins are a common Early Christian decorative feature, descending from an ancient Greek tradition. Constantine the Great gave a gold lamp to St. Peter's, which was adorned with figures of dolphins. A dolphin is engraved on the back of the top stone of the Écrin de Charlemagne, the other side of which bears a Greek monogram. There is a Byzantine intaglio of a dolphin in the Cabinet des Médailles (no. 340), and instances might be multiplied. The border, moreover, is of early date. There are no pastes but only stones, and these are set in plain, closely-fitting box mounts. The heart-shaped designs are of Eastern form, similar to those on the little gold chalice of Gourdon in the Cabinet des Médailles, which was clearly made by an Eastern craftsman. The arrangement of the red cylindrical stones round the outer edge with a ring of gold between each is paralleled[2] in the Bowl of Chosroes and the golden fibula with three tails found at Nagy Mihály in Hungary, now in the Hofmuseum at Vienna, a fine example of East Roman work of about the fifth century (pl. VIII, fig. 2). The absence of all filigree and enamel, the plainness of the *chatons*, the strong design, the lack of exactness in symmetry—all these features point to a date as early as the sixth or even the

[1] Inv. 1505, no. 69; Inv. 1634, f. 169[r]; Inv. 1739, no. 57; F., pl. iii R.

[2] The well-known gold plaque from Siberia, which is in the Hermitage and represents an eagle with displayed wings and raised tail, may have had rows of such stones along the tail where only the grooves and rings remain. It is attributed to about the third to fifth century A. D.—probably fifth.

fifth century, and to the Eastern Empire as the place of manufacture for the St.-Denis paten.[1]

The earliest object of Merovingian make of which we receive a hint, unless the inkstand of St.-Denis be Western, is a gold spoon[2] 'of ancient fashion' pierced with many holes, and used as a strainer over a chalice. We have no representation of the spoon, but its recorded aspect of antiquity suggests that it may have been one of the perforated spoons which were not uncommonly used by Anglo-Saxons and Franks in the sixth and seventh centuries for some unknown purpose, and have been found several times in association with crystal balls. One of silver, set with garnets, was found at Chatham,[3] others came from Sarre, Bifrons, Sibertswold, and Stodmarsh, all in Kent; and yet others from Crundale, Hunts., and Chessell Down, I.W. These are all of the sixth century. Somewhat later is a fine silver example in Prag Museum from Svetec.[4] Germany has yielded one, and four were found in France (Dept. Aisne) by Moreau, whereof two are in the Musée de Saint-Germain. A spoon of this character might easily have been given to St.-Denis in the time of Dagobert, and thus survived down to the Revolution. A perforated spoon of early date is figured by Rohault de Fleury.[5] Two silver examples are, or were, in the Barberini collection. Theophilus, in the eleventh century, describes how such spoons should be made, and that is not the last of them. The St.-Denis spoon, therefore, need not necessarily go back to the time of Dagobert.

Characteristic works in precious metals of Dagobert's day are those which were attributed to St. Eloy and artists contemporary with him. It should be remembered that all through the dark ages, approximately from the sixth to the end of the tenth centuries, Orfèvrerie was the leading art. As a rule, work in jewellery and the precious metals is a minor art, employing the hands of craftsmen of a rank subordinate to that of artists in architecture, sculpture, or painting. But at the time with which we are dealing it was not so. Architects, sculptors, and painters were the minor artists; goldsmiths were the great artists. Just as the thirteenth century was the great age of architecture, and the fifteenth and sixteenth of painting, so the period from the seventh to the eleventh century was a great age of Orfèvrerie. Some of the leading men of the day were goldsmiths, and such was St. Eloy.

He was born about 588 near Limoges, and received his training in the workshop of Abbon, the local coiner and goldsmith of that city. Having favourably

[1] I follow Riegl in attributing the finest work of this kind not to barbarian but to imperial artificers.
[2] Inv. 1505, no. 175; Inv. 1634, f. 231^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 105.
[3] *Nenia*, p. 2; Akermann, pl. 33, and *V. C. H. Kent.*
[4] Baron de Baye, in *Bull. Mon.*, 1907, who cites the examples that follow.
[5] *La Messe*, iv, pl. 339, but this is not of barbarian make.

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. Serpentine plate, inlaid with goldfish, and mounted in gold (d. 17 cm.)

Fig. 2. Fibula of gold and stones; found at Nagy Mihály, Hungary

impressed Clotaire II, he was appointed by him head of his Mint, and was made Treasurer by Dagobert. Like other studious or artistic persons of those days, he was impelled to seek a quiet life in a monastery, but he was dragged forth into affairs again in 640 and appointed bishop of Noyon. He was famed as a preacher. He made missionary journeys. He died in 663. Whether living as an official, as a monk, as a bishop, or as a statesman, his main work and interest in life was the designing and making of splendid works of Orfèvrerie—chasses, altar-frontals, tombs, chalices, and the like. Just as Rubens might perform the functions of a diplomatist, while remaining always and above everything a painter, so the Bishop of Noyon, while satisfactorily episcopating, remained essentially an artist, and, what is more, the greatest Western artist of his day. Dagobert, of course, had the chief claim on his services and gave to St.-Denis several works by the splendid minister-goldsmith.

Principal amongst these by universal repute was the magnificent cross always known as 'the Cross of St. Eloy'. Many descriptions and one painting of it have come down to us (pl. II).[1] Doublet says this cross was of the height of a man. The inventory of 1739 states that it was six feet high or thereabouts. In the midst of the cross was an agate cameo, assuredly antique. At the bottom, under a glass, was a small enamelled reliquary containing a piece of the True Cross which may have resembled the early Byzantine Beresford-Hope reliquary in the Victoria and Albert Museum. There were numerous precious stones on it, and all the ground on the front and back of it was inlaid with glass mosaic of various colours (like the chasse at St.-Maurice d'Agaune), as well as with pieces of mother-of-pearl. The metal of it was gold and silver, except for a certain attached repoussée copper-gilt plaque with the images of St. Denis and two angels which was fastened at the foot of the back of the cross. This cross was made to stand above the High altar, and there it was placed by Dagobert and left by Suger, who describes it as 'illam ammirabilem sancti Eligii crucem'. It was still there in 1505, according to the inventory, in which it is briefly described as 'une grant croix d'or, les bordures d'argent,[2] nommée la croix sainct Eloy', and it is depicted in this position over the retable of Charles the Bald in the painting of the 'Mass of St. Giles'.[3] In the days of Doublet and Millet (seventeenth century) the cross of St. Eloy had been moved and was over the place

[1] Inv. 1505, no. 189; Inv. 1634, f. 252[r]; Inv. 1739, no. 100. A long description is printed in Labarte, t. i, p. 247. The earliest mention of it is by the eighth-century author of the *Gesta Dagoberti*, cited by Labarte, who already records that St. Eloy was its maker, so that the attribution of it to him is much more than a mere tradition.

[2] Possibly the silver border is the obviously Gothic addition seen in the picture.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 15: 'Une grant croix d'or garnie de plusieurs pierres et perles', was the rather similar cross of Charlemagne. It was valued at 2,705 écus 8 sols, the cross of St. Eloy at 2,291 écus; so that the cross of Charlemagne was the more valuable of the two.

where the Matutinal altar had stood. It was on a great beam painted blue and dotted with gold fleurs-de-lys which Doublet says was 'au bout du Chœur tirant vers le maistre autel', and which Millet describes as 'cette longue pièce de bois azurée et semée de fleurs de lys qui traverse le chœur par le bout des chaires'.[1] In the inventory of 1739 it is stated to be standing 'on the grille of the choir'.

The picture of the Mass of St. Giles, which now belongs to Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie, and was kindly lent by her to the Society for the meeting, enables us to fill out the written descriptions of this cross. It is, however, surprising to find that the cross shown is very far short of 6 ft. high or of the height of a man. We are forced to conclude that a stem, hidden behind the retable, accounted for a considerable fraction of the total. It will be observed that the cross is not actually on the top of the retable but just behind it, so that the existence of such a stem is implied. In other respects the description and the picture are in fair agreement. In the middle of the crossing is a kind of quatrefoil medallion with a cameo head in the centre. The ground is evidently inlaid with flat stones, and the small white cruciform spaces may be filled with mother-of-pearl. At the foot is the little frame that contained the small cross inscribed 'de cruce dñi'. There are large jewels at intervals down the front, and there is a string of pearls set all round the inlaid field.

St. Eloy made a splendid tomb for St.-Denis and several chasses for the abbey, but these need not detain us, as there is too little known about them. A piece of his handiwork almost came down to our time. This was a jade gondola which he mounted in gold and pastes. It was one of the small number of the treasures of St.-Denis that escaped the Revolution and was placed in what should have been the security of the Cabinet des Médailles. But in 1804 robbers got at it and some other precious objects, and it has never been seen since. There is indeed in the Cabinet des Médailles a jade gondola (no. 374) which claims to be this one, but is of altogether different form.[2] De Linas, by the help of Félibien's engraving and the detailed description in the inventory of 1634, succeeded in making a restoration of it, which is here reproduced (pl. IX, fig. 1). It must be admitted to be rather difficult to see in the reconstruction the great beauty which beholders seem to have united to find in the vase itself. It was set and rimmed with gold and adorned with sapphires, garnets, plasmas, and seventy oriental pearls. The nature of the stone puzzled all the old writers, who did not know jade, and this may have had something to do with its prestige. Félibien seems to have been the first to call it jade. Though made by St. Eloy, this gondola was not given to St.-Denis by Dagobert in the seventh century, but by Suger in the twelfth. It had been part of the royal treasure till Louis le Gros

[1] D., pp. 288, 333; M., pp. 40, 71; F., p. 174.
[2] Babelon's *Cat. des Camées*, no. 374. See De Linas, *Saint Éloi*, p. 60.

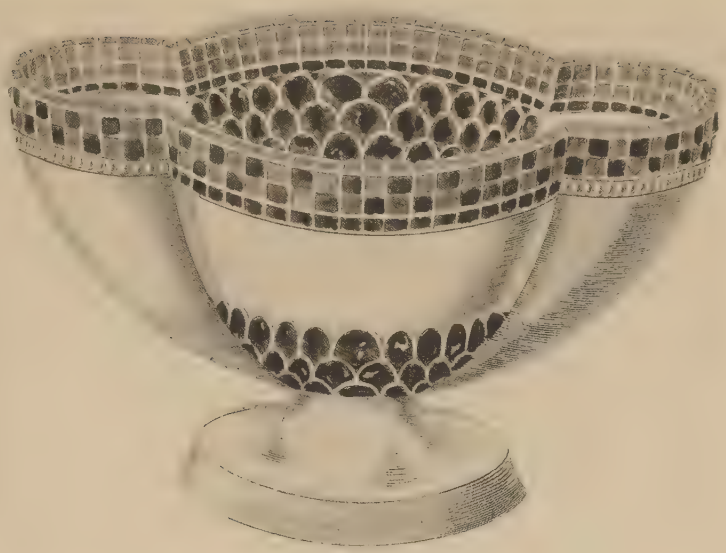


Fig. 1. Gondola attributed to St. Eloy

Fig. 2. Navette in shape of an eagle, with gold mountings: reproduced, by permission, from Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc*

pawned it. Ten years later he allowed Suger to redeem it and present it to St.-Denis.[1] Suger describes it thus: 'Quod vas tam pro pretiosi lapidis qualitate quam integra sui quantitate mirificum, inclusorio sancti Eligii opere constat esse ornatum, quod omnium aurificum iudicio pretiosissimum aestimatur.'

Little need be said about the silver-gilt reliquary of the shoulder of John Baptist, another of Dagobert's gifts to St.-Denis.[2] The engraving shows an obviously Gothic reliquary. All the authorities, however, refer to it as an ancient (Byzantine) casket which the Emperor Heraclius sent as a gift to Dagobert. The inventory of 1739 knows enough to describe the style of it as Gothic, and yet continues: 'ledit reliquaire a été donné à l'abbaye par le roy Dagobert.' Millet leaves it doubtful whether it was the reliquary or only the relic that Heraclius sent. Thus we have no account of what the Byzantine reliquary was like, or when and why it was replaced by the one engraved.

On Félibien's plates (i and ii, our pl. III) there are representations of two eagles with spread wings set with gems. One is attached to the nail-reliquary, the other is an independent ornament and was believed to be the mantle-clasp of Dagobert. The latter is frequently mentioned.[3] Doublet describes it as 'an eagle, very rich, of gold embellished with fine sapphires, rubies, and other jewels'. The inventory of 1739 specially mentions one big sapphire which Millet says was on the stomach of the bird and was one of the finest sapphires ever seen. As for the other eagle attached to the chasse, it may be the silver-gilt eagle set with stones of the inventory of 1505 (no. 38). Millet (p. 125) also refers to a silver-gilt eagle set with stones, 'qui a aussi servy d'agraffe à quelque manteau royal'. Both eagles, he adds, were of about the size of a skylark. It is evident that these eagle-clasps are a later development of the same type as the two bronze-gilt brooches in the Cluny Museum from Valence d'Agen, and the similar gold brooch from Ravenna which belongs to the German Museum at Nuremberg.[4] Authorities are divided in the attribution of them to Byzantine or Gothic craftsmen. It is evident, however, that the type was admired by the rich men of the new peoples, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and the rest, and that it continued to be made down to the days of Dagobert and perhaps even later.

The last gift to St.-Denis of the time of Dagobert that calls for brief mention is the pair of bracelets that belonged to his queen Nanthilde. Doublet describes them (p. 245) as 'so rare and exquisite as not to be compared with any other'. Suger attached one of them to the middle of the cross of Charlemagne and the

[1] Inv. 1505, no. 74; Inv. 1634, f. 172^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 87 *bis*; F., p. 175 and pl. iv CC; D., p. 344; M., p. 131.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 22; Inv. 1634, f. 144^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 21; F., pl. ii E; D., pp. 172, 335; M., p. 94.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 31; Inv. 1634, f. 150^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 33; F., pl. ii R; D., pp. 173, 348; M., p. 125.

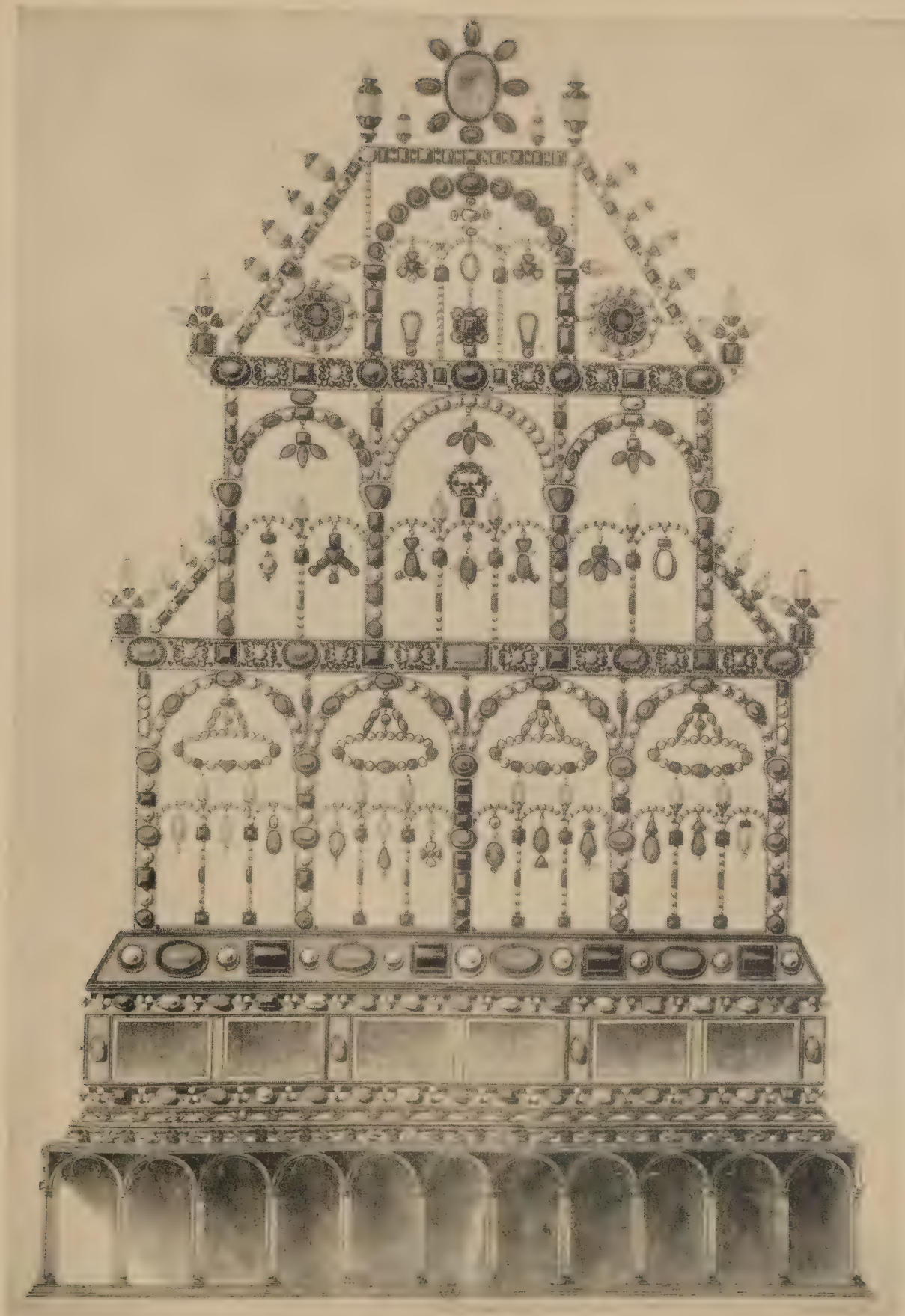
[4] They are generally assigned to the fifth century.

other to the reliquary of the head of St. Denis. They had disappeared before the time of the earliest inventory.

Another pair of bracelets of great value was given to St.-Denis by Pepin, the next royal donor with whom we have to concern ourselves. These had belonged to Waifar (Doublet calls him Gayfier), Duke of Aquitaine, with whom Pepin waged a war of life and death from 760 to 768. Aquitaine had enjoyed relative tranquillity for many years, so that the arts had been able to flourish there, notably in the city of Limoges, where St. Eloy learnt his craft. In the last year of Pepin's life, 768, he finally overthrew and slew Waifar after utterly devastating his whole country. Pepin took the splendid bracelets from him and caused them to be attached behind the High altar of St.-Denis on the front of the Martyrium, which we discussed at length above.[1] They were called, says Doublet, 'les Pierres Gaifières'. Suger took them away from this place (when he moved the bodies of the saints) and fixed them over the arms of the crucifix on the great cross which he set up as aforesaid. Pepin's other important gifts were the above-mentioned gold figures of SS. Peter and Paul on the porphyry columns, and a splendid square retable covered with gold and jewels, which Suger appears to have placed over the altar of St.-Denis in the chevet.[2]

A number of precious objects said to have belonged to Charlemagne was included in the list of the treasures of St.-Denis; they were not, however, gifts of the great Emperor, but were presented by Charles the Bald. Finest among them was the famous 'Escrin de Charlemagne', of which Félibien has preserved an unsatisfactory representation.[3] Fortunately a good, large-scale, coloured drawing of it exists in the Cabinet des Estampes (pl. X). It has been reproduced by Monsieur J. Guibert in the book above cited, where he shows that the drawing was made after the 30th of September, 1791, and shortly before the destruction of the Écrin in the public mint. In form it was a kind of upright scaffolding, shaped like the façade of a church, and resembling in a general way the arcaded framing which decorates the pages of the Eusebian canons at the beginning of Carlovingian manuscript gospels. The inventory of 1505 says it was of silver-gilt; that of 1739 describes it as all of gold, covered with pearls and precious stones. In Félibien's engraving it is shown with a Gothic base, an addition made in the time of Abbot Philippe de Villette (1363–1398), including a sort of long box with crystal windows to display the relics within. On the top of this box is a row of great jewels running all along the foot of the façade. The lower story of it is an arcading of four round arches, from the summit of each of which depends a crown, made of jewels strung together. Higher up is a second arcading with

[1] D., pp. 289, 1202. [2] D., p. 289; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. Arch.*, ii, p. 23.
[3] Inv. 1505, no. 4; Inv. 1634, f. 24^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 67; D., p. 335; M., p. 101; F., pl. iv c.



THE 'ESCRIN DE CHARLEMAGNE'

Reproduced, by permission, from Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

Χριστοῦ). But if the stones are of Byzantine provenance, the setting is Western. Each gem is held by a band of metal soldered within a stout ring of the same, and from the extremity of each springs a little metal stem and calyx[1] holding a fine oriental pearl, pinned through on to it. The workmanship may be called rough, but is highly decorative, and implies for the whole écrin a splendour of effect which is not easily re-created even by an instructed imagination.

Among the treasures gathered together by Charlemagne and deposited by him at Aix-la-Chapelle were the following famous relics: part of the Crown of Thorns (including eight thorns), one holy nail, one piece of the cross, the sudarium of Christ, the swaddling clothes of Christ, the Virgin's shift, and the arm of St. Simeon. Charles the Bald is related, in the *Descriptio* above cited, to have given the first three and 'alia quoque multa' to St.-Denis. The sudarium was deposited at Compiègne. The gift of the nail and crown was recorded on his tomb. Holy nails are not uncommon relics, but whereas there should not be more than four of them at most, upwards of thirty are still preserved at Monza, Rome, Venice, Nuremberg, Prague, and so forth. They may have been multiplied, like the key relics of St. Peter's chains, by being copied out of ordinary iron with a little fragment of some master-relic welded into them.[2] Constantine was said to have had two of the true nails. It was related that one of them was wrought into the bit for his horse and the other affixed to his helmet. Both Carpentras and Milan claim to possess the former, while the latter is said to exist within the splendid crown at Monza. Millet states that Charlemagne obtained his nail as a gift from Constantine V. At St.-Denis it had a chequered history.[3] What the original case that contained it was like is not recorded, but it may have been of the form of the beautiful tenth-century nail-reliquary still preserved in the cathedral at Trèves. It was at any rate small, for Charles VI (*c.* 1397) gave a bigger reliquary in which, on a silver-gilt base, were gold figures of Charlemagne and St. Louis holding the old reliquary, whilst other gold figures kneeling represented himself, his queen, and his eldest son. This, however, did not survive the troublous times, so that in 1642 a new one was made, and this it is that Félibien's print depicts. He likewise tells a capital story about how, in the year 1233, one day when relics were being venerated by the populace and the nail was held out to a poor woman to be kissed, it fell into her lap, and she went off with it, feeling something heavy and hoping it was gold. She hurried home and found only a bit of iron to which she attached no consequence.

[1] According to Molinier these pearl-settings point to the fourteenth-century restoration, when the box was added at the foot.

[2] An admirable essay on nail relics is included in an article by C. de Linas in *Le Beffroi*, vol. iii (1866-70), p. 32. It contains special reference to the St.-Denis nail.

[3] Inv. 1505, nos. 21, 203; Inv. 1634, ff. 143^{r}, 291^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 3; F., p. 228, pl. iv D; M., p. 86.

Meanwhile the loss of the nail had been observed. The abbey doors were locked too late and every one was searched, of course with no result. How the relic was recovered is too long a tale to set down here and must be sought in the pages of Félibien.

The third important treasure at St.-Denis which belonged to Charlemagne was a famous cross, said to have come out of the emperor's private chapel. There can be no doubt that it was the work of his day or even before, so that the tradition that assigns it to him is quite credible. It was one of the gifts of Charles the Bald. This is not the cross of St. Eloy above referred to and so carefully depicted over the High altar in the painting of the Mass of St. Giles. The inventory of 1534 minutely describes the cross of Charlemagne, and Félibien likewise gives an engraving of it.[1] The inventory of 1505 is very vague about it, but implies that then it was in the Treasury. The manuscript inventory of 1634 is full of detail, and De Linas carefully studied it. Doublet describes it as adorned in the middle by a very fine oriental amethyst hollowed out within like a cup, and enriched with emeralds, sapphires, garnets, and pearls, containing also many holy relics. He also states that Charles the Bald had it set up between his tomb and the Matutinal altar, and that in the midst of it was fastened one of the bracelets of Queen Nanthilde, but here he is only citing the statement of Suger himself.[2] The inventories inform us that this cross was $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and the arms $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. in span; and they highly prize the amethyst, which is plainly seen as a large one in Félibien's engraving. De Linas cleverly shows that the ground of Charlemagne's cross was covered with green pastes and garnets set within circular metal cloisons, the green pastes being circular and the garnets filling up the interstices between the circles. This appears to conform closely with what we see as the ground of the cross of St. Eloy. We must therefore conclude that the crosses of Charlemagne and St. Eloy were work of the same school and perhaps even of about the same date.

Charles the Bald was said to have given another gold cross which Félibien caused to be engraved.[3] The arrangement of the jewels on this cross resembles that on Charlemagne's, but its four ends break out into large fleurs-de-lys, and the whole has a less convincingly early aspect. It was called the Cross of

[1] Inv. 1505, no. 15; Inv. 1634, f. 87r; Inv. 1739, no. 66; F., p. 174 and pl. iv B; D., pp. 245, 335; M., p. 88; De Linas, *St. Eloi*, p. 67.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 203: 'Crucem etiam mirabilem quantitatis suae, quae superposita est inter altare et tumulum eiusdem Karoli, in cuius medio fama retinuit confixum nobilissimum monile Nantildis reginae uxoris Dagoberti regis ecclesiae fundatoris, aliud vero in frontem sancti Dionysii (tamen huic minori nullum aequipollere peritissimi artifices testantur) erigi fecimus, maxime ob reverentiam sanctissimae boiae ferreae, quae, in carcere Glaucini sacratissimo collo beati Dionysii innexa, cultum et venerationem tam a nobis quam ab omnibus promeruit.'

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 16; Inv. 1634, f. 93v; Inv. 1739, no. 18; F., pl. ii B; D., p. 335; M., p. 88.

St. Laurence, because the substance of it was made of two bars of the gridiron of his martyrdom. At a late date it was changed into a processional cross by the addition of a socket of silver-gilt to fit it to a staff. It was decorated with cabochon sapphires, garnets (some hollowed out, others pointed), pearls, and enamels. The presence of enamels shows that this cross can scarcely date from the time of Charles the Bald.

The monks of St.-Denis believed themselves to possess the royal insignia of Charlemagne, including a crown, sword, spurs, hand of justice, and sceptre. Modern critics have decided that all of these objects are of later date, but I am inclined to doubt the attribution of part at any rate of the sword to as late a date as the twelfth century (pl. V, fig. 1). Doubtless it has been subjected in the process of time to many restorations and repairs. The blade may be, as is claimed, medieval, and the grip modern, but the pommel finds no corresponding neighbours so far as I can discover amongst objects of the twelfth century. It was therefore with no little pleasure that I met with a different interpretation of it given by Monsieur Dieulafoy in his *L'Art antique de la Perse* (vol. v, p. 164). He calls attention to the pair of attached wings and the ornament rising above them, and points out how they reproduce in their form, their disposition, their style, and their most minute details the emblematic wings which surmount the tiara of the latest Sassanian kings. The central ornament is a mixed solar and lunar emblem. 'La broderie, les entrelacs formés par les oiseaux, la forme, et surtout la disposition si particulière des ailes, et l'aspect de la garde elle-même, accusent une filiation perse sassanide incontestable.' He does not think the actual workmanship oriental, but holds that it was done in the West by some Western craftsman imitating a Sassanian original of about A. D. 640. With the pommel go necessarily the quillons, so that, if M. Dieulafoy is right, the sword in its original condition may have been made for or belonged to Charlemagne, and may be the sword named 'Joyeuse',[1] as was reputed at St.-Denis. It should be added that the grip of the hilt was remade for the coronation of Napoleon, and the blade is asserted to be of the same modern date. A drawing in the Gagnière Collection shows the whole in its original state. The blue velvet and fleurs-de-lys were added to the scabbard in 1824 for Charles X's coronation. The reset gems may have belonged to the original. The inventory of 1505 includes three other swords.[2] Of these, one was said to have been carried by St. Louis on his first Crusade; another belonged to Charles VII; the third had the name of Archbishop Turpin attached to it. None of them exists at the present day; neither does the sword of Jeanne d'Arc, which Doublet (p. 347) and Millet (p. 134) mention.

[1] Nos. 111, 112, 113, 114.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 111; Inv. 1739, no. 80; D., pp. 347, 371; M., p. 126; F., pl. iv R; Galerie d'Apollon, Cat., no. 16.

The remaining objects at St.-Denis traditionally associated with Charlemagne were all of later date. They included a set of ivory chessmen and chessboard, a crown, spurs, hand of justice, and sceptre. We shall deal with them later. It was not Charlemagne himself but his grandson, Charles the Bald, who presented to St.-Denis the various treasures which may have belonged to the great Emperor. He also gave the bowl of Chosroes, the 'Coupe des Ptolémées', and a so-called unicorn's horn. The tusk of the male narwhal whale, or sea-unicorn, generally figured among medieval relics as a unicorn's. Such tusks may be from 6 ft. to 10 ft. in length. The fabulous unicorn, however, was believed to be a native of India. It was depicted with the body of a horse, the tail of a lion, and a long straight horn growing out of the middle of the forehead. It was employed as an emblem of chastity. The belief in the efficacy of these tusks as an antidote to poison lingered on into the seventeenth century, when one of them, brought home from Spitzbergen in 1615, was sent out to India with the merchant fleet next year and offered for sale at a high price to Shah Jehan and others. But the scientific spirit was already abroad and they would not purchase it, because it failed to save the life of a poor fellow who was poisoned for the experiment! The St.-Denis tusk was 6 ft. 7 in. long, and was fabled to have been sent to Charlemagne by 'Aaron, King of Persia', about the year 807. We have seen above how it was fixed over the Matutinal altar in the time of Suger.[1] Doublet states that in his day it was in the Chapel of St. Louis. He writes a whole chapter (xliii) to disprove the statement of some sceptics that no such beast as a unicorn exists. It is full of entertainment. Incidentally he gives a list of unicorn relics known to him. St.-Denis likewise possessed some elephants' teeth, the claw of a griffin, and other curiosities, regarded as semi-relics.

Charles the Bald was also said to have given a copper-gilt lantern set with thirty-five crystals, which disappeared between 1505 and 1739.[2] In 1505 it is simply called a lantern. Doublet says it belonged to Malchus, that it was of a very old-fashioned type, and that the light shone dimly through the crystals. He observes that it shows the mark of St. Peter's sword, Malchus having held up the lantern to defend himself, but the sword glanced off one of the crystals and took away his ear. Both he and Millet say it was called the lantern of Judas. At the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a bronze lantern of about the twelfth century, set with twenty-five crystals, which may give some idea of what the other was like.

We cannot delay over most of Charles the Bald's other recorded gifts—his crown, the rich altar-tables, the horn of Roland, a great vase of amber, a large

[1] Originally it was placed among the candles over the altar of the Trinity.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 209; D., pp. 320, 324; M., p. 134.

silver bowl plated with gold, seven silver lamps (to burn in memory of certain relations and friends), and seven great silver candelabra—because nothing of special interest is recorded about them and they have utterly vanished. Many of them may have been of later date.[1]

One great treasure, however, the great golden altar-frontal—unquestionably, I think, given to St.-Denis by Charles the Bald, and utterly destroyed in the Revolution—is, in part at any rate, depicted with care in the painting of the Mass of St. Giles, where it is seen as a retable above the Maître Autel (pl. XI). The small scale of the picture made it impossible to depict every stone, so that the artist was constrained to some simplification of the great masses of jewels with which the gold plaques were set, and of which we can read the tale, stone by stone, in the inventory of 1634, or in Doublet's pages.[2] The means thus placed at our disposal enable us to reconstitute the frontal with tolerable accuracy and even to feel something of its splendour and beauty. When it was made it was by no means a unique gift to a church which a powerful king or wealthy bishop delighted to honour. The ninth-century gold altar-casing in the Cathedral of St. Ambrose at Milan is the only surviving contemporary example of this kind of work, but in the great days of Orfèvrerie Europe had many such to show. In the nature of things few of them could survive; still it is rather tantalizing to remember that the grandfathers of plenty of people still living might have beheld this frontal of Charles the Bald, and yet that the only representation of it has to be sought in the background of a small painting of the fifteenth century. I have seen it stated that the frontal was originally a triptych, and that it was made into the form in which we see it by Suger. Such was not the case. Suger left it in the main as he found it. Some repair or addition may have been made to the original frame, but nothing more. It is likewise wrongly stated that Suger made a retable of it. This was not so. He continued to use it as a frontal, and added three other sides.[3]

In 1505 it was used as a retable, and so it appears in the picture of the Mass of St. Giles, to which we must now refer. We see that the face of it was an expanse of gold embossed with designs and figures, and richly set with gems. The main division is into three panels side by side, each surmounted by a round arch supported on pilasters. There are wonderful masses of jewels in the spandrils. Five-sixths of the central panel are visible and about two-thirds of the

[1] See D., p. 1258, for a list of Charles the Bald's reputed gifts to St.-Denis.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 188; Inv. 1634, f. 239^r; Inv. 1739, no. 103; D., p. 330; Labarte, p. 369.

[3] Suger, *loc. cit.*, p. 196: 'Principale igitur beati Dionysii altare, cui tantum anterior a Karolo Calvo imperatore tertio speciosa et preciosa habebatur, quis eidem ad monasticum propositum oblati fuimus, ornatum iri acceleravimus, et utrique lateri aureas apponendo tabulas, quartum etiam preciosiorem, ut totum circumquaque altare appareret aureum, attollendo circumcingi fecimus.' The frame or border containing enamel must have been added by Suger.

THE GOLDEN FRONTAL OF CHARLES THE BALD

Full sized detail from the picture of the Mass of St. Giles

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

left, whilst only the top of the right appears above the head of the officiating priest.

The central panel contains a figure of Christ enthroned, surrounded by a mandorla of a figure-of-eight shape, the upper lobe being much larger than the lower. A similar mandorla is found on a fine ivory, once in the Odiot Collection and now in the Berlin Museum, which presents other features of agreement with our altar-piece, so that there is no doubt but that both came from the same school and were of about the same date. The ivory (Goldschmidt, no. 23) is assigned to the so-called Ada Group; that is to say, it belongs to the group of ivories that resemble a number of manuscripts made for Carlovingian emperors in some workshop maintained by them.[1] The Christ of the Berlin ivory is beardless, and is blessing after the Greek manner, a sufficient indication of where the influence came from that affected the carver. In the vacant space by either shoulder is a six-winged seraph, and the like is seen on the altar-piece outside the closer fitting mandorla. The central gold-repoussé panel of the binding of St. Emmeran's Gospels at Munich shows Christ in a similar mandorla surrounded by eight-rayed stars. The repoussé plates in question probably belonged to the original binding of the manuscript when it was given by Charles the Bald in the first instance to St.-Denis, and they may even have been wrought at St.-Denis. The binding was redecorated at Ratisbon after Emperor Arnould had taken it away from St.-Denis and presented it to St. Emmeran's Abbey.[2] A comparison should also be made with the central panel of the frontal of the golden altar in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan.

The painting shows a rich setting of jewels, but it is only when we read the detailed description of the inventory that we realize the wealth of jewels actually employed, far more numerous than the painter could possibly reproduce on the scale of his work. Even at the risk of some prolixity it may be well to set down what is related about a small portion of the work. The cross in the hand of Christ was set with garnets, plasmas, amethysts, and pearls and with a fine aquamarine like an eye. There were twenty-eight garnets in the nimbus as well as three large sapphires, four plasmas, and sixteen very fine pearls; also on the cross of the nimbus were eight garnets, two plasmas, and two knobs set with garnets, also eighteen more pearls. The border of the robe was garnished with

[1] Another, somewhat later, ivory of the same school, which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Graeven, no. 63), has a similar type of mandorla with symbols of the Evangelists in the corners like the Berlin ivory. Christ in a similar mandorla with Evangelists' symbols in the angles occupies one of the four corners of a Carlovingian ivory belonging to a binding now in Cluny Museum (Michel, fig. 446). Here the ground of the mandorla is covered with six-rayed stars, much as the crosslets must have been dotted about on the retable.

[2] See reproductions of the ivories and Munich binding with some notes on them by the present writer in the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1915.

twenty-two garnets, thirteen plasmas, and thirteen pearls. The edge of the throne had twelve garnets, seventeen sapphires, nine plasmas, and twenty-nine pearls. On the binding of the book held in the left hand was a great jewel called a 'strin' surrounded by twenty-four pearls, with four sapphires at the corners, four plasmas, two garnets, and the edges set with garnets. On the background around the figure were seven heart-shaped settings of garnets with two larger ones artfully shaped, also twelve crosslets of garnets with a pearl to each, and chalcedonies at each side of the hands. There were likewise an alpha and an omega, each of six plasmas, six garnets, and six pearls. The footstool contained one great and four smaller garnets, two sapphires, eighteen plasmas, and fifteen pearls. The mandorla held two hundred and three pearls, thirteen plasmas, and at the top of it a big hollowed aquamarine and a fine sapphire. Over this was a tablet with a similar aquamarine, surrounded by twenty-two large, rough pearls, sapphires in the four corners, seven plasmas, four garnets, and a fine engraved chrysolite gem, and so forth. It is hardly necessary to continue the enumeration, which, for the whole altar-piece, fills twenty-seven folio pages in the manuscript inventory.

The two side panels resembled one another. The lower part was filled by an arcade of three round arches with a saint holding a book in his left hand under each. They had jewelled nimbi and there was a jewelled star over the head of each. There were also twenty-four jewelled crosslets on the background around them (a Carlovingian feature which can be paralleled from the ivory). Above these arches were two angels and between them a pendent crown adorned with three rows of pearls. The jewelled chains from which the crowns seemed to hang, like the crowns of Guarrazar, were held by a hand under the top of the great encompassing arch, and of course these great arches and the pilasters below them were likewise a mass of jewels. Enough has perhaps been said to give the reader some notion of the matchless splendour of this wonderful work, which the French Revolutionists broke up into its component parts of stones and gold.[1]

We shall probably never know the name of the artist who presided over the making of this wonderful work, but the question as to where it was made may not remain unanswerable. It was perhaps in the abbey of St. Denis itself. Labarte (p. 368) points out that a school of goldsmiths of high repute existed in Carlovingian days within the abbey. A letter of Abbot Loup de Ferrières of the first half of the ninth century expresses his gratitude for the admission to this school of two of his young monks. Carlovingian goldsmiths, in fact, rivalled their contemporaries at Constantinople, so that the Patriarch of

[1] The golden altar-frontal in Cluny Museum, which the Emperor Heinrich II presented to Basle Cathedral, is a later development of the same arcaded type as the frontal of Charles the Bald.

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. Cameo of Augustus (ht. 8·3 cm.) mounted in silver-gilt with jewels

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 2. Golden spur: 12th century (l. 17 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 3. Lapis lazuli plaque, inlaid with gold (ht. 8·3 cm.)

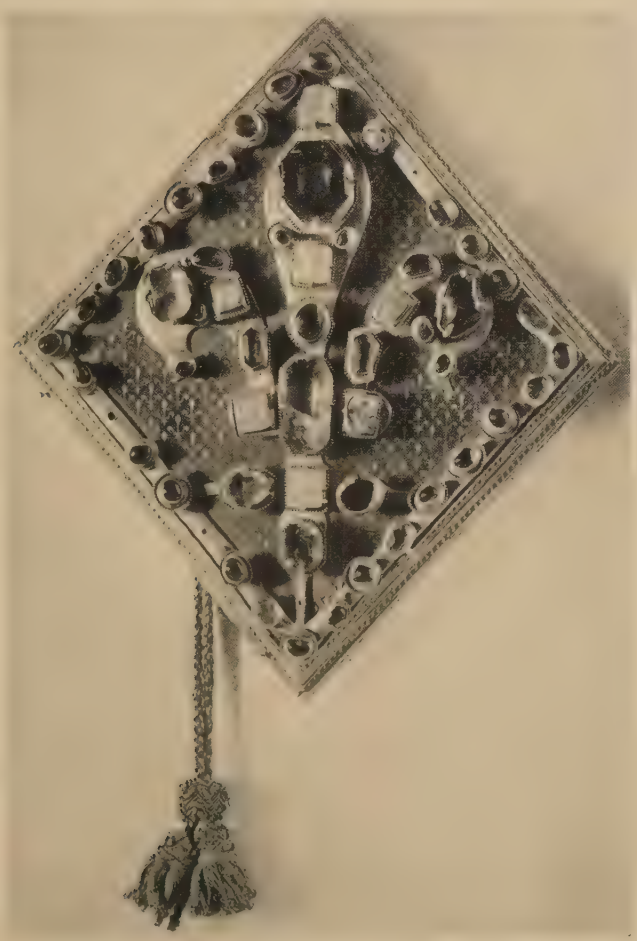


Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 4. Clasp: called the clasp of St. Louis (ht. 18·7 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 5. Ivory chessman

Grado, for instance, obtained precious pieces of work for his church both from the Eastern capital and from Carlovingian workshops.

A charming fragment of jewellery[1] in the Cabinet des Médailles (no. 234) was taken off the reliquary of the head of Saint-Hilaire, made in 1606, where it was fastened below the neck in the middle of the orphrey of the collar of the cope. Of course it came from some much earlier work, the nature of which is not recorded. It consists of a beautifully carved sardonyx cameo of Augustus, of the best Roman days, set in a wreath of jewels, simply but most effectively held together (pl. XII, fig. 1). The six large stones, rubies alternating with sapphires, are separated by little groups of irregularly shaped pearls, three in each group. The great stones are held by claws. Few pieces of ancient jewellery exceed this fragment in simple but very subtle charm. Every time I see it in the Cabinet des Médailles it seems to me more beautiful than before. The setting has been so much tampered with that it is difficult to date it. It may be as late as the thirteenth century.

The tenth century is the approximate date of a fine crystal ewer[2] preserved in the Louvre among the treasures of Mussulman art to which it properly belongs (pl. XIII, fig. 2). Charles the Bald is said to have given it to St.-Denis, but it can scarcely have existed in his day. In the British Museum is a crystal reliquary said to have belonged to Charles the Bald, but that is absolutely plain work which might have been produced in the ninth century when Egyptian and Syrian craftsmen were perhaps just beginning to tackle the difficult problem of crystal-carving. The St.-Denis ewer is the work of a practised workman of Fatimite days, living probably in Cairo not earlier than the tenth century, nor much later. It retains its gold lid and the chain attaching it to the handle. It is cut, handle and all, out of a single block of crystal. Three crystal ewers of this type and date are known. The second is in the Treasury of St. Mark at Venice; the third in the Victoria and Albert Museum. At Berlin is the cast of another which was once at Cologne but is now lost. The date of all these ewers is about the tenth century and they came from one centre. The Venice example is securely dated between the years 975 and 996. Its handle is surmounted by the figure of a recumbent ibex; another such ibex has been partly broken off both from the Louvre and the London specimens. The Arabic inscription, which Millet noticed, on the St.-Denis ewer, means 'Peace and content to the donor'. Parroquets and foliation have been laboriously carved with the wheel on the body of the

[1] Probably Inv. 1505, no. 34; Inv. 1614, f. 155^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 17; D., p. 339; M., p. 103; F., pl. ii A, pp. 430, 538.

[2] F., pl. iv G; D., pp. 342, 1258; M., p. 128. The entries in the inventory of 1505 are too vague to admit of identification. See also G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, p. 373. It was fabled to have come from Solomon's temple.

jug in relief. No European artist could have made anything like it at the time or for some centuries after.

The Louvre[1] possesses a magnificent gold Boîte d'évangéliaire (pl. XIV), which was in the Treasury of St.-Denis in Doublet's time, who thus (p. 346) describes it: 'Un riche livre en parchemin, couvert d'or à petits rameaux d'or à filets torts, avec plusieurs beaux esmaux d'applique, et images d'argent doré bien industrieusement enlevées de demie bosse, entaillées dedans ledit esmail d'applique. Ce livre enrichy de presmes d'esmeraudes, de saphirs, amatistes, grenats, cassidoines, agathes, aulnisses, et quantité de perles d'Escosse et d'Orient.' The centre of the front is occupied by a repoussé group of the Crucifixion surmounted by a round arch. The sides and spandrils of this arch are later restorations and include some of the Palermo enamel buttons, the like of which are on the sardonyx vase. In the corners of the cover are four splendid translucent enamels of the emblems of the Evangelists. The rest of the area is covered with filigree, jewels, and eight pieces of enamel set like jewels but evidently not made for their present positions. This binding is usually described as French, but merely because no one knows where it was made. Other enamels of the same character as those on this book-cover are the following:

A book-cover in the treasury of Milan Cathedral.
A book-cover in the library at Munich (Cim. 57).
The cross of Velletri.
Enamels on the St. Andrew reliquary at Trèves.
The Soltykoff cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
A Portatile at Conques (eleventh century).

All these works are of late tenth- or early eleventh-century date. It is claimed that the enamels that adorn them were made in Lorraine, in Burgundy, in Italy, in France, as the case may be. The enamels are all similar, and, except for their subjects, resemble Byzantine work. The only possible conclusion seems to be that they were all made by itinerant Byzantine craftsmen, who had come West and were working for Western patrons and carrying out Western designs. There is no indication of the existence at this time of any settled atelier in western Europe where work of this kind was produced. It appears here and there sporadically, and was produced not at one centre but by one group of craftsmen, wherever any of them happened to be employed.[2]

[1] Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 13.

[2] Other manuscripts and book-covers in the Bibliothèque Nationale which once belonged to St.-Denis are the following:

fonds lat. 2630; St. Hilary on the Trinity. MS. of the seventh century.
fonds lat. 256; Gospels. MS. of the seventh century.
fonds lat. 7899; Terence. MS. of the ninth–tenth centuries.
fonds lat. 2; The Bible of Charles the Bald.
fonds lat. 9387; Gospels of the ninth century. Binding of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
fonds lat. 9436; Missal of the eleventh century. Binding, one side eleventh–twelfth centuries, the other fifteenth century.

Fig. 1. Suger's ewer, sardonyx and silver-gilt (ht. 35·5 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 2. Crystal ewer

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

After Charles the Bald we have to wait a long time, till well into the twelfth century, before we hear of another royal donor of works of art to the abbey, and then the pair of gold candlesticks presented by Louis VI were so small a matter compared with the immense gifts of the great Suger, who in fact had them made respectable according to his ideas by the addition of jewels to them, that we need not delay over them but can turn at once to the work of the great Abbot-Minister himself. He was elected Abbot of St.-Denis in 1122, and retained that office till his death in 1151, that is to say during the reigns of his masters Louis VI and Louis VII. With his great works as a builder we are not now concerned, nor with his influence on the artists of his day in the matter of the subjects treated by them, an influence recently emphasized by Professor E. Mâle in a valuable article in the *Revue de l'Art*.[1] What concerns us here is merely the group of works in the precious metals which Suger caused to be made and which he presented to St.-Denis. Fortunately he himself wrote an account of his doings, to which we have already more than once referred, so that the authenticity of what comes down from him admits of no question.[2]

He relates that, when his rebuilding operations were completed, he took in hand the provision of ornaments for the church. He provided the new and splendid shrine for St. Denis in the chevet; he marked the saint's old resting-place by erecting a high cross over the entrance to the crypt; he added gold sides and back to the High altar-frontal of Charles the Bald; he had Louis VI's candelabra set with gems. Then he took the Matutinal altar in hand. He restored its porphyry table set with relics and jewels and equipped it with a cross, ciborium, etc. He remade Charles the Bald's seven silver lamps to hang before it, and he likewise remade his seven silver candelabra. He set up the cross of Charlemagne near by. He remade the choir-stalls and restored the pulpitum, the eagle lectern, and Dagobert's throne. He filled the windows with stained glass, much of which was soon copied at Chartres and elsewhere. Finally he presented for use in the church a series of magnificent vases to which we must presently refer in detail.

Much of the above work has already received our attention, but a word must be said about the great cross which Suger set up over the entrance to the crypt. This has recently been made the subject of careful study by Prof. E. Mâle in the article in the *Revue de l'Art*[3] to which reference has already been made, and the reader is referred to it for much interesting detail. This cross on its pillar was about seven metres in height. The cross was covered with gold; the crucifix

[1] February, 1914.
[2] See *Œuvres de Suger*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche; Paris, 1867.
[3] February, 1914, p. 93; D., p. 251; Inv. 1505, nos. 195–8; Inv. 1634, ff. 26r–267v.

fastened to it was of gold, and the wounds were rubies. The pillar was square and covered on its four sides with enamelled copper plates, seventeen enamels on each face, viz. eight pairs of types and antitypes and one larger subject. These enamels and the other parts of the work were made by Godefroy de Claire of Huy in the Lower Lorraine of those days, and his assistants, in all sometimes five sometimes seven in number. It occupied them for two years, and was finished in the year 1147. At the base of the pillar were seated figures in the round of the four Evangelists writing, with their emblems behind them, whilst at the top of it, on the faces of the square capital, were four half-length figures of the elements. We cannot now behold any part of the original work, but there fortunately exists an interesting replica of the base and capital in the form of the foot of a cross now in St. Omer Museum, which probably belonged to the abbey of St.-Bertin (pl. VII, fig. 2). This small reproduction, 30 cm. in height, was itself likewise made in the workshop of Godefroy de Claire. Its column, however, is short, and only contains one enamel subject on each face. Suger's cross was destroyed in the religious troubles of the sixteenth century.

This great cross of Suger was not the only one given by him to St.-Denis. Doublet mentions two others, of which note must be taken, though nothing of either survives. The first (p. 286) was erected on the choir-screen between figures of the Virgin and St. John. This was of wood. It was the great Rood of the Church. The second (p. 288) is more puzzling, because Doublet says that it stood in his day over the High altar, and that it was of gold and was the cross to which Suger's gold crucifix was attached, so that he seems to imply that it was a part of the great cross made by Godefroy de Claire. Millet (p. 40) again had the same idea. He says that in his day Suger's cross 'est élevée sur le grand autel, au dessus de la table d'or', etc. But he was not quite satisfied about it, for he continues, this cross, 'although very beautiful and all sown with jewels, is nevertheless much diminished from its ancient splendour, and it seems that what one beholds now is only the back of this cross and that the gold crucifix was on the other face, which crucifix, notwithstanding the anathemas of Pope Eugenius, was not spared during the troubles of the league' and so forth—a clear reference therefore to a survival of part at any rate of Suger's great cross. The inventory of 1739 (no. 101) is more particular, and states that this gold cross, placed above the retable of the High altar, was about 6 ft. high, and was adorned with many sapphires, jacinths, and garnets; further that it stood on a foot of gilt-bronze adorned with grapes and ears of corn, from which protruded a kind of cross with leaves from which the ciborium depended. Inscriptions on this cross stated that it was given by Suger. This reference, however, to the suspended ciborium sets us on what is probably the right track.

Suger did in fact set up yet another cross behind the Matutinal altar, of

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

GOLDEN COVER OF GOSPELS FROM ST.-DENIS (39 × 32 cm.)

which the inventory of 1505 (no. 162)[1] gives us a detailed, if rather puzzling, description. It was a wooden cross covered with thin gold and standing on a pommel of gilt copper. It had a 'baston' of gilt copper and was adorned with jewels. It stood on a square column and included some figures and so forth. Nothing is said about the attachment of a crucifix to it. Surely this must have been the cross that was set over the new High altar in 1610 when the Matutinal altar was moved from its original position and made up to serve for the High altar. Doublet and Millet were wrong in believing that the cross they described ever formed part of Suger's great cross, which was utterly destroyed at the time of the religious wars. This was one of Suger's crosses, but not the great one.

The High altar possessed the rich gold frontal of Charles the Bald, but its two ends and back were not adorned. Many of the wealthy churches of Europe at this time could boast High altars completely enclosed in gold, like the famous altar still existing in Sant'Ambrogio at Milan. Suger, ambitious that St.-Denis should rival in magnificence even St. Sophia at Constantinople, was not likely to be satisfied with a mere frontal of gold. He accordingly, as has already been stated above, provided for it two ends and a back of similar magnificence, as he himself describes in the passage already quoted. The back did not survive the troubles of the fourteenth century, but, when the inventory of 1505 was made, Charles the Bald's frontal was, as we have seen, still existing and used as a retable, while the two end panels of Suger's altar were now joined together and used as a frontal. If we could lift the brocaded frontal in the picture of the Mass of St.Giles we should see them, or at least the locked doors that enclosed them.[2] Each of these ends was covered with an embossed gold plate, evidently made to agree in design with the frontal of Charles the Bald. The design consisted of an arcade of three arches below and a circular medallion above each arch. The roundels contained the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity on one end and the Agnus Dei between two censing angels on the other. Under the arcades were the Virgin and Child and two prophets on one end and St. Denis and his two companions on the other with the figure of a king. The roundels and the arcades were set with jewels, and the whole was framed within a border of foliation, gems, and enamel. What a pity that the fifteenth-century painter did not show us some of this.

We thus come in due sequence to the precious vessels given by Suger to St.-Denis, whereof a certain number still exist. They include two important chalices with patens, St. Eloy's gondola, Queen Eleanor's vase, an agate ewer, some crystal vessels, and the porphyry vase mounted as an eagle. We have already discussed St. Eloy's gondola and need not return to it. Two beautiful

[1] Inv. 1634, f. 220v.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 187; Inv. 1634, f. 234v.

bottles, one of crystal, the other of beryl, are engraved by Félibien (F., ii L), but are not known to exist. Perhaps they were among the objects not described in detail acquired by Suger from Thibaud, Count of Blois, which he had obtained from Roger, King of Sicily. The beryl vase was faceted all over into a multitude of sharp points, while the other had a design cut on the surface after the manner of the Fatimite crystal vases described above. A 'tasse de voirre cristallin, faict par dehors à poinctes', No. 77 in the inventory of 1505, is stated in the inventory of 1634 (f. 175r) to have been broken to pieces by 'Queen Mary of England' (i. e. Henrietta Maria) when she was visiting the Treasury, but the pieces were saved.[1]

Queen Eleanor's vase and the agate ewer both exist in tolerable preservation in the Louvre. Queen Eleanor's vase,[2] the wedding present she gave to her first husband, Louis VII (it will be remembered that she afterwards married Henry II of England), is a very beautiful and unusual-looking object (pl. XV, fig. 2). Her grandfather had received the crystal bowl from one Mitadolus, who may have been an emir of Spain. It is pitted all over with little hollows, like the surface of honeycomb. It may be antique or it may be Fatimite work of the tenth or eleventh century. In any case it was Suger who had it so finely mounted and caused it to be thus inscribed:

Hoc vas sponsa dedit Anor Regi Ludovico,
Mitadolus avo, mihi Rex, Sanctisque Sugerus.

When engraved by Félibien it still retained its cover. Some details, no longer existing, can be supplied from the inventories, which state that the setting is of gold, jewels, and pearls, and specially mention two red jaspers 'on one of which is engraved an idol, and on the other the head of a man'. These were doubtless antique gems. The blue enamel medallions with fleurs-de-lys are a late substitute for some lost jewels.

Suger's ewer (pl. XIII, fig. 1), which is in the Louvre, was for holding the sacramental wine.[3] It consists of an antique sardonyx jug and handle cut out of one piece of stone and mounted for Suger. A rather similar, but unmounted antique jug, called the Vase of Mithridates, is likewise in the Louvre, and there are others in the Venice treasury and elsewhere. The date of all of them is uncertain. Such precious vessels were made from Hellenistic times down, and

[1] Henrietta Maria was married to Charles I in 1625.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 75; Inv. 1634, f. 173r; Inv. 1739, no. 85; F., pl. iv Z; D., p. 344; M., p. 130; Labarte, *Arts indus.*, i, p. 410, pl. 32 (coloured plate); Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 21.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 27; Inv. 1634, f. 148v; Inv. 1739, no. 69; F., pl. iv E; D., p. 343; M., p. 129; Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 19.

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. Silver-gilt statuette of Our Lady and Child (ht. 69 cm.)

Fig. 2. Queen Eleanor's vase, rock crystal and silver-gilt (ht. 34 cm.)

continued to be made in Sassanian Persia and in Constantinople, but few of them have any feature that can give a chronological clue. The setting of Suger's ewer has an oriental aspect. It is of silver-gilt. As Suger had the following couplet inscribed upon it:

Dum libare Deo gemmis debemus et auro,
Hoc ego Sugerius offero vas Domino,

there can be little doubt that the mounting was actually done at St.-Denis.

The chalice of Suger (pl. XVI, fig. 1) is one of the tantalizing treasures which survived the perils of the Revolution only to fall a victim to robbers in 1804. Marion de Mersan[1] states that it and two other objects of value were smuggled over to England within a plaster bust of the Laocoon and sold to Mr. Townley, who is supposed to have bequeathed it or them to the British Museum. Unfortunately the story seems to be untrue, and the objects in question have vanished. By great good luck, however, Suger's chalice attracted the attention of that remarkable antiquary Peiresc of Aix-en-Provence. He had a careful coloured drawing (pl. XVI, fig. 1) made of it in 1633, which still exists in the Cabinet des Estampes and has been reproduced in facsimile in Monsieur Guibert's book.[2] Félibien, as above noted, made the mistake of associating with this chalice the early Byzantine paten already described. Suger was delighted with this cup and has left a description of it: he says that it was made of the same material as his ewer: 'Comparavimus etiam praefati altaris officiis sardio et onice, quo uno usque adeo sardii rubor a nigredine onichini proprietatem variando discriminat, ut altera in alteram proprietatem usurpare inniti aestimetur.'[3] The agate cup was evidently made of a beautiful stone. It was fluted externally. The lip was framed in a broad silver-gilt rim carrying twelve large stones separated from one another by pairs of pearls in a manner characteristic of all the settings made for Suger. The cup stood on a massive silver-gilt knob supported by a wide spreading base. Knob and lip were held together by two handles, round the outside of which pearls and jewels were set as in the case of several Byzantine chalices of about the same date preserved in the Treasury of St. Mark at Venice. Round the lowest part of the stem is a series of medallions, five in number, 'garnis de cinq demies images de demie bosse et entre iceux ronds six grenats (which the drawing omits), et au dessous desdits ronds ioignant cinq peridos' (D., p. 345).

In order to give to the 'Coupe des Ptolémées' a form acceptable as a chalice, Suger had a stem and base made for it. These were melted down by the

[1] *Hist. du Cab. des Médailles*, p. 166. [2] *Loc. cit.*, pl. iii, p. 27.
[3] Inv 1505, no. 71; Inv. 1634, f. 170^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 57; D., pp. 247, 345; M., p. 109; F., pl. iii R.

thieves of 1804, but Félibien's engravings and an independent drawing preserve a record of its character. Their general effect is similar though they disagree in details.[1] The mounting was evidently similar in style to others made for the same abbot. The following dedication was inscribed on the base:

Hoc vas Christe tibi . . . mente dicavit
Tertius in Francos . . . regmine Karlus.

The chalice, paten, and burettes which were said to have belonged to St. Denis himself have all disappeared, but Peiresc obtained a good coloured drawing of the chalice (pl. XVI, fig. 3), which Monsieur Guibert has reproduced.[2] The chalice itself was sold by auction in Messidor of the year VI and has not since been heard of. It is hardly likely that the crystal bowl and knob have ceased to exist. The former was evidently of Fatimite workmanship of the tenth or eleventh century. It was adorned with foliation cut no doubt with the wheel. The silver-gilt setting is clearly of about the twelfth century and made in western Europe, but not by the St.-Denis artists. Broad bands of decorated silver set with gems form both the lip and the base of the actual bowl, and these are united by four narrow bands of metal, apparently plain, and firmly attached to them, but not hinged at the ends, as was the Byzantine fashion. The two handles are similarly attached above and below. The decoration seems to have been more delicate than that done by St.-Denis workmen. Some cut stones are employed as well as numerous cabochons of various colours.

The Louvre possesses another crystal chalice, with a stem and foot of the same substance, preserved among the treasures of Mussulman art. The foot has, carved on its surface, a series of bouquetins evidently of Fatimite workmanship, whilst a simple arabesque design of curved lines covering the bowl need not necessarily have been engraved in the East. Monsieur Migeon[3] attributes the foot to the tenth century, and the cup and mount uniting them to an unestimated later date. He also says that this chalice belonged to St.-Denis, but as he appears to have confused it with Queen Eleanor's vase this statement may be an error. I cannot elsewhere find any record of this chalice among St.-Denis treasures.

Reference has already been made to the porphyry vase mounted in silver-gilt as an eagle (pl. XVII, fig. 2).[4] The mount is a work of genius and speaks for itself. It bears an inscription in raised letters round the neck of the vase:

[1] R. de Fleury (*La Messe*, iv, pl. 296) attempted to harmonize them.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, pl. vii, p. 27. Inv. 1505, no. 62; Inv. 1634, f. 166^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 58; D., p. 346; M., p. 99; F., pl. iii s.

[3] *Manuel d'art musulman*, ii, p. 374, fig. 323.

[4] Inv. 1505, no. 28; Inv. 1634, f. 149^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 89; D., p. 343; M., p. 129; F., pl. iv EE.

Fig. 1. The Chalice of Abbot Suger

Fig. 2. Agate phial

Fig. 3. Chalice: called 'the Chalice of St. Denis'

Reproduced, by permission, from Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

Includi gemmis lapis iste meretur et auro;
Marmor erat, sed in his marmore carior est.

The supports on which it stands are formed by the tail and two feet of the bird, each of the latter grasping a round-topped lump. Similar supports of birds' feet and tails are depicted, as Monsieur Guibert has pointed out,[1] beneath another object depicted in a coloured drawing in the Peiresc collection (pl. IX, fig. 2), where Suger's eagle also finds place. It is impossible not to conclude that both mounts were made by Suger's goldsmiths. This lost object seems to have been an antique vase cut out of agate or some other precious substance. It is rather low and wide in form, having a bird's head at each end, one with a ring in its beak, and with a lion's head carved in relief on the middle of one side. Peiresc's artist, Daniel Rabel, must have come across it somewhere and drawn it for his employer, but no record of it has been found. Even if it was not the property of St.-Denis it was probably mounted in the abbey workshop in Suger's time.

The invaluable Peiresc[2] has likewise preserved for us the likeness of yet another beautiful little object which passed from centuries of repose in the Treasury of St.-Denis to the fatal auction of 'Messidor an VI', and has not since been recorded, though it also can scarcely have passed out of existence. It is a slender agate phial, to which has been added a delicate rim and a gracefully proportioned foot, both in silver-gilt and set with little stones. The setting is not in the style of Suger's goldsmiths, but appears to be of thirteenth-century date, so far as the drawing enables the formation of an opinion (pl. XVI, fig. 2).

The ceremony of the coronation of the kings of France took place at Reims; the custody of the coronation insignia belonged to the abbey of St.-Denis and was a privilege jealously prized.[3] These included the crown, sceptre, hand of justice, sword, spurs, camisole, mantle and clasp, tunic, dalmatic, and shoes. Of course this privilege was a custom of slow growth. It seems to have begun with the deposit of the crown only. The oldest crown that the abbey claimed to possess was Charlemagne's, which is described as a closed imperial crown. This, of course, was merely a legendary attribution. A considerable number of early crowns still exist, most of them belonging to the wonderful find of Visigothic crowns at Guarrazar, one being at Madrid and the others in the Cluny Museum. These crowns had evidently been dedicated in a church. If some of them were merely votive crowns, others appear to have been made for use; but all alike were adapted for suspension over altars. Monza still retains the crown given by Theodelinde, whilst the crown of Agilulf was only melted down in Paris in 1804 and we possess an engraving of it. There is also the ninth-century

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 52, pl. x, xi.
[2] Guibert, *loc. cit.*, pl. viii; F., pl. iii N; Inv. 1505, no. 70; Inv. 1634, f. 170v; Inv. 1739, no. 53.
[3] Doublet, p. 366.

so-called Iron crown at Monza, which may give us some idea of what Charlemagne's crown may have been like. The Iron crown probably belonged to Berengar and was made to be worn. It consists of six curved gold plates hinged together, and the only use of the hinging must have been to enable the circlet to fit a human head. The iron ring is, I think, obviously an addition, made to hold the plates rigidly in a circular form when the crown was dedicated to be hung over an altar and no longer needed to be flexible. The gold crown, in fact, was the original thing and the iron ring was a purely subordinate feature added later for practical purposes. It was only afterwards that the idea occurred to some genius, who observed the iron ring and not the necessity for it, that the gold and jewelled crown was a mere decoration and setting for the iron ring, which therefore he concluded must have been an exceedingly precious relic, *ergo* one of the crucifixion nails. A little consideration will show that if the iron ring had been the original feature, no one would have made a decoration for it out of hinged plates, for the hinges would have been both a useless and even a troublesome feature. Nothing, in fact, is less like a decorative addition to a ring of iron than these gold and jewelled plates, which obviously were intended for no such purpose. The iron ring exists to support them, not they to decorate it.

The 'Escrin de Charlemagne' shows a number of jewelled representations of pendant crowns as one of its decorative features. Other pendant crowns are shown on the altar-frontal of Charles the Bald, and they are a very common contemporary decorative feature in Carlovingian and earlier manuscript illustrations and other works of art. From these and many other statements derived from ancient documents we can conclude that the dedication of royal crowns in churches was customary from a very early time, and as St.-Denis was closely connected with the kings of France from the time of Dagobert onward, it is not surprising that the abbey should have received the custody of the crowns of many kings till the custom grew to be a right.

The golden tenth-century statue of St. Foy at Conques wears a fine jewelled crown divided into many segments and obviously representing a hinged band. It is, moreover, closed above by four wide ribs with a fleur-de-lys between each pair; but we cannot safely argue from this that contemporary royal crowns in western Europe were of that form. In any case it differs widely from the St.-Denis crowns.

Four notable jewelled crowns of the eleventh century still exist; the imperial crown of Conrad II at Vienna, a crown of the Empress Gisela on the head of a virgin at Essen, the Empress Kunigunde's crown at Munich, and a gold crown on the head of the Oswald reliquary at Hildesheim. The imperial crown of Conrad (later fabled to have been Charlemagne's) is arched over from front to

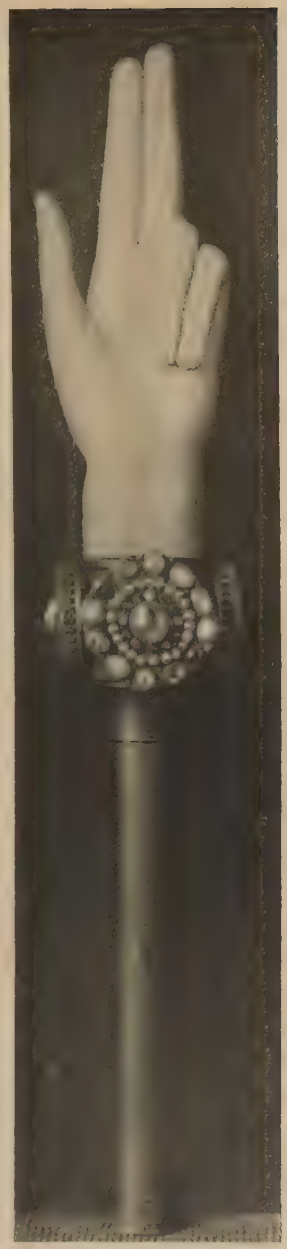


Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. Hand of Justice (l. 17·8 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 2. Porphyry vase, with 12th-century mounting (ht. 43 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 3. Sceptre of Charles V

back with a fine decorated piece which springs from a splendid vertical cross over the brow. The wide circlet of the crown is of eight hinged plates. The Gisela crown is surmounted by four fleurs-de-lys, and the circlet is in one piece. The crown of St. Kunigunde is of four segments, which may once have been hinged but are now rigid. The crown of St. Oswald, which, like that of the Essen virgin, may have been made from the first to be used on the reliquary only, is likewise rigid, but the design of it naturally falls within eight segments. Thus in the eleventh century we meet with crowns approximating in form to those of St.-Denis. The crowns worn by the figures of kings on the twelfth-century chasse of Charlemagne in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle closely resemble the Gisela crown at Essen, and their design shows memory of hinges, whilst the crown worn by the image of Charlemagne is closed above by four slender ribs surmounted by a little cross but no orb. I conclude therefore that the oldest of the St.-Denis crowns is not likely to have been made long, if at all, before the twelfth century. I have avoided adding the evidence of miniatures because we can seldom be sure whether a painter is recording fact or fancy.

Félibien states (p. 275) that, at least down to the fourteenth century, it remained the custom at St. Denis to suspend the crowns before the altar on solemn feast-days. It is curious that Suger makes no reference to this usage, but he may have taken it as a matter of course.[1] For each of the later kings of France two crowns were made, one of gold, the other of silver-gilt, but the usages connected with these do not fall within the scope of my present subject, nor do those connected with funeral crowns, of which St.-Denis seems to have received a considerable number.

For the reasons given above, and notwithstanding all traditions to the contrary, it is safe to assert that none of the seven crowns recorded in the inventory of 1505 as in the custody of the abbey[2] was of earlier date than the twelfth century, perhaps none earlier than the thirteenth. Only three of them were important. The fuller inventory of 1634 names them. They were the crown of Charlemagne (no. 1), the crown of St. Louis (no. 2), and La Sainte Couronne (no. 205). The first and second are summarily depicted in the engravings in Félibien, whilst the third appears on the head of the Emperor in the picture of the Mass of St. Giles.[3] This third crown, La Sainte Couronne, had ceased to exist

[1] On crowns for suspension, see references in the index of Labarte's *Arts industriels*.

[2] Nos. 1, 2, 92, 93, 104, 129, and 205.

[3] The crown of Charlemagne: Inv. 1505, no. 1; Inv. 1634, f. 2^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 72; D., p. 367; M., p. 122; F., pl. iv H; Labarte, *Arts indus.*, i, p. 366.

The crown of St. Louis: Inv. 1505, no. 2; Inv. 1634, f. 10^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 55; D., p. 367; M., p. 122; F., pl. iii P.

La Sainte Couronne: Inv. 1505, no. 205; Inv. 1634, f. 293^{v}. I have sometimes suspected that this crown was intended in some of the references to the crown of Charlemagne.

before Doublet, Millet, and Félibien wrote, and before the inventory of 1739, by all of whom the other two crowns are mentioned. Doublet, however, describes an important crown which at first sight does not seem to be mentioned in the early inventories. He says (p. 367):

'Charles le Chauve . . . a aussi donné sa Couronne d'or, a quatre couplières, enrichie de gros balais cabochons, de grandes et exquises esmeraudes, de tres-beaux saphirs, de tres-excellens rubis, et de tres-belles perles orientales, pour laquelle enrichir davantage le Roy Jean donna un beau gros balay cabochon de grand prix, qu'il voulut estre attaché au faiste d'icelle, au bout de la fleur de Lys qui faisoit la closture et fermeture. Ceste tant riche Couronne, qui avoit servy à couronner tous les Roys de France depuis ledit Charles le Chauve iusques au Roy Henri le Grand, fut prise par la miserable ligue . . . l'or de laquelle fut fondu et les riches pierres precieuses dispersees à diverses personnes de grande qualité.'

This crown of Charles the Bald, therefore, was in existence when the inventory of 1505 was made, and like La Sainte Couronne had ceased to exist before Doublet wrote. It was obviously the most important crown in the custody of the abbey, and could not have been overlooked by the inventorists. It seems to follow that the crown called Charles the Bald's and La Sainte Couronne were one and the same. The following is the brief description of La Sainte Couronne from the inventory of 1505 (no. 205): 'Une couronne, nommée la sainte Couronne, à quatre fleurons, les deux couvers par derriere d'argent doré pour les renforcer, garnis sur le tour d'icelle, au milieu de devant, d'un gros ballay cabochon rond, persé au long, pesant deux cens quatre vingtz douze carratz, et soubz iceluy en son chaton ung sendal, et dedans le sendal des espines et dez cheveulz de Notre Seigneur.' The same is described at much greater length in the inventory of 1634.

It seems curious that Doublet should not mention the important relics of the hair of our Lord and the thorns of his crown included under the great gem in his crown of Charles the Bald, if that were identical with La Sainte Couronne; moreover, what makes matters worse is that he and all the later writers do mention these identical relics as included in the crown of St. Louis. One of two conclusions seems certain: either that both crowns contained similar relics, or that when La Sainte Couronne was destroyed the relics were saved and transferred to the crown of St. Louis. The inventory of 1634 would no doubt tell us if both crowns contained similar relics, for it supplies a very minute description of all three, describing the crown of Charlemagne in 16 folio pages, the crown of St. Louis in 12, and La Sainte Couronne in 11. Unfortunately when the manuscript was in my hands I did not know of this difficulty, and there being little time at my disposal, I did not make the necessary examination of this part of the text.

St. Louis, as is well known, became possessed of the relic called the Crown

of Thorns and built La Sainte Chapelle to enshrine it. He detached many thorns from it and gave them away or exchanged them for other relics. Nothing therefore would seem more probable than that he should have mounted some of them in the crown of France. But St. Denis is known to have possessed some thorn-relics long before the days of St. Louis. Both Charles the Bald and Philip Augustus presented thorns to the abbey. The gift by the former has been referred to above, and was recorded in the first four lines of the inscription on his grave:[1]

Imperio Karolus Calvus regnoque potitus
Gallorum, iacet hac sub brevitate situs:
Plurima cum villis, cum Clavo cumque Corona,
Ecclesie vivus huic dedit ille bona.

William de Nangis, cited by Doublet (p. 1259), also records that Charles the Bald took from the treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle and gave to St.-Denis 'sacrosanctum unum Clavum [the nail-relic] . . . partemque spineae Coronae Dominicae'. The thorn given by Philip Augustus was probably included in his tablet-reliquary and need not concern us. It is thus at any rate possible that a crown attributed to Charles the Bald, even if it were older than St. Louis, might have contained one or more thorn-relics. At all events the picture of the Mass of St. Giles shows La Sainte Couronne closed *à l'Impériale*, as was the crown called Charles the Bald's, whilst the other two crowns are depicted open in the engravings of Félibien. The inventory of 1634 shows that all three crowns were otherwise alike, consisting of a wide band of metal from which rise four fleurons at four equidistant points. Under each fleuron was a great jewel, whilst vertically above this jewel were two other jewels in a line in the case of the first two crowns, but three in La Sainte Couronne, as shown in the picture of the Mass of St. Giles; whilst in other respects, as far as the small scale admitted, the crown in the picture agrees with the description of La Sainte Couronne in the inventory of 1634.

It only remains to add that on Good Friday La Sainte Couronne was placed on the head of the ancient wooden crucifix, which is said to have miraculously spoken to Dagobert or another, and the holy nail was attached to one of its feet, and it was venerated there where it hung in the crypt behind the High altar. This was done year after year till the Huguenots burnt the crucifix in 1567 and destroyed the crown. The use of La Sainte Couronne on this occasion, in conjunction with the nail, strongly confirms the conclusion that it actually contained a thorn-relic, as the early inventories assert. Yet when this crown had been

[1] Inv. 1505, no. 161; F., p. 554; D., p. 1257.

destroyed the crown called of St. Louis continued to exist, and this is what Doublet (p. 367) wrote about it:

'Le glorieux Roy Sainct Louys a donné sa Couronne d'or, très-exquise, enrichie de toupasses, saphirs, rubis, esmeraudes et de très-belles perles orientales, mais principalement d'un très-beau et très-excellent gros ruby balay cabochon (estimé plus de trente mil escus) percé de long et soubs iceluy en son chaton d'or est escrit, *De capillis Domini: De spinis Domini.*'[1]

With the other regalia—sceptres, swords, spurs, and the like—we can deal more briefly. Though some of those existing were attributed to Charlemagne, none were of earlier date than the twelfth century. To the sceptre called Dagobert's reference has already been made. The sceptre in the Galerie d'Apollon (Cat. no. 149), which is surmounted by a figure of Charlemagne, dates from the time of Charles V and will be referred to in its place. The inventory of 1505 mentions a third (no. 88). Félibien only engraves one other (F., pl. i N), and that is part of the set made for the coronation of Henri IV at Chartres when the ancient set was packed away for fear of marauders.

Hands of justice resembled the top members of contemporary hand-reliquaries, mounted at the end of a long rod. Félibien engraves two: St. Louis' (F., pl. iii K) and Henri IV's (F., pl. i N). The inventory of 1505 includes four.[2] All have disappeared; one attributed to St. Louis was of silver on a silver-gilt rod; two were of ivory, each on a wooden staff gilt. The fourth was like these, and the ivory hand remaining in the Louvre (Cat. no. 17) is believed to have belonged to it and to have been remounted for use at the coronation of Napoleon, when its silver-gilt setting and staff were added, as well as three antique gems, and, at the foot of the handle, some jewels in what is said to be a tenth-century setting, but if ancient in design evidently quite modern in execution (pl. XVII, fig. 1). The Louvre hand, however, cannot be the one described by Doublet (p. 368). That was of unicorn ivory, so they said, and it was 'garnie au doigt, proche du petit doigt, d'un aneau d'or enrichy d'un beau saphir'. One does not see how a ring could be applied to the existing hand. Doublet's account of the circles of jewellery below the hand is not inconsistent with a resetting of one of them to form the existing adornment. The staff is evidently modern, and the ivory hand is modern also.

The spurs[3] of gold (pl. XII, fig. 2), set with garnets and fleurs-de-lys, with modelled buckles, are preserved in the Galerie d'Apollon (Cat. no. 18). They are

[1] Thomas Platter writes that the crown of St. Louis, which he saw in 1599, was of pure gold and diamonds, and included one very precious stone said by some to have belonged to Charles IX.

[2] Nos. 89, 91, 109, and 115.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 117; Inv. 1634, f. 205^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 80; F., pl. iv R; D., pp. 347, 371; M., p. 127.

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. Back of copper enamelled chasse (ht. 19·2 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 2. Sardonyx vase: mounted in silver-gilt, with jewels and ornaments (l. 21 cm.)

of twelfth-century date, restored at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was the Duke of Burgundy's function at the coronation to attach them to the king's feet and immediately take them off again.

Of mantle-clasps, most of them probably royal, the inventory of 1505 mentions eight, not counting the two Merovingian eagle-clasps already described. One of these is called the clasp of Charlemagne, one was M-shaped, three carried figures in the round, one had embossed figures, and two were lozenge-shaped, adorned with jewels, one being of great value. Two lozenge-shaped clasps were summarily engraved by Félibien, who said that the larger of them (F., pl. iii G) belonged to St. Louis, and described the smaller (F., pl. iv I) as adorned with splendid rubies, diamonds, and large pearls. A lozenge-shaped clasp of remarkable beauty which belonged to St.-Denis is preserved in the Louvre (pl. XII, fig. 4). It is called the clasp of St. Louis, but the attribution cannot be accepted. This clasp can only be one of three of the above: the clasp called Charlemagne's, the clasp of St. Louis, and the smaller very precious clasp; but as the clasp of Charlemagne is not described and is not referred to by our other authorities it has to be dismissed. Of the remaining two fleur-de-lys clasps the larger[1] and simpler is the one attributed in old days to St. Louis. The latest inventory says that it was of silver-gilt, enamelled, and set with jewels. Félibien's engraving shows the plate to be much larger than the fleur-de-lys. The other[2] is by far the finer. It can be recognized by observing that the plate is only slightly larger than the jewelled fleur-de-lys. The three writers agree that this was the coronation clasp, and it is evident that this is the beautiful object that is still to be seen in the Galerie d'Apollon (Cat. no. 120) perhaps the finest example of medieval Orfèvrerie in existence. It is of the same school and about of the same date as the scarcely less splendid jewelled clasp in the Cluny Museum which is attributed to the fourteenth century. In no case can the Louvre clasp be the one assigned to St. Louis, and its modern appellation is erroneous.

The monks of St.-Denis pointed with pride to a set of ivory chessmen[3] in their Treasury which they believed had belonged to Charlemagne. Among these chessmen was a specially large piece carved into the likeness of an elephant, on which a king and other persons are riding (pl. XII, fig. 5). Millet describes all the chessmen as of large size, and says that under the biggest of them were certain Arabic letters, showing that they came from the East. Doublet records that they were a palm in height, but that the chess-table and some of the men had been lost in process of time. Sixteen of the pieces were sent to the Cabinet

[1] Inv. 1505, no. 42; Inv. 1634, f. 159^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 47; F., pl. iii G.
[2] Inv. 1505, no. 127; Inv. 1634, f. 207^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 75; D., p. 371; M., p. 125; F., pl. iv I.
[3] Inv. 1505, nos. 101, 102; Inv. 1634, f. 186^{r}; D., p. 342; M., p. 314.

des Médailles in 1793, but only one of these can now be identified. Fortunately this is the elephant, and we are still able to read beneath it the name of the carver, Iusuf al Nahili, cut in Cufic characters. The height of the group is 16 cm. It is clear that the work was done in India, for it is quite plainly an Indian king who rides on the beast, and the workmanship is evidently Indian and much later in date than the time of Charlemagne. It really dates from about the time of the Crusades and was probably brought to France then. There are two other twelfth-century chessmen in the Cabinet des Médailles, representing a king and queen, but they are of Western make and never belonged to St.-Denis.[1]

After Suger the next recorded magnificent patron of the abbey was Philip Augustus (1180–1223). His gifts were mainly of treasures looted from Constantinople, when it was captured by so-called Crusaders in 1204. These objects are set down as gifts to the King of France from Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople. The list is given by Félibien (p. 215) and included 'many relics taken from the Imperial chapel, such as a large piece of the true cross, some of our Lord's hairs and of his swaddling-clothes, one of the thorns of his crown, part of his purple robe, a rib of St. Philip and one of his teeth. The holy wood was enclosed in a gold cross set with jewels and the other holy relics were in a gold reliquary.' The genuineness of these relics was attested by a letter from the Emperor Baldwin, sealed with a gold seal. The silver-gilt reliquary with a gold front, called the 'Oratory of Philip Augustus', was still at St.-Denis in Félibien's time and is engraved by him.[2] It contained twelve crystal phials with the relics in them, beside quite a number of special little little gold reliquaries, all long gone to the melting-pot. It is evident from Doublet's description that the engraving does not represent the piece in its original condition. As we see it, it is like a building with Gothic gable ends and on a Gothic pedestal. Probably the long front side, or wall, which alone was of gold and richly jewelled, was a Byzantine table-reliquary, and all the rest added at different dates in France, but the print does not give us much information and is not easily reconciled with the descriptions.

The golden cross,[3] engraved on the same plate, can be more convincingly reconstructed. It was certainly Byzantine work, but not of the usual Eastern form with the double transverse pieces. It was two and a half feet long by two feet wide. The piece of the true cross contained in it was a foot or a foot and a half long. It was adorned with jewels and upwards of 800 pearls. Europe at this time obtained by loot quite a number of fine Byzantine crosses, all, of

[1] E. Babelon, *Cab. des Antiques*, pl. 60.
[2] Inv. 1505, no. 5; Inv. 1634, f. 68^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 4; D., pp. 336, 1235; M., p. 97; F., pl. i E.
[3] Inv. 1505, no. 3; Inv. 1634, f. 15^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 1; D., p. 336; M., p. 86; F., pl. i A.

course, claiming to contain portions of the true cross, but they were of the double cross type. Such for instance are the magnificent tablet-cross in the cathedral of Limburg-on-the-Lahn, the two crosses at Cologne, the cross at St. Mark's, Venice, that in Brescia Cathedral, and others still existing, beside several recorded, but now lost or destroyed. According to Rohault de Fleury [1] there were three such true crosses in France, and only twelve in the world altogether. The St.-Denis cross was thus an exception to the usual Byzantine form and may have been of early date. The engraving, however, is far too vague to ground an opinion upon.

Another of Philip Augustus's reputed gifts to St.-Denis was a beautiful little reliquary, said not only to have been a gift to the king from Pope Clement III, but in part to have been actually that pontiff's own handiwork. It consisted of a little crucifix (which he was believed to have sculptured out of a fragment of the true cross) attached to a gold cross and set in a fine gold case under a crystal front, all suspended from a gold chain. The frame, however, bore the arms of John, Duke of Berry, and he, rather than Philip Augustus, must have given the case, at any rate, to St.-Denis.[2] Perhaps the whole thing was of late fourteenth-century date as the engraving suggests.

A silver-gilt reliquary which Millet says was likewise given by Philip Augustus was, however, plainly inscribed as the gift of King Charles V in the year 1368. When Félibien had it engraved it had lost the two angels mentioned in the inventory of 1505.[3] There remained for the Revolutionary melting-pot only a statuette of the Magdalen on a pedestal with kneeling figures of the king, the queen, and a child.

A magnificent sardonyx gondola (pl. XVIII, fig. 2) mounted in silver-gilt with jewels and enamels, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, belonged to St.-Denis, but the donor's name is not recorded.[4] The bowl, which is probably antique, is shaped into a number of convex segments, and the wide metal rim follows the same form and is attached by hinged bands to the simple metal foot. The filigree on the base is very simple; that on the rim is of double wires. Each division of the rim contains a large central jewel surrounded by filigree, and at each corner is an enamel button set like a jewel. These little enamel roundels resemble Palermo work. Molinier thinks them to be later additions made to replace jewels. Nothing can be concluded as to the place of manufacture from the presence of these enamels, because they were objects of commerce and used

[1] *Mém. sur les Instruments de la Passion*, pp. 123, 124, and 303.

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 41; Inv. 1634, f. 158^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 2; D., p. 341; M., p. 89; F., pl. i B. The inventory of 1505 knows nothing about the connexion of any popes or kings with this object.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 24; Inv. 1634, f. 146^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 20; D., p. 336; M., p. 96; F., pl. ii D.

[4] Inv. 1505, no. 73; Inv. 1634, f. 172^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 29 bis; D., p. 344; M., p. 131; F., pl. iv BB; Babelon, *Cat. des Camées*, no. 209.

everywhere by goldsmiths; otherwise we might be tempted to reason that this vase was one of the pieces given to Suger by Thibaut, Count of Blois, who had received them from Roger, King of Sicily.[1] Molinier assigns the setting to the tenth century, having regard probably to the filigree on the foot. I cannot, however, find any reason for ascribing the rim to such a date, and hold that it was no earlier than the twelfth century. It may have been Byzantine or Sicilian work. It may even have been made in France, but the most probable conclusion is that this treasure also was looted from Constantinople in 1204. Another sardonyx gondola, or rather a portion of one (for it has been broken in half and only one fragment remains), is in the Venice treasury and no doubt came from Constantinople. It, however, was evidently mounted or remounted in Venice, the present setting being fine Venetian work of the thirteenth century.

In the Galerie d'Apollon (Cat. no. 791) is a small plate of lapis lazuli carved on both faces by a good Byzantine craftsman, which may well have come to St.-Denis with the rest of the loot of 1204 (pl. XII, fig. 3).[2] On one side is a figure of Christ, on the other of the Virgin, fine work in the usual style of the Byzantine renaissance. The stone is set in a gold frame adorned with pearls and jewels, and is in the form of a pax, as Doublet says.

A large embossed silver-gilt plate (pl. XIX, fig. 2), which was the cover of a book or of a flat tablet-reliquary, is in the Galerie d'Apollon (Cat. no. 4). It is not very good Byzantine work of the twelfth century, and formerly belonged to St.-Denis. The subject of the repoussé work is two of the three Maries with the angel at the grave of Christ. In the same place (Cat. no. 3) is a smaller plaque of the same material on which a cross is embossed, rising out of formal foliation (pl. XIX, fig. 1). This is attributed to the eleventh century. Molinier considers that both plaques may have belonged to a single object. I cannot recognize either plaque in the inventories, which are summary in their references to book-covers.[3] A book which is entered under no. 96 in the inventory of 1505, as having one cover of gold and the other of silver, is in the French National Library (MS. lat. 9436), but I have not seen it.

St. Louis (Louis IX, 1226–1270) was a lavish patron of the church, and St.-Denis was one of the most frequent recipients of his gifts. It is not necessary to describe what is recorded about the many chasses and other pieces of

[1] D., p. 247 (citing Suger).

[2] Inv. 1505, no. 40 (a blue stone broken in half set in silver-gilt); Inv. 1634, f. 158^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 46; D., p. 343; M., p. 95; F., pl. iii F; Barbet de Jouy, *Gemmes*, etc., pl. xi, 2.

[3] Inv. 1505, no. 97, might refer to one of them. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, p. 560, fig. 343, states that the smaller plaque belonged to St.-Denis, as asserted by Laborde (*Notice des Émaux*, etc., 1853, p. 380). The Louvre catalogue is silent on the matter.

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 1. Cover of a reliquary, embossed silver-gilt (34·7 × 15·8 cm.)

Photo: Giraudon, Paris

Fig. 2. Cover of a reliquary, embossed silver-gilt (42 × 30 cm.)

church furniture given by him, because they exist no longer, and there is no representation of them. The objects belonging to him which Félibien engraved were for the most part of a personal character and included the clasp of his mantle, his hand of justice, his tamarisk-wood bowl, his sword and crown, also a little reliquary of the hand of St. Denis which he carried with him on his travels.[1] Unfortunately none of these objects survives. The ring in the Galerie d'Apollon, which used to be called his signet-ring, and the clasp in the same place already referred to are both of fourteenth-century date. Only two enamelled chasses of Limoges workmanship now remain of all the treasures of St.-Denis approximately of the time of St. Louis (pl. XVIII, fig. 1 ; XX).[2] In the church of St.-Denis as we see it to-day St. Louis will be recalled by the sculptured monuments of his royal predecessors from Dagobert downwards, which he set up. After many vicissitudes and no little restoration these monuments are again standing where St. Louis set them, but the study of them is outside the scope of the present writing. The same is true of the great stone lavabo of the monks which stood in their cloister and was set up about the time of St. Louis. It is now to be seen in the second court of the École des Beaux-Arts surrounded by a collection of salvaged remains of other ancient buildings.

The fourteenth century was a troublous time in France, yet during it St.-Denis received many valuable gifts. The principal donors were the Queen Jeanne d'Evreux, Margaret Countess of Flanders, King Charles V, John Duke of Berry, and Abbot Guy de Monceau (1363–1398). Some of their gifts were statuettes in the precious metals or in ivory, others were elaborate reliquaries, also chalices and patens.[3]

Few of the fourteenth-century gifts to St.-Denis still exist, but those that have escaped the perils of the centuries and are still with us are among the finest

[1] F., pl. iii G, H, K, L, M, P.

[2] Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 64. A fine Limoges reliquary, which was in the Beckford and Zouche collections, and was shown for many years in the South Kensington Museum, has now gone to America. It was called 'the Reliquary of St. Louis', and was said to have come from St.-Denis. It is not identifiable with any item in the inventories.

[3] Most of the following are engraved in Félibien :—

Jeanne d'Evreux :—Figures of the Virgin and St. John (pl. i F), and her crown (pl. iv T). See F., p. 275.

Margaret, Countess of Flanders :—A figure of St. Denis (pl. ii M), and a reliquary of St. Louis of Toulouse (D., p. 337).

Charles V :—Reliquary of 1368 (pl. ii D) ; chalice and paten (pl. iv DD) ; a retable (Inv. 1505, no. 155) ; a silver-gilt cross (D., p. 345) ; a pax (D., p. 345) ; and a sceptre (pl. iv P).

Jean, Duc de Berry :—Reliquary of the cross of Clement III (pl. i B) ; reliquary of St. Benedict (pl. iv A) ; reliquary of St. Thomas (pl. iii B).

Guy de Monceau (D., p. 267) :—Images of the Virgin and SS. Nicholas and Catherine (pls. i I, and ii G, N) ; ivory Virgin ; silver-gilt crucifix and relics (D., p. 340).

Charles VI :—Reliquary for the holy nail.

examples of work in the precious metals done in the Gothic style that we can anywhere behold. First among them both in date and importance is the charming silver-gilt statuette of the Virgin (pl. XV, fig. 1)[1] which stands so proudly out in the middle of the room towards one end of the Galerie d'Apollon—in situation and surroundings perhaps the most honourable place in the whole world to-day that could be found for a work of Gothic art of transcendent merit. It was presented by the queen in the year 1339, as an inscription on its base states. The figure of St. John the Evangelist, which she gave at the same time, was of gold on a base of silver-gilt (F., pl. i F) and has of course been melted down. It held in its right hand a crystal reliquary set in gold which contained a tooth-relic of the saint. Nothing more delightful can be conceived than the beautiful figure of the Virgin, so elegantly poised and gracefully draped. She holds in her right hand the most beautiful fleur-de-lys imaginable, containing relics and set with pearls. The base on which she stands is in the likeness of a small quadrangular building with sculpture-carrying buttresses which separate fourteen little panels adorned with the finest enamels. These depict subjects from the life of Christ, the figures being relieved and engraved in the silver plates and then enhanced with brilliant translucent enamel. The work almost rivals the famous enamelled ewer at Copenhagen, which may well have come from the same atelier.

The sceptre of gold surmounted by a small statuette of Charlemagne enthroned is an example of the finest work of the time of Charles V (pl. XVII, fig. 3).[2] It originally possessed a staff which made the whole 5 ft. 10 in. long. Curiously enough, notwithstanding its late Gothic character, this sceptre was reputed to have belonged to Charlemagne himself. It was probably made for the coronation either of Charles V or his successor, to take the place of an ancient sceptre which had fallen into disrepair. When it was decided to employ it once more at the coronation of Napoleon, the stem was missing. Search was made among the miscellaneous objects in the possession of the Crown,[3] and another staff was found which was adapted to the sceptre and has remained with it ever since. This was the silver-gilt staff of the precentor of St.-Denis.[4] An inscription on it stated that it was made in 1394 for the precentor, Guillaume de Rocquemont. Precentors' batons are not common. The military band-

[1] Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 150; Inv. 1505, no. 8; Inv. 1634, f. 76^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 5; D., p. 337; M., pp. 92, 95; F., pl. i F. Phot. Giraudon.

[2] Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 149; Inv. 1505, no. 116; Inv. 1634, f. 203^{r}; Inv. 1739, no. 79; D., p. 368; M., p. 123; F., pl. iv P.

[3] Where were these odds and ends kept? and is there any such cupboard of miscellaneous objects still in existence? It might contain unconsidered trifles such as other fragments from the pre-Revolution Treasuries of France, which would now be of inestimable value.

[4] F., pl. i K, and p. 537; Inv. 1739, no. 10.

THE RELIQUARY CALLED 'OF ST. LOUIS'

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

master's long staff is a modern survival of them. The Cabinet des Médailles possesses a chalcedony bust of Constantine or some later emperor which was mounted in the time of Charles V as the head of the staff of the precentor of the Sainte Chapelle. One of Limoges workmanship of about 1280 was in the Magniac sale in 1892 and is illustrated in the catalogue. Its head was something like those of two bishop's crosiers joined back to back, with a little statuette at the top above them. Félibien's engraving shows that the top of the St.-Denis staff was simpler, but not ungraceful.

Reference has already been made to the superb jewelled mantle-clasp in the Galerie d'Apollon (no. 120) wrongly called the clasp of St. Louis. It is work of the fourteenth century, and may well have been made at the same time as the sceptre of Charlemagne for use at the same coronation.

The gold ring,[1] which used to be bravely called the signet-ring of St. Louis, is likewise of this later date, or even of the fifteenth century. It contains a small oblong gem with an intaglio of the standing figure of a French king. He wears a nimbus and is identified by the letters 'S. L.' An inscription within the hoop asserts that this was St. Louis' signet. Of course, intaglios of this delicacy were not made in the time of St. Louis even in Byzantium. It was under the encouragement of the four great patrons of art, Charles V and his brothers, that the art of gem-engraving (like that of medal-making and other refined crafts) was developed again in the West. A gem with the head of a king still exists which belonged to Charles V and was probably made for him, perhaps by the same hand that made this ring, which is beautifully cut and does the maker much credit.

A pretty fragment in the Galerie d'Apollon may have belonged to a fourteenth-century gift to St.-Denis, though nothing appears to be known about its provenance. This is a little jewelled crown of silver-gilt which obviously belonged to some statuette of the Virgin, probably an ivory figure.[2] An ivory Virgin with such a crown was amongst the gifts of Abbot Guy de Monceau,[3] and all the old writers praise its workmanship and the beauty of its crown and of the brooch on the bosom. Each fleuron of the crown had a sapphire cut to eight facets and set in pearls, and on the circle of it were four rubies.

The only recorded fifteenth-century gift is a clasp which belonged to Anne de Bretagne; it appears to have been a work of great beauty, but the engraving (F., pl. ii K) gives us no idea of it. Numerous other objects recorded

[1] Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 123; Inv. 1505, no. 57; Inv. 1634, f. 165^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 54; D., p. 346; M., p. 106; F., pl. iii o; Barbet-de-Jouy, *Gemmes*, etc., pl. xi, 3; Labarte, *Arts indus.*, i, 204.

[2] Galerie d'Apollon, Cat. no. 128; Barbet-de-Jouy, *Gemmes*, etc., pl. xi.

[3] Probably F., pl. ii z. Compare Inv. 1505, no. 10; Inv. 1634, f. 79^{v}; Inv. 1739, no. 38; D., p. 340; M., p. 93.

in the inventories have not been mentioned in this notice because little is known about them. We have Félibien's engravings and the words of the inventories, but the reconstruction of what has been utterly destroyed is tedious unless some special end is to be attained thereby. As for the works of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they interest me not at all. I therefore leave the examination of all questions connected with them to students whose tastes are different from mine.

Mr. Maurice W. Brockwell has sent me the following notes on the picture of the 'Mass of St. Giles'. It is probable that between the years 1796 and 1850 it was in Lord Bessborough's collection, where it was attributed to Van Eyck. Viollet-le-Duc knew of it only as in the collection of Lord ———, and the print he published of it (*Dict. de l'Architect.*, ii, p. 26) inaccurately represents only its architectural background. Waagen (*Art Treasures*, 1854, vol. ii, p. 237) stated that this 'Mass of St. Gregory' in Lord Ward's collection was 'attributed, without the slightest ground, to John Van Eyck; it is a good and interesting picture of the Dutch School of the latter part of the fifteenth century'. It was lent by Lord Dudley to the Exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House in 1871 (no. 326) as a 'Celebration of High Mass' by John Van Eyck, and it appeared there again in 1892. The frame is said to have borne at one time a cutting from an old catalogue describing it as 'St. Thomas Aquinas performing Mass in the Abbey of St.-Denis to Louis IX of France'. On June 25, 1892, it was included in the Dudley sale as a work of the Early Netherlandish School, when it was purchased by the late Mr. Edward Steinkopf, father of the present owner. He lent it in the same year, 1892, for exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and the compiler of the catalogue stated that it was 'possibly the work of Gerard van der Meire, who, it is believed, spent some time in France'.

IV.—*Rock-cutting and Tomb-architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman Occupation.* *By* Geo. Jeffery, *Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Cyprus.*

Read 17th December, 1914.

It has been thought, with a good deal of reason for such an opinion, that the age of a quarry or a rock-cut tomb may be determined by the apparent character of the tooling of surfaces. This is most easily defined in the following way.

Bronze Age tooling of rock surfaces of a soft kind, subsequently hardened with age, may perhaps be detected by the marks of a celt driven with a mallet, or possibly a heavy stone. The cut of the implement is short and deep, and of course leaves a rougher surface than the single-handed pick of iron. With the introduction of iron tools the work of finishing surfaces as well as of cutting into the stone seems to have been executed with single-handed picks having points or cutting edges of variable width. At a later period came the use of the chisel-shaped pick with serrated edge. It is doubtful whether this was used in the Levant previous to the Byzantine or Constantinian era. The use of the chisel-shaped pick causes a long sweeping cut on the stone, an effect also produced by mere chopping sideways with the stone-mason's chopper. The chopper and the chisel-pick play a great part in the finishing off of the elaborate rock-cuttings of the Levant.

From the foregoing it will be noticed that little more than a distinction into the two classes of work done with iron implements, and work done without iron implements, can be attempted for chronological purposes as far as the evidence on rock surfaces survives. The quarries and tombs of Cyprus referred to in the following notes must be considered to belong to the iron implement class; in other words, to the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine history of the island.

Quarries.

The quarries of Cyprus—as in all Levantine lands—are singularly picturesque. If not on so grand a scale as those of Syracuse—the famous Latomia—or the imposing caverns around Jerusalem, they have quite a character of their

own. They are generally approached through a tunnel or rock arch, which in some cases has been cut to the form of a doorway, and evidently fitted with gates. This naturally implies that the ancients were in the custom of regulating the working of the quarry, or, as in the traditional case of Syracuse, the enclosure may have been used much as we use the Portland quarry at the present day for the confinement and labour of convicts.

The upper stratum or surface of rock on a quarry site is usually rejected by the quarrymen as unsuited for building stone: it is harder and at the same time less compact than the inner substance of the rock, and on this account the tunnelling beneath the upper crust produces vast caverns and the curious arched entrances common in the Cyprus quarries.

On the north coast, near Kyrenia, is a very large and imposing quarry called Khrysokava, which is approached through a rock-cut tomb, the entrance of which has been enlarged to the height of a man and a width of about 6 ft. This entrance has been subsequently fitted with two massive door-posts of stone, rebated to receive an inside door (fig. 1). The tomb is about 15 ft. square, and on the side opposite to the entrance a passage-way has been cut through into the great quarries at the back of the ridge of rock in which the tomb is excavated. At one time this tomb was probably the only entrance into the quarry with its precipitous rock sides. This treatment of ancient tombs is common all over the island, and the number of tombs which have been destroyed by quarrying in past ages would be incalculable. The accompanying sketch-plan (fig. 2) of the corner of the quarry of Khrysokava, Kyrenia, shows a rock-cut chapel, formed out of a cave, with a series of *arcosolium* tombs cut in the cliff on the south side. All traces of the mode of sepulture have disappeared, but the Roman catacomb with its walled-up recess seems suggested. There are some rude attempts at wreaths of flowers, or at least leaves, in the rock above the niches. The appearances are certainly ancient.

The ancient instruments of the quarryman for the softer stones are represented in the well-known pictures of the Catacombs of Rome, and elsewhere. The Fossor used a rather slender tapering pick, like a modern geological hammer, only larger: an iron chopper, and a hammer, which are of practically the same form in all ages.[1] The tools used at the present day in the soft stone quarries of Cyprus are practically identical with those of antiquity.

In the modern quarries of hard stone of the Judaean and North Syrian districts, blasting has been adopted to the exclusion of any more ancient mode of extracting the stone. As a consequence modern masonry in that district is much smaller in scale than the medieval and ancient type.

[1] Vide Smith, *Dict. Ch. Antiq.* s.v.

In a soft stone quarry, blasting would be a disadvantage; it would prevent the orderly flaking off of the strata, and would probably create too much small stuff: for these reasons the primitive slow method with wedges and picks still

Fig. 1. Entrance to Khrysokava Quarry.

Fig. 3. A modern quarry: Cyprus.

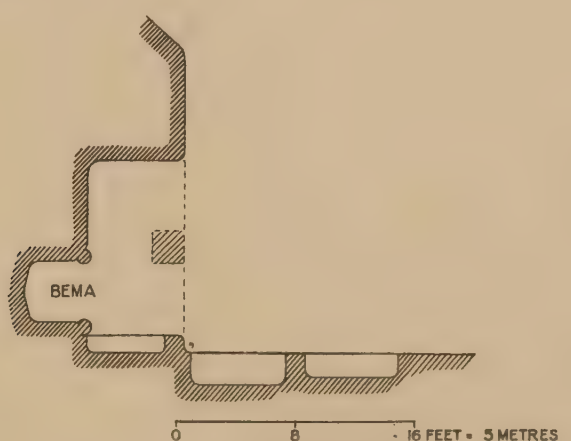


Fig. 2. Plan of corner of the quarry at Khrysokava.

survives. The old quarry sites are conspicuous everywhere in Cyprus; the modern, which are more underground, have a tendency to disappear as the caves fall in and are overgrown. This difference depends to a great extent upon the

nature and usage of the stone. Stone on the surface of the ground is of course much harder than that from a cave, and is usually removed in much smaller blocks. Small surface quarries of all ages occur all over the island.

The modern quarryman of Cyprus sets about his work precisely in the way of the ancients when the stone lies in an ordinary horizontal position. He usually marks out a square of about 9 ft. by 9 ft. on the rock bed where two sides at least are forming a rectangle (fig. 3). On the other two sides he cuts down to a level where he supposes the vein of the stone to allow of cleavage, the cutting forming a trench of about 12 in. in width. This trench of about 2 ft. in depth will take one man a day's work. On the two sides which remained exposed by the previous removal of stone a long incision is made with the pick at their base, or wherever it is proposed to sever the block, and into this groove are fixed a number of heavy iron wedges, each of them between two small iron plates; frequently these small plates are made out of old mule-shoes worn thin (the mule is shod with an oval-shaped piece of iron and not a horseshoe). Repeated blows of a sledge-hammer upon these wedges, in regular succession, effect the cleavage in a very exact manner.

A similar system to the above is adopted in the underground quarries, the trenches and wedges being used according to circumstances. The above is doubtless precisely the same mode of work employed in all ages of Levantine history since the introduction of iron implements. In such a way and with such tools would the ancient quarryman dig out the countless rock-hewn tombs of his period, but when these tombs were treated with the careful rock-cutting of Roman times the tools of the building mason had to be employed.

The tools used by Levantine workmen at the present day differ but little from what must have been used by their predecessors in all past ages.

The Acisculus of the ancient Romans is the modern Greek or Romaic Kuspus[1] (κωσπος), i. e. the adze-shaped hammer of a convenient size and weight to be used in one hand by the quarryman or mason. As a rule this modern form of the stone-pick is provided with two cutting edges, one about $\frac{3}{4}$ in., the other from 2 in. to 3 in. in width, the handle being fixed in the middle. The use of this instrument has evidently been the same in all ages. The narrow edge is used in cutting out grooves or channels, for which purpose also an ordinary pointed pick is used, and the wider, or what may be called the back portion of the hammer, is used for dressing the stone surface. Such picks are the ordinary instruments used in dressing stone for the builders, but for this purpose the wider edge is also serrated with small teeth which produce rapidly a fairly even

[1] Apparently a modern or Cypriote word. Acisculus (vide Smith, *Dict. G. and R. Ant.*, p. 141), 'chiefly used by masons, whence in the ancient glossaries *Aciscularius* is translated λατόμος, a stone cutter'.

surface. With this form of pick or chisel-hammer are formed all the mouldings so lavishly displayed on Levantine buildings.

The Turkish mosque and the Romaic church are equally covered with a profusion of mouldings, but figure or floral sculpture, when attempted, is always a miserable failure. The nature of the workman's tool naturally influences the style and the characteristics of the architectural forms employed, and it is not a little curious to observe that all the details of the so-called Greek 'Doric' style can be produced by the primitive adze-shaped hammer, and without the use of a chisel. When the 'Ionic' style was adopted the use of a chisel was involved in sculpturing the volutes and the honeysuckle ornaments. Chisel-work was continued under the Romans until the decay of all art instincts, and the meretricious display of conventional ornament, and, worst of all, the use of a drill marking the indentations of an acanthus leaf, which characterize the Byzantine style.

The use of the chisel in architectural detail has died out on two occasions in the Levant. During the Roman period we see the most elaborate chisel-work at Baalbek and Petra, during the Frankish occupation we again see the splendid possibilities of the Jerusalem limestone in the south front of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and at a later date the equally fine carvings of the Cyprus Latin cathedrals. The Roman art lingered for a few years under the early Byzantine emperors, and then the drill and 'kuspus' took the place of the mallet and chisel; in the same way the European art of the Levant disappeared with the close of the fourteenth century, and once more the chisel was thrown aside.

After thirty-five years of British occupation in Cyprus the chisel is still practically unused by the modern masons. There is of course no demand for ornamental sculpture on Government buildings, and to the native it would be meaningless extravagance.

Tombs.

Up to the present no very clear attempt seems to have been made at a chronology of the Cyprus tombs. Perhaps the following may be adopted for the present purpose:

(1) Bronze Age.	Caves and chambers.
(2) Graeco-Phoenician.	Rock-hewn chambers, built tombs.
(3) Graeco-Roman.	Built tombs and rock-hewn 'kokim'.
(4) Byzantine.	Rock-hewn chambers (often in quarries).

Unquestionably the most ancient types of an architectural character are the Amathus and Tamassos 'tent-shaped' tombs. Possibly contemporary are

the tombs in what may be called the 'Treasury of Atreus' style of construction, such as the excellent example at Larnaca. The regular Roman tomb is of course easily identified by details of an architectural kind, which as a rule admit of little doubt.

In the following notes the principal object in view is to draw attention to the presence in Cyprus of the Roman tomb of a colossal character when built of masonry, and to the very remarkable number of rock-cut tombs of the same period with the curious Semitic 'kokim'.

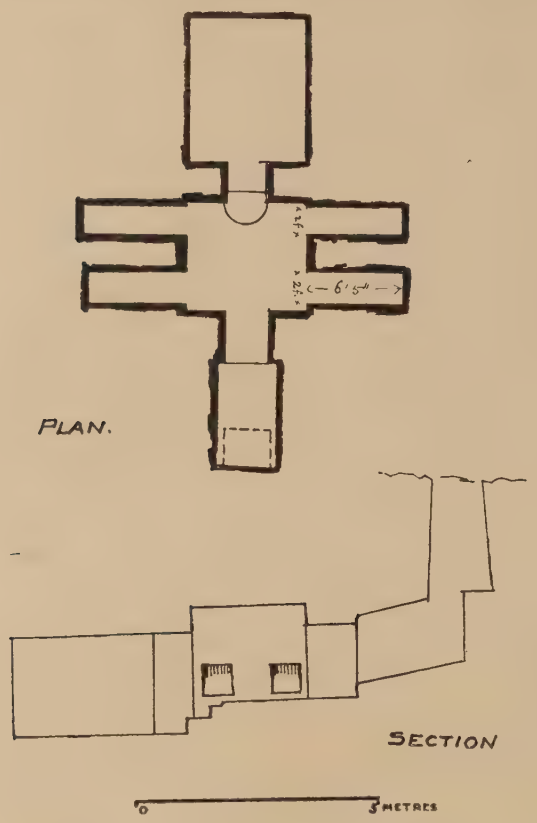


Fig. 4. 'Kokim' type of tombs: Cyprus.

The investigation of Cyprus tomb archaeology on a scientific basis was inaugurated by the Society of Hellenic Studies, in co-operation with the University of Cambridge, in 1887, nine years after the British occupation of the island. The report of the excavators at that date (*J. H. S.*, 1889) states:

'(1) The sites are hopelessly mixed, tombs separated by centuries in date constantly occurring side by side; (2) the type of a tomb affords little or no criterion of date; (3) it is extremely difficult to guarantee integrity of the products; (4) the most certain criteria of date, coins and Greek inscriptions, are extremely scarce; (5) coarse Cypriot, black-glazed pottery, terra-cottas of native manufacture, plain jewellery, etc., hardly admit of precise chronological division; .... chronological method is reduced to absurdity from lack of material for forming a judgment on any doubtful point.'[1]

In referring to the 'kokim' tombs at Poli:

'The type is marked by great regularity of plan and careful workmanship. . . . . The tombs which we opened of this third type seemed all to be of a very late date. . . . . There is at least nothing to hint that any of them are to be dated much, if at all, before the first century B.C.'

The 'kokim' in these examples average about 6 ft. by 2 ft. by 2 ft.

The art of rock-cutting practised in the Levant was not peculiar to any one of the great races of antiquity. The mode of quarrying was the same for all

[1] [Subsequent excavations have, however, done something to disarm the scepticism of these earlier workers.—ED.]

before the invention of modern appliances, but as regards tombs and their construction, perhaps a certain broad classification may be attempted into (1) simple chamber tombs, and (2) 'kokim' tombs.

(1) The simple chamber tomb is necessarily the universal and most primitive form to be adopted by any race, and the least easy to be identified with any particular epoch, ancient or modern. Whether approached by a *dromos* or merely cut in the side of a hill it has no architectural pretension as a rule, and excites but little interest.

The simple chamber excavated in the rock with an architectural exterior, standing free in the style of the famous tombs of Cyrene or of Syria, may be said not to exist in Cyprus.

The graves of Greek settlers in the island were possibly of different kinds. The Athenian custom of interment in earth graves wouldbe followed to a great extent, but rock-cut tombs of a simple form are also found filled with the usual Greek tomb-furniture. Roman tombs are, of course, also of the square chamber type, either as buildings or rock-cut.

(2) The 'kokim' variety of arrangement is found all over the island and, as noted by the Hellenic Society's explorers in 1887, is always executed in the best manner of rock-cutting, with accurate angles, well-shaped doorways, and clean-cut walls and ceilings.

In Syria the 'kokim' tomb has always been associated by archaeologists with the Jewish race, and such tombs when known to be of the Roman period, such as the tomb of Helena of Adiabene, are recognized as evidence of the occupants having professed the Jewish religion. James Ferguson and the older Palestine explorers supposed the 'kokim' to be unknown outside Jewry, although they state that 'not a single sepulchral excavation about Jerusalem can be said with certainty to belong to a period anterior to the age of the Maccabees, or, more correctly, to have been used for burial before the time of the Romans'.[1]

Tamassos.

Tamassos, an ancient site in a central position of the island, not far from the more celebrated Idalium, seems to have been a place of considerable importance in remote antiquity, but its exact era has not been defined. The ground plans of a few Roman villas with herring-bone brickwork floors—now used as threshing-floors—show that even within the Christian period this was an important village. Three very imposing tombs were excavated here by the Berlin Museum

[1] Smith, *Bib. Dict.*

about the year 1890,[1] but unfortunately only two of them remain intact, the third having been broken up by the peasants and removed for building material. The two remaining tombs are almost identical in design and workmanship, and are represented by the accompanying drawings (fig. 5). The carefully jointed masonry of stone slabs on a rock base or platform, in forms which recall the workmanship of a carpenter, and the small sunk panel over the door (see section) which represents a shuttered window with a wood bolt, are all in an imitative style of art suggestive of Greek culture. The singular treatment of the entrance with an Ionic volute on either side, of enormous proportions, is particularly noteworthy.

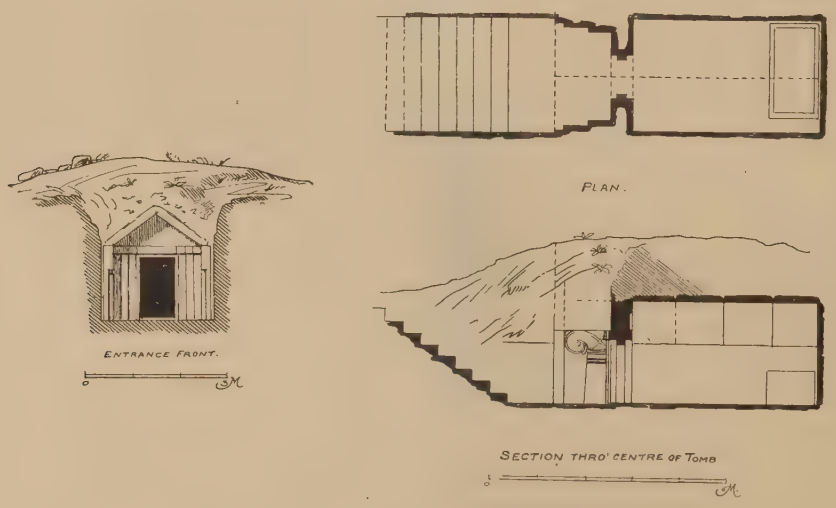


Fig. 5. Tomb at Tamassos: plan, section, etc.

These Tamassos tombs stand on a slight hill round which the winter torrent of the Pidiàs circles in a great sweep. Not far off are the traces of primitive shrines to Apollo and the other shadowy divinities of antiquity, their places in some cases occupied by venerable settlements of a primitive Christianity. The whole site wears the aspect of profound antiquity, and these important tombs are perhaps amongst its most ancient monuments. Similar tombs exist at Amathus.[2]

The more important tombs, such as the above, are always provided with an entrance or *dromos* down a staircase or inclined way. But the commonest form of tomb, of all ages, is a square shaft sunk to a depth of about 8 ft. in the soft tufa rock with one or more chambers at the bottom: such tombs may be counted by tens of thousands in some parts of the island.

[1] [A short account of them is in *Journ. R. Inst. Brit. Architects*, 3rd Ser., iii, pp. 109 ff., esp. figs. 1, 2, 4, 6, 28.—Ed.]

[2] See Cesnola, *Cyprus*.

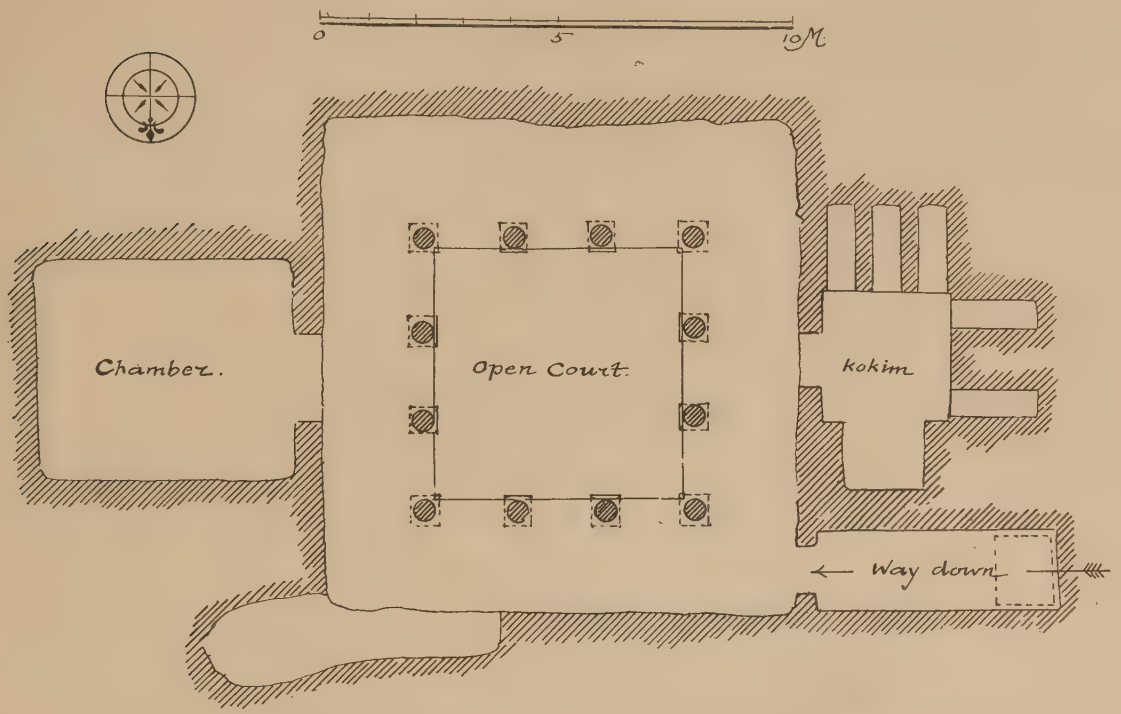


Fig. 6. Paphos: Tomb no. 1. Plan at general floor-level.

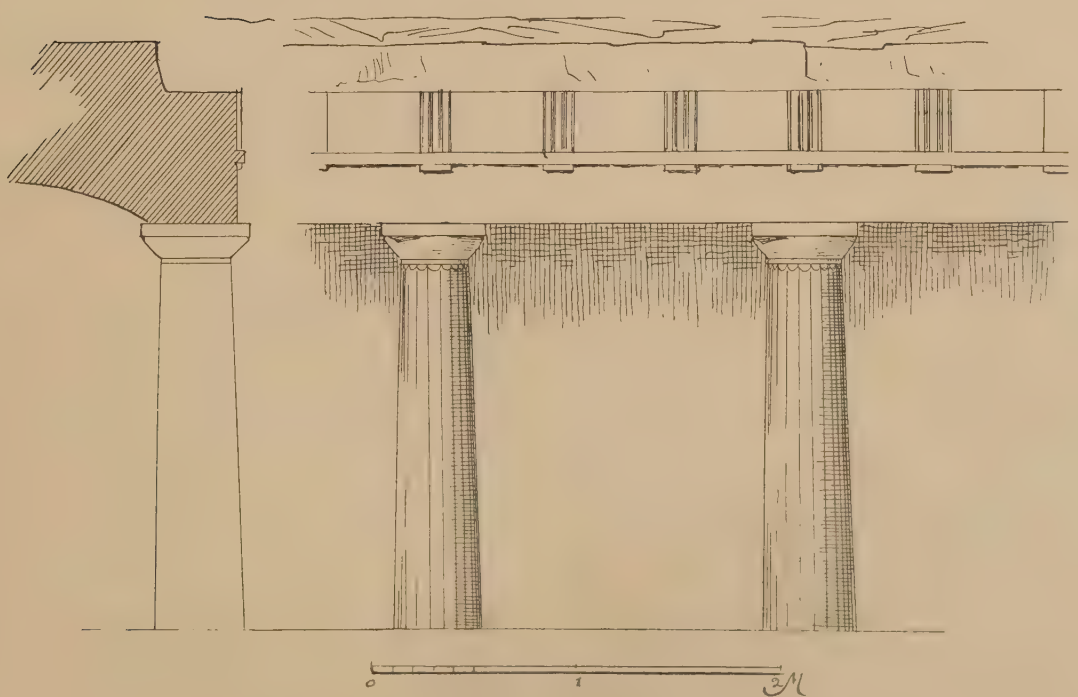


Fig. 7. Paphos: Tomb no. 1. Detail of rock-cut colonnade.

Paphos.

On the sea-shore, near Nea Paphos, a large necropolis of an important architectural character survives. The accompanying drawings (figs. 6-8) sufficiently explain the nature of these excavations, with their colonnaded courts, entrances, etc.

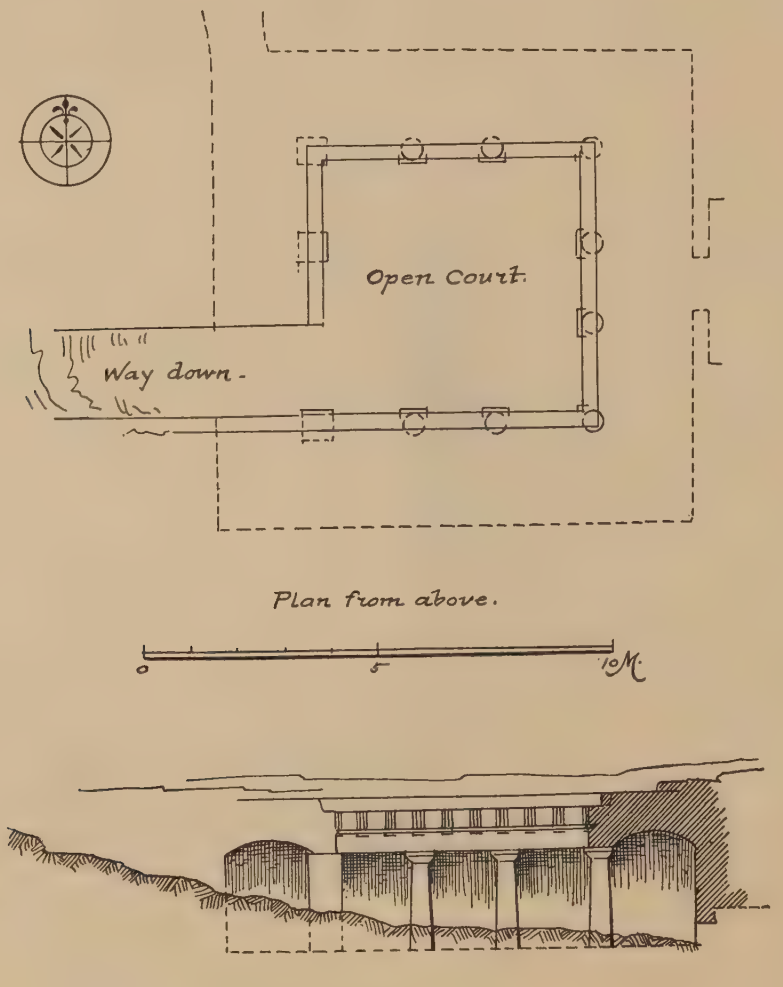


Fig. 8. Paphos: Tomb no. 2. Plan and section.

The presence of Greek or Doric architectural forms [to use the usual definitions of the style] suggests an affinity with similar tombs in North Africa, or with the caves of Beni Hassan, the tomb of St. James, near Jerusalem, and others of a similar type near Haifa.

The date when the so-called Greek Doric style of architecture with its strongly marked characteristics of timber construction reproduced in permanent materials first originated

has never been clearly defined. The great temples of Sicily are presumably the oldest precursors of the Parthenon, but their origins are but conjectural. The style was widely spread, and evidently marks the Ionian or Hellenic culture which eventually displaced the Phoenician civilization of a rather older date. There is no reason why many of the monuments which we associate with particular races in the Levant should not be contemporary or entirely independent of any chronological reference to each other; the races which they represent developed or declined through long periods of history, and attempts at classification are often very inadequate if not erroneous. In the present case of these tombs at Paphos, the Phoenician or Hebrew 'kokim' receptacles for the bodies are combined with a distinctly Greek architectural character in the rock-cut colonnade.

Larnaca (Kitium).

Larnaca takes its name from 'a tomb' or 'the tomb', but what particular tomb is referred to would be difficult to determine at the present day; certainly it has always been a remarkable place for its tombs in all ages.

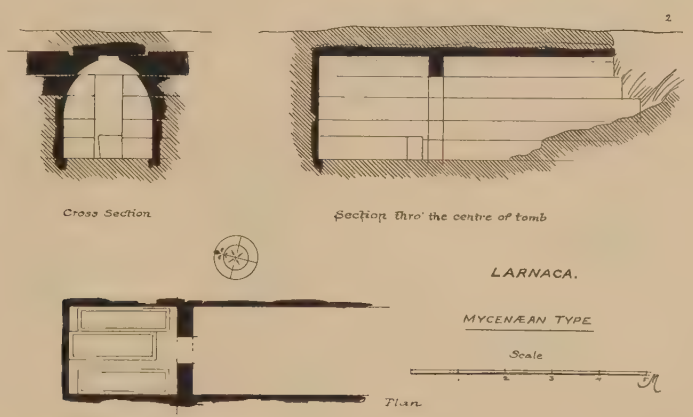


Fig. 9. Larnaca: tomb of Mycenaean type.

Kitium or Chittim, the Phoenician city on the huge mounds of which modern Larnaca is built, was an object of scientific investigation even in the eighteenth century. Pococke during his stay in Cyprus attempted some exploration of the site, and found Cypriot inscriptions and other antiquities; these he published in his *Description of the East*, 1745. The Italian priest, Giovanni Mariti, who passed several years in Larnaca, published an interesting *Dissertazione istorico-critica sull'antica città di Citium* in 1787. In his day there were many more ancient monuments than remain at the present, and according to his plan of the place it would appear as if there then existed two great tombs of the type of the still existing *Phaneroméni*.

Larnaca possesses tombs of an important character. One—a mere fragment—is of the curious construction of the 'Treasury of Atreus' kind: a pointed vault built with corbel-shaped stones supporting each other, but without any arch prin-

ciple (fig. 9). This fragment (merely the inner chamber) was much knocked about some years ago by the owner endeavouring unsuccessfully to drag out the sarcophagi still remaining within. This fact may perhaps suggest that in this style of tombs the great stone coffins usually found in them were placed *in situ* before the tombs were constructed over them. As an example of possibly the Mycenaean style of tomb, this tomb at Larnaca is of an especial interest. Very few constructions of this remote age are to be traced in the island, and certainly none of a larger scale or superior workmanship.

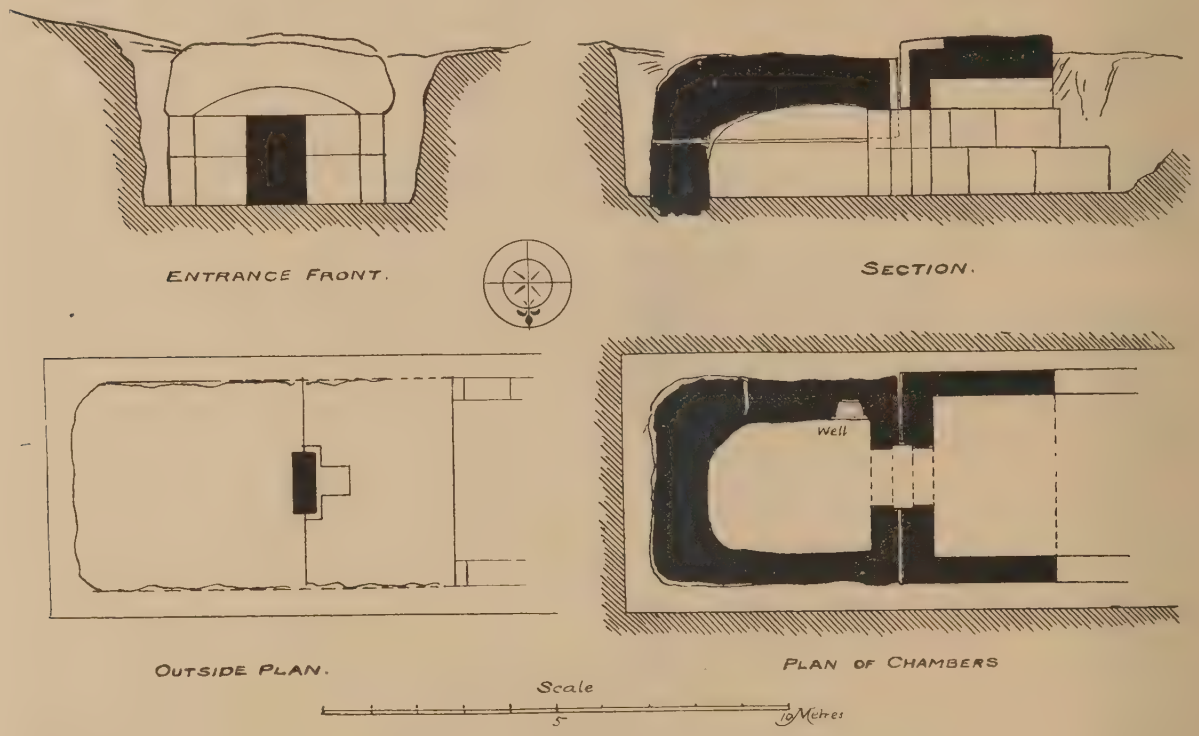


Fig. 10. Phaneroméni, Larnaca: plan, etc.

Architectural tombs of many different types still survive at Larnaca, but the largest and most curious of them is certainly the so-called shrine of the Phaneroméni. As will be seen by the accompanying drawings (fig. 10), it consists of two chambers, the outer of which was approached by a wide *dromos* in all probability. The outer wall of the entrance chamber was demolished ages ago, and within the past few years the natives have still further destroyed this portion, and removed all trace of the *dromos* in building a sort of shed-church in the space. The inner chamber is covered with the enormous monolith, which, in spite of modern alterations, is still visible externally. The external chamber probably was covered by two or more enormous stones cut to an arched form,

resting on the side walls, one of which stones alone remains. The entrance to the inner chamber is remarkable for a sliding stone trap-door which once existed. The grooved slot constructed between the colossal stones of the covering is still in existence, although now covered over by the modern additions. This tomb and the so-called 'Prison of St. Catharine' at Famagusta are apparently the only examples of this curious arrangement in Cyprus surviving.

The other example of an architectural tomb at Larnaca is of a very complete and elaborate kind. It consists of an outer chamber with its *dromos*, all well preserved, and the inner chamber is divided between a square portion covered by a barrel vault and a smaller or recessed space to contain the sarcophagus. The general design of this monument suggests the Roman period; this is perhaps chiefly due to the presence of the semicircular vaulted ceiling (fig. 11).

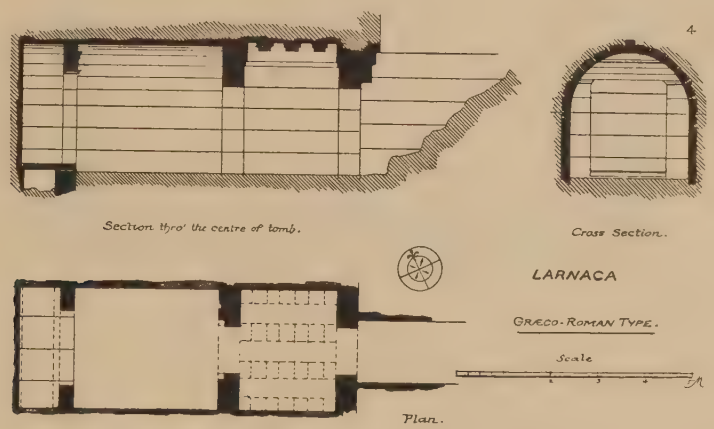


Fig. 11. Larnaca: tomb of Graeco-Roman type.

Salamis (Famagusta).

The 'Prison of St. Catharine' (Salamis) near Famagusta is an imposing example of a tomb of the largest type. Although it possesses a distinct architectural character, still it is difficult to classify or to date such a monument. As will be seen by the drawings, it is partly rock-hewn and partly of immense stones with a covering or ceiling of enormous blocks. There is very little doubt that its builders belonged to the same epoch as the men who raised the similar curved roofings over the Phaneroméni of Larnaca. The Famagusta example is, however, on a much larger scale, and was surmounted by an architectural exterior of which at least some traces of the base still remain (fig. 12).

The plan of this tomb (fig. 13) is suggestive of the cross-planned examples at Palmyra, and the evidences of an outer structure would also point to affinities with the Palmyrene tower-tombs. Such being the case we must assume that this

fashion in monumental sepulchres belongs to a period coincident with the later Roman Empire, when Palmyra was flourishing. The huge stonework of Baalbek, and of other provincial ruins of the Roman Empire, has a very similar appearance to the masonry of the great tombs of Cyprus. The colossal nature of the stones employed in these examples at Larnaca and Famagusta may be appreciated by examining the accompanying drawings.

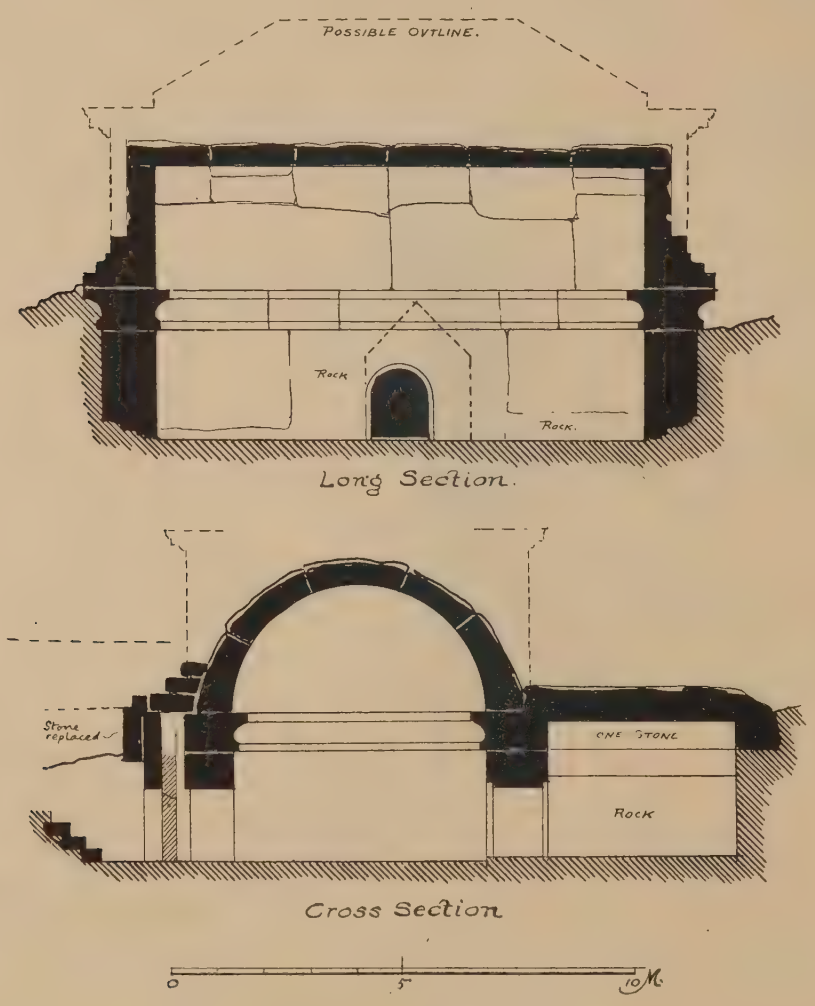


Fig. 12. St. Catharine, Salamis: sections.

The most remarkable feature of the 'Prison of St. Catharine' is the entrance doorway, which was laid bare from accumulations of rubbish during the past year. The doorway and *dromos* were choked with earth, stones, and fallen masonry, completely hiding the very curious arrangements of the sliding port-

cullis, and the original entrance.[1] This portcullis is evidently an alternative to the 'rolling stone' of the Roman tombs at Jerusalem.

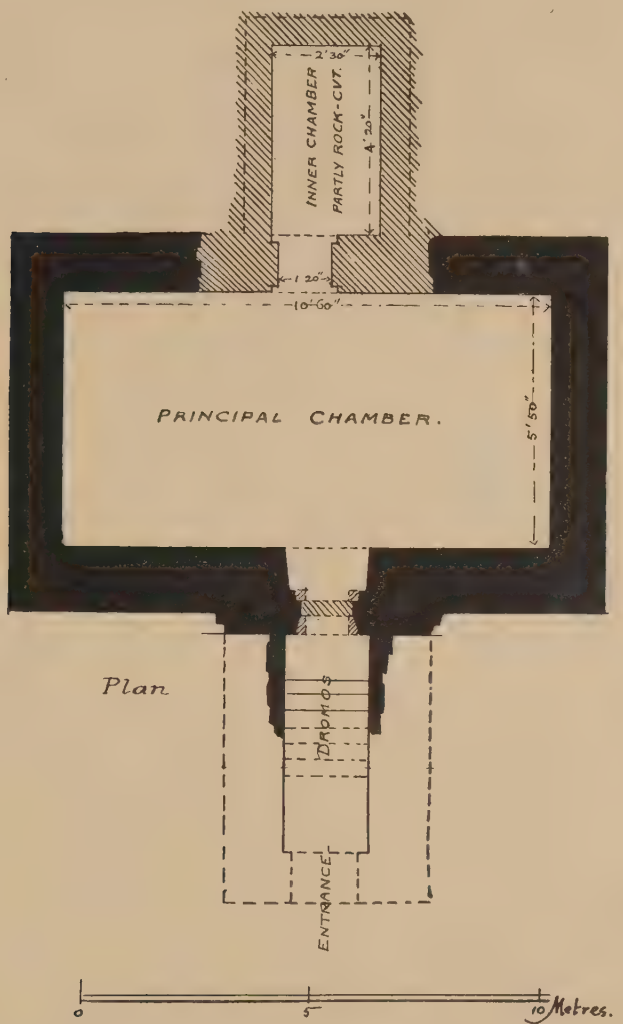


Fig. 13. Prison of St. Catharine, Salamis: plan, with conjectural restoration of outer chamber.

A huge block of stone, on one side cut to a semicircular outline which would appear to have been intended to carry the end of a small barrel vault, was lying on top of the rubbish blocking the entrance, and could only be removed with the aid of some members of the railway staff and their powerful screwjacks. From its position, its shape, and dimensions, this curious block looked as if it had

[1] Measured drawings of this tomb and its doorway were published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, pl. xxxiii–iv, and in the *Builder* of 26th May, 1883.

been thrown down into the *dromos* from the position it may have occupied as the end of a small vault over the entrance. If there was such a vaulted covering to the *dromos* stairway, every trace of it has vanished with the exception of this great stone.

The chief interest in the 'Prison of St. Catharine' tomb centres in the exceptional preservation of its entrance door (fig. 14), or at least a great part of the door. Tombs of the Roman Empire period in the Levant seem commonly to have been designed with these sliding portcullis coverings to their entrances.

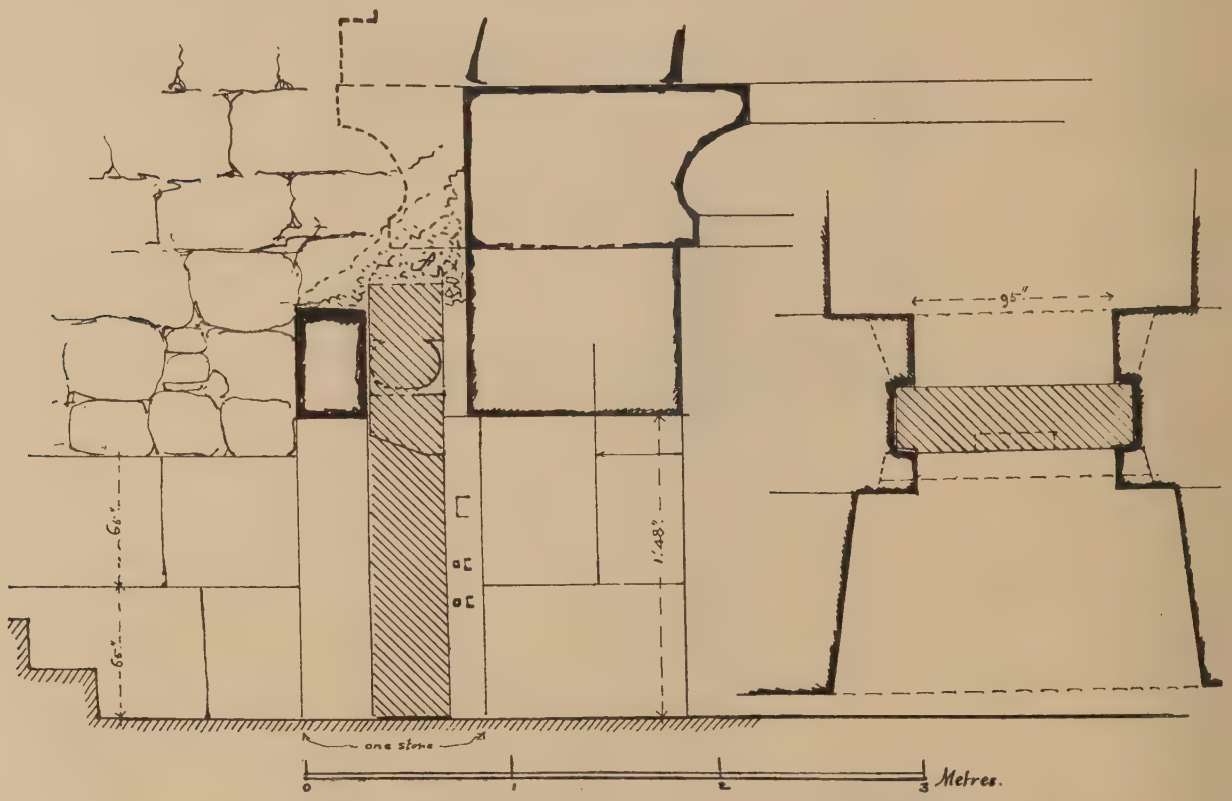


Fig. 14. Prison of St. Catharine, Salamis: detail of entrance.

In his *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Monsieur C. Ganneau figures a very perfect example of a precisely similar portcullis door, which he seems to have found intact at Râs-el-Ekra, near Amwâs, Palestine. In this case the sliding door was 1 m. 60 cm. high, and had a hole in the upper part for a cord to pass through as a means of lifting it. Within this tomb was the inscription εὖχι πάντες λέγουσιν marking its date.

In the tomb at Salamis the sliding portcullis has been cut through by the tomb robbers, and when the chamber became subsequently converted into a

Christian church the square hole of its entrance was carefully trimmed and splayed on either side, and also the remaining fragment of the portcullis, held in position by concrete, was splayed on its under side, and a wood door fixed in the opening, of which the holes for the lock and hinges remain as evidence.

Many years ago James Ferguson, the author of many books on architectural classification, wrote an article on 'Jerusalem' for Smith's *Bible Dictionary*. In it he says: 'There seems no reason for doubting but that all the architectural tombs of Jerusalem belong to the age of the Romans, like everything that has yet been found at Petra, Baalbek, Palmyra, or Damascus, or even among the stone cities of Hauran. Throughout Syria there is no important architectural example which is anterior to their day; and all the specimens which can be called classical are strongly marked with the impress of the peculiar forms of Roman Art.' Such a statement is true in as far as it applies to the larger and better known monuments. A great number, if not the majority of the smaller tombs, rock-cut or structural, belong to a much older period than the Roman Empire: the Phoenician rock-cut necropolis near Haifa, which closely resembles the similar tombs at Paphos, is, for example, long antecedent to the Roman period.

The rock-cut tomb of antiquity, with its more or less inappropriate architectural decorations, is not the speciality of any particular race. Its earliest forms are perhaps identified with the Phoenicians, but its full development, in a colossal manner, took place under Roman influence, and in the partial rock excavation and partial construction of such tombs as the 'Prison of St. Catharine', Salamis. Tombs of an older date than the Roman Empire with any pretension to architectural character are rare in Syria, Palestine, or Cyprus, but mere excavations in the rock on an imposing scale are common enough, of which several examples on the north coast of Cyprus have been described by Mr. Hogarth in *Devia Cypria*.

The Rock-hewn Chapel of Acheiropoietos, on the Byzantine site of Lambousa, on the north coast of Cyprus.

This is a remarkable example of the transformation of an ancient tomb into a church of the early Byzantine period; a block of stone remaining in the centre of a great quarried area has been hollowed out into a Christian church, possessing narthex, a Holy Well (a common accompaniment of early chapels and tombs), and an altar of *prothesis* formed as a wall niche (fig. 15).

In this church the altar of *prothesis*, which should liturgically be on the north side of the Holy Table, shows that an altar of wood was placed sideways towards

the entrance, facing east in the usual way. The square chamber was probably a pagan tomb, originally with wall niches around it for the dead. After its con-

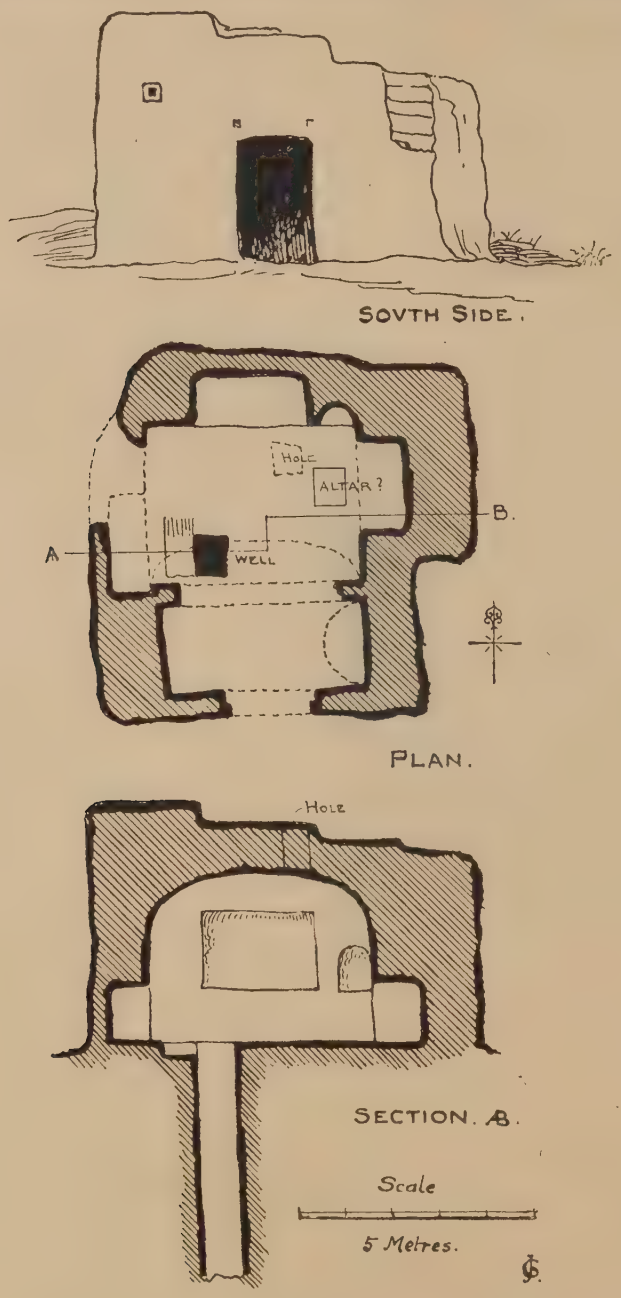


Fig. 15. Rock-hewn chapel of Acheiropoietos: elevation, plan, and section.

version into a Christian church the narthex seems to have been added by cutting out a chamber enclosing the doorway, with a remarkably thin stone partition

(about 1 ft. thick) now destroyed. Externally this rock-cube, containing the tomb-church, has been left with the step-like traces of ancient quarrying, where the stone has been levered off in layers.[1]

A very similar town site (now known as Sandoukopetra, identified by Dr. Ross in 1850 as Kermia), also on the north coast of the island, retains an almost identical cube of stone resulting from ancient quarrying, but without any chamber cavity within it.

Such a rock-hewn church as exists at Lambousa need not necessarily have been formed out of a disused pagan tomb, although it of course seems suggested by appearances. The Byzantine custom of forming churches amongst the caverns of a quarry seems to have been very popular at certain periods of church history in the Levant, and there are of course numerous examples of actually rock-cut churches and chapels. The custom of intramural interment was also at one time prevalent in the Orthodox Church, although it seems to have died out for more than a century. The numerous little churches amongst the quarries of Cyprus, which as a rule are somewhat roughly executed, taking the form of little more than a cavern with plastered and painted ceiling and walls, have frequently a tomb of some long forgotten worthy in the floor or just outside the entrance. The chief reason for assuming that the Lambousa example was originally a pagan tomb would be because the entrance is sideways to the altar.

The foregoing notes have been written with the particular object in view of drawing attention to some interesting archaeological features of the Levant, and to the yet unexplained problems they present. The Romans were, without doubt, the greatest patrons of the art of the quarryman and rock-cutter ever known in the Levant. To the 'age of the Antonines' are ascribed the culminating *tours de force* of the Baalbek masonry, and perhaps the rock-cuttings at Petra. But considering that in Europe there are no such colossal monuments of the Roman Empire, we must suppose that the scale on which the Roman work of the Levant was executed must have been due to some racial peculiarity of the workmen employed, some special aptitude on their part for the cutting and moving of such immense blocks of stone. It would be interesting to discover what race possessed this faculty.

Another very curious problem remains unsolved: how were the 'kokim' executed in the rock? how did the workman use his tools, and what tools, within a space measuring usually 6 ft. by 2 ft. by 2 ft.? The 'kokim' are in fact the greatest enigma in the matter. They are certainly clearly defined as Jewish by all authorities, and seem a peculiarity of the Jews under the Roman Empire. Their

[1] The magnificent Byzantine silver treasure belonging to the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan was found within this rock-cut church (at the bottom of the well) in 1905.

frequent occurrence all over Cyprus, and more especially in such a Greek colony as Poli, is particularly interesting. If the tombs at Nea Paphos are Semitic there is a probability that the Greek Doric ornamentation was adopted in the same way as the Roman 'Composite' was clumsily copied in the Adiabene tomb, Jerusalem.

Any description of the tombs of Cyprus seems to suggest some reference to their fate at the hands of the archaeologists and treasure-seekers of past times. Dr. Ross, the German traveller who visited Cyprus in 1852, says:

'Although the impression that the search made by Europeans for ruins, inscriptions, and other antiquities is directed merely to the discovery of hidden treasure, is one spread more or less among the peoples of the East, yet I have never found this illusion so general, so deeply rooted, and so offensive as in Cyprus. It appears to be a fact that only a few years since persons came from Italy, relying on the evidence of old family papers, and searched in Nicosia for treasures alleged to have been buried there. It is no less a fact that among some of the consular agents exist the most exaggerated ideas of the treasures to be found here, and some of these gentlemen have now and then gone out with divining rods in search of them. One such agent, a Corsican, living at Limassol, is constantly hunting for inscriptions at Amathus and Paphos; he breaks up most of them—understanding nothing of their meaning—under the illusion that gold is hidden in the stones.'[1]

The famous Cesnola with his 'Treasure of Curium', Ceccaldi, Lang, and others, carried on a trade in 'Antikas' during the latter part of the nineteenth century which has hardly been paralleled elsewhere in the world. Cesnola claims to have opened 2,000 tombs at Larnaca, 1,500 at Dali, and unrecorded numbers in other parts of the island. The Cypriots were trained into considering this a branch of industry, and antiquities from the graves were—and are even now—exported like sacks of potatoes or carob beans. This trade may be traced back to Venetian times. Lusignano in his *Chorograffia*, 1572, refers to 'molte anticaglie et cose preciose nelle sepulture di essi antichi; le quali sepolture sono fatte a modo di camere sotto terra; et non è da quattro anni, ovver sei, che hanno trovato un Re quasi intiero'.

[1] Cobham's translation.

Fig. 1. The Prison of St. Catharine: east side before removal of loose stones, etc.

Fig. 2. The Prison of St. Catharine: south end before the plinth stones were excavated
(The native is seated at the far edge of the roof stone of the small chamber)

V.—*Notes on the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' at Salamis in Cyprus.*

By Prof. John L. Myres, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 17th December, 1914.

The 'Prison of Saint Catharine' is an ancient monument on the outskirts of the ruins of Salamis, on the east coast of Cyprus. It consists of two chambers, of which the inner, rectangular with gable roof east-to-west and door at one end, is cut out of a single block of limestone, and roofed with another, which projects slightly above the modern surface of the ground. The junction of the two blocks is about half-way up the gable roof. The outer chamber is much larger and lies transversely to the inner, with its long axis north and south, and the inner chamber door in the middle of its west wall. Nearly opposite in the east wall is the outer entrance, approached from ground-level by a descent of rough steps, between walls of large squared masonry, now much damaged. The walls of the outer chamber consist of enormous upright slabs, crowned by a massive cornice, of a wide cavetto between two fillets, of which the upper projects considerably beyond the lower. On this cornice rests a semicircular vault of very large stones, the largest of which are set on end and occupy as much as a third of the vault. Within, they are carefully dressed, like the wall surfaces, but outside they were left rough, and have suffered further damage from exposure. They were not, however, intended to be seen, for there are remains of an outer casing of massive squared masonry, consisting of a cornice below, of the same profile as that of the vaulted chamber; and over this a plinth of three courses, the upper and lower plain, the middle bearing a simple *cyma* moulding, convex above. One course of the wall face is traceable still above the plinth, about half-way up the vault. The ends of the vault above the cornice are filled with rough walling, mostly recent, but including a number of stones from the plinth. A breach in the north wall serves as an entrance now, with a modern flight of steps. The building is now buried up to the level of the cornice and the great roof-slab, in a low mound; but the natural ground-level is only about a metre lower.

The 'Prison of Saint Catharine' has been repeatedly discussed by travellers. Pococke described it in his *Travels* (London, 1745, ii, p. 215) as 'a chapel ... and there seems to have been a tomb in it', but the first detailed account of it is that of Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, dated April, 1883, and translated from the German by Mr. C. D. Cobham in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London, 1883), iv, pp. 112–16, pls. xxxiii–iv; the only published plans before those given by Mr. Jeffery in the present volume of *Archaeologia*. Other references, summarized by Ohnefalsch-Richter, are as follows: L. Ross, *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1851, p. 328, 'a Phoenician tomb'; Unger and Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, Vienna, 1865, p. 533, 'a Cyclopean well-temple'; L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus* (p. 171, German edition, 1879), 'a Phoenician tomb'; A. P. di Cesnola, *Salaminia*, London, 1882, p. 2, 'part of the ancient wall, bounding the interior area of the harbour'.

Ohnefalsch-Richter (p. 115) believed the building 'to belong to a "Temenos" which was in communication with one of the principal gates in the western wall of Salamis'; the 'purpose and use of the building' he believed to have been '(1) a spring or well house, (2) a temple or sanctuary, perhaps also a tomb, (3) a treasure house, and place of refuge in time of war or trouble'. He found the principal entrance 'all but filled up with earth and stones, among them a large one', marked P in his plan, 'which once decorated the portal' (p. 113). This stone is described as bearing 'an ornament of semilunar shape on a square ground'. In his reconstruction (*l.c.*, fig. 7) it is conjecturally replaced. He noted that the lintel of the door was 'evidently hollowed out with reference to some mechanism for closing the door from within', and in the belief that this door 'could be closed only from within' (p. 115), he inferred that 'the inmates then must have been watching a treasure ... or barricading themselves from an enemy', and that the building 'was not a tomb only. Dead men cannot close a door' (p. 116); but he adds, 'what this mechanism was, I do not pretend to have discovered'. Though he quotes the stone groove for a portcullis in the doorway of the Phaneroméni Chapel at Larnaca, he does not seem to have noticed the portcullis stone at St. Catharine's, and represents its lower edge, in his section of the doorway, as part of the outer lintel. He shows the late end walls in the state in which they are now; the present entrance and staircase were in use (p. 114) though the staircase is not indicated in his plan; and the 'well' seen by Unger and Kotschy in 1861 was 'covered with earth in 1883'. It is described (p. 113) as 'of square form, built round with well-cut stones of different sizes'. In 1913 this 'well' was again quite covered with earth, which has raised the floor some inches above its level in 1883. Both in 1861 and in 1883, this 'well' was of more account than now. Unger and Kotschy took the temperature of the water (10° Réaumur) and believed

that 'the building was purposely erected over the spring'. Ohnefalsch-Richter 'pointed out the same fact concerning the ancient tomb called "Hagia Phaneroméni" near Larnaca' (p. 113), and thought that at St. Catharine's 'the spot was no doubt chosen as well for the excellent spring as for the natural sandstone rock which crops up here like an island, and out of which the inner chamber was hewn' (p. 115).

Both these conjectures rest on defective observation. In the first place, the spring is deficient, or at most seasonal. In November 1913, after exceptionally early and heavy autumn rains, the floor, though muddy, was not flooded; the peasants had nothing to say about an 'excellent spring', and there really does not seem to be more water than would accumulate from surface drainage into so large a cavity. Further, the natural rock of the neighbourhood is not sandstone but a shelly limestone, and though the limestone of the escarpment beyond Enkomi, about two miles westward, is massive enough to yield great blocks like those of St. Catharine's, it ought not to be assumed that this thick bed underlies this part of the plateau; there has certainly been a good deal of weathering and solution, and the nearest exposures, in tomb shafts farther south and south-west, show a thinner bedded rock of inferior quality. The large cubical mass of limestone containing a late chamber-tomb, a few yards south of St. Catharine's, proves nothing either way, for although, in 1913, we cleared its back wall to the level of the *loculi* of the tomb, about ten feet from the surface, we unfortunately did not probe the soft rubbish which still lay below us, to determine the relation of the tomb-block to that on which it stood. At the Phaneroméni Chapel, on the other hand, where the tomb-block has been completely exposed, it is certain that whereas the cavity in which it stands is excavated in a ferruginous breccia, the monolithic inner chamber and the remaining half of the roof of the other are of a massive limestone very like that of St. Catharine's, and that these great blocks must have been quarried elsewhere and transported for some distance. And in the shaft which was sunk in 1913 immediately outside the north-west angle of the large chamber, we found under the original level, two metres below the present mound-surface, nothing but an undisturbed marl, like that which underlies the thick limestone in the escarpment at Enkomi.

The monument has been used for a long while as a chapel and a gap in the north end serves as the modern entrance (pl. XXII, fig. 1). It has an annual festival; the winter drainage-water on the floor was formerly believed to be a spring; the thorn-bushes near it are sacred to St. Catharine, and must not be harmed; and in 1913 I found one small bush covered with rags, such as one sees about saints' tombs in the Near East. About a quarter of a mile away to the west

is a more ancient sanctuary, completely destroyed, except a few votive terra-cottas indicating a female deity.

Mr. Jeffery's account of the monument couples it with the tombs of large masonry in Cyprus and on the Syrian coast, some of which are of Graeco-Roman date.[1] Others, however, such as the 'Royal Tomb' at Politiko in Cyprus, and the monolithic and megalithic chambers of Amrît and Selwân (Siloam), are certainly older; and in Cyprus itself built chamber-tombs with flat or gabled roofs of large slabs occur in the Late Minoan necropolis at Enkomi, only two miles inland. The British Museum's people who excavated at Enkomi in 1896 thought that St. Catharine's was 'Mycenaean'. The earth and stones which blocked the ancient entrance were moved under the direction of Mr. Jeffery in 1912, and a little conservation and probing was done on behalf of the Cyprus Museum in November 1913, in connexion with further excavation at Enkomi. Of this work a detailed report is appended (see Appendix).

The new facts which have been established by recent work and the principal conclusions from them are as follows: (1) The ancient entrance is found to have been closed by a stone portcullis, sliding in a groove in each door-jamb. When the tomb was rifled, the portcullis and door-jambs were cut away, so that the grooves are only seen behind the lintel; but the upper edge of the portcullis itself, perforated to take the raising tackle, remains jammed in its place, and sealed down by a mass of rubble cement (fig. 1).

(2) Similar rubble cement fills the space between the masonry of the façade and the upper surface of the vault-stones, and is certainly contemporary with the façade.

(3) The large stone marked P in Ohnefalsch-Richter's drawings, with a semicircular prominence on a rectangular foundation, lay formerly among the débris in the ancient entrance, and is now broken; but it has now been raised to the surface, and the parts have been reassembled. Mr. Jeffery, following Ohnefalsch-Richter's replacement of this stone over the lintel, suggests that it filled the rear end of a semicircular vault over the entrance-passage: and there is a free-standing arch of this kind over the doorway of a Graeco-Roman tomb at Kharcibet-es-Sûk in Palestine, published by Conder (*Memoirs of the Survey of Eastern Palestine*, i, 142–4). This tomb has a rectangular superstructure with vertical sides and a moulded cornice in good late masonry. The arch, which has late Graeco-Roman mouldings on its face, stands free (the masonry having been destroyed from about it) in front of the façade, with which it is unconnected

[1] *Supra*, p. 171.

either by a P-stone or by any kind of bonding. An earlier tomb, at Amrît in Phoenicia, published by Renan (*Mission en Phénicie*, pl. xvii), has a gable-roofed antechamber over the entrance, but this is at some distance from the façade, and communicates with the tomb by a tunnel; so it is not a very close parallel. Apart from these, there is usually no protection of the entrance to chamber-tombs in Syria or in Cyprus. And no one has yet found any stones from such an entrance

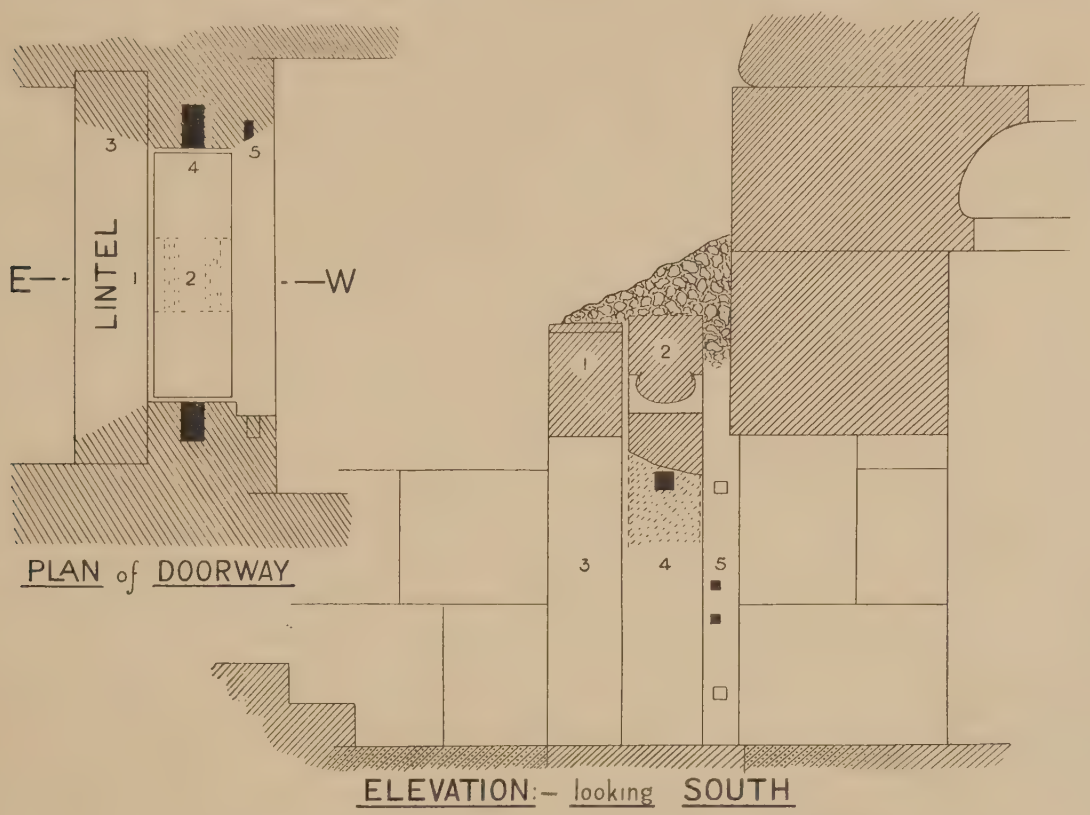


Fig. 1. The Prison of St. Catharine: plan and elevation of entrance.

vault; or explained how it was adjusted to the entrance staircase, which begins less than a metre (0·85 m.) from the outer face of the doorway, and when it was complete would reach the ground-level only about four metres from it.

(4) In the course of small clearances round the outside of the monument we have found that the blocks of the external cornice, as well as the masonry of the façade, are set in the same cement as the rubble filling; that where the present mound surface rises towards the cap-stone of the inner chamber, the cornice is omitted, and the lowest course of the plinth rests on rubble cement; that similar

rubble cement, containing larger unhewn stones, seals down the cap-stone along its three exposed edges; and that the upright slabs of the vaulted chamber have a backing of rubble cement with large stones, filling the space between their outer surfaces and the sloping side of the cavity in which the monument is built. The material in which this cavity is cut is apparently not limestone, as has been commonly supposed, but a tough sandy marl like that in which the Late Minoan tombs at Enkomi are found. The great block in which the inner chamber is cut is therefore probably not *in situ*, but has been brought from elsewhere like the similar but ruder monument near Larnaca known as the Phaneroméni (Annunciation) Chapel, which is of a similar limestone and lies in a cavity cut out of a ferruginous breccia. The nearest source for such a block is the escarpment overlooking the Minoan necropolis at Enkomi; and this escarpment comes round under Enkomi village, descending gently to within a mile of St. Catharine's.

No monument in Cyprus can be compared with the 'Prison of St. Catharine' for the size of its masonry or the grandeur of its design. But two other rock-chambers illustrate some of its peculiarities. The 'Annunciation Chapel' (*Agia Phaneroméni*) close to Larnaca has a monolithic inner chamber, with a portcullis door, and an outer chamber with walls of fine squared masonry supporting a single massive roof-slab, $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres wide, and covering $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres of the original length of the tomb. The Phaneroméni, like the 'Prison of St. Catharine', is set in a deep excavation (vertical-sided, however, because it is cut in a compact breccia) large enough to admit workmen while the monolith was being moved into place; and probably it was protected eventually by a packing of rubble in cement like that at St. Catharine's. The Phaneroméni lies in a part of the outskirts of Larnaca which yields Graeco-Roman tombs, and is so far from the older part of ancient Kition as to be probably of late date. There is, however, nothing in the design or workmanship of the Phaneroméni to give direct indication of age. Mere rudeness of workmanship counts for little, particularly as the internal door-wall is much better dressed than the others; and as this is the wall least likely to have been altered, if an attempt was made later to enlarge the chamber, or to probe its walls for treasure, it is probable that the bad workmanship is late. But even the low curved profile of the outer ceiling is of a common Graeco-Roman form, and the traces of mortar between the blocks of the masonry support this date. If leave could be obtained to excavate what is left of the original entrance, at the far end of the cavity in which the Phaneroméni stands, its contents might help to settle the age of the monument.

A similar mass of limestone lies a few yards to the south of St. Catharine's, and contains a chamber-tomb of late form, with a full-length niche on each side, and

two *loculi* (or *kokim*) in the side opposite the door. These may be later additions, as they break out through the surface of the mass and are made up with slabs in the débris packed about it. One of them contained a late Graeco-Roman burial in a terra-cotta coffin. Here, too, though the niches are probably an addition to the original plan, there was nothing to suggest that any part of the tomb is of earlier than Roman date. A single piece of Cypriote geometrical pottery, of the eighth or ninth century, from the disturbed soil round this tomb, proves no more as to its age than the fragments of similar fabric from the surface soil at St. Catharine's. This block, like the Phaneroméni, and St. Catharine's Prison itself, does not seem to be *in situ*, but stands embedded in loose earth and rubble, probably the filling of a similar cavity.

Yet another chambered mass of limestone lies a few yards south-west of this one with its upper surface almost level with the ground. The chamber has been plundered, and as yet no attempt has been made to explore its outside.

The side of the cavity at St. Catharine's slopes inwards, probably to make a firmer edge over which to slide the great slabs into their place. The marl in which it is cut seemed to be quite undisturbed, and the only indication of date was given by one small bowl-handle of Graeco-Phoenician ware, not later than the sixth century, and perhaps a good deal earlier, as this style only changed slowly during the Early Iron Age. This fragment was found adhering to the mass of rubble cement, below the original ground level. The building of the monument therefore cannot be placed earlier than the Early Iron Age, though it may, so far as this evidence goes, be later. Minoan date was in any case made improbable by the discovery in 1913 that not only the necropolis, but the actual settlement belonging to this age was on and below the escarpment already mentioned, beyond Enkomi, fully two miles away. The Hellenic Salamis seems to be a quite distinct foundation, of the Early Iron Age. A very similar change of site took place also at Kition, where the Minoan remains are round the Salt Lake, south-east of Old Larnaca, while the Early Iron Age settlement is under Bamboula Hill to the west, facing, like Hellenic Salamis, into the open sea on a small inlet of it.

Positive evidence as to the date of St. Catharine's is only offered by five features: the form of the inner chamber, the portcullis door, the vaulted roof, the profile of the façade, and the great cornice.

(1) Take first the form of the inner chamber. Tombs of finely dressed masonry, with stone doors, are known in several necropoleis in Cyprus and in Syria. On the mainland they are usually found violated, or contaminated by re-burial. In Cyprus they begin in the Late Minoan necropolis at Enkomi, with corbel vault-

ing and flat slabs, very like the construction suggested by the inner chamber at St. Catharine's. Later there are corbelled barrel-vaults, gable roofs of tilted slabs, and flat roofs relieved by a corbelled dome of rougher masonry. These built tombs cannot be dated exactly, but a gabled tomb at Amathus is shown by the encroachments of a fifth-century neighbour to be at least as early as that. The barrel-roofed tombs may be later than the gabled ones, if the late date of barrel-roofs in the rock-cut tombs is any guide.

(2) Next, we have to consider the stone portcullis. One such tomb at Amathus had a stone door, turning on a pivot (B.M. *Excavations in Cyprus*, 1899), and part of such a door is known from Sidon (Renan, *Mission en Phénicie*, pl. xlv, 4, 5, 6). The Phaneroméni Chapel at Larnaca has a grooved doorway with a slit in the roof, for a portcullis to be let down from outside; a portcullis tomb at Râs-el-Ekra near Amwâs (Emmaus) in Judaea is figured by Clermont Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, ii, p. 94. This tomb is Graeco-Roman, or at least much altered in late times: a nearer parallel to St. Catharine's is supplied by a tomb at Selwân (Siloam) in Judaea which has two grooves for sliding doors, but has lost its slabs (Clermont Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i, pp. 317–18). This tomb belongs to the same necropolis as the monolithic chamber which will be quoted below, and probably belongs to the time of the Jewish Monarchy: not later therefore than the first years of the sixth century. The portcullis door is evidently no clear evidence as to age: it occurs at several periods.

(3) The vaulted roof carries out an arch construction, which is exceedingly rare before Roman times, in a style and with materials which suggest at first sight that ordinary arch construction was unfamiliar to the builders, and that they were trying an experiment based on acquaintance with the mechanics of the gable roof of tilted slabs: the cylindrical form of the interior being perhaps suggested by the cylindrical corbel vaults, though the date of these in Cyprus is uncertain. But the semicircular inner surface of the stones is truly cut, and is of the same quality as the other fine masonry of the monument. Note that the only other example of the cornice moulding is from a gable-roofed tomb at Larnaca, published by Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1883 (*J.H.S.* iv, pl. xxxiv, 6), but now destroyed.

The vaulted roof raises at once the large question of the history of the arch in the Nearer East. Only a summary of the evidence can be attempted here. No one doubts that in Roman times the use of the arch spread rapidly over the whole extent of the Mediterranean world, and that magnificent examples of arched masonry are found in Syria and Palestine. No one doubts, either, that the arch was known, though only occasionally used, usually for subterranean

vaulting, in Egypt from the Third Dynasty both in brick and in stone; and in Babylonia, in brick, from almost as early a period. On the other hand, Greek builders work without arches, with a few disputed exceptions. For subterranean work, and for openings too wide to be spanned by a single block, the corbelled 'false arch' is used regularly, from early Minoan times onwards, both in Greece itself, in the islands, and in Asia Minor, where some of the Carian corbel-vaults are of large dimensions.[1] It is in the Levant that the evidence is perplexing. In Cyprus, rock-tombs with a barrel-vault like those round the Turabi Teke at Larnaca[2] seem to be always of late Roman date: even in Ptolemaic times rock-tombs have only a slightly curved roof, and tombs of the Hellenic period seem to have been usually cut nearly horizontal above, though the middle of the roof has often weathered more than the sides. Built tombs are not uncommon in Cyprus, but few of them are of known date, as nearly all that are known have been plundered. Some have a flat roof of slabs; some a gable roof of two sets of slabs propping each other; others have corbel vaults, trimmed to a gable-shape, like those at Xylotymbou, or a barrel-shape, like that at Larnaca. It has been commonly supposed that the flat roofs and gables are mainly Hellenic and Graeco-Phoenician, and that the cylinder-shaped roofs are Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman. Mr. Jeffery alone claims one Larnaca tomb as a Minoan survival (p. 170 above).

On the mainland, the 'tabernacle' tomb at Amrît has its monolithic roof cut to a cylindrical cavity; the monolithic chamber at Siloam has the same. Both have the same kind of cornice as St. Catharine's, but neither can be dated.

The great stone vaults at low levels in Jerusalem are now generally regarded as Graeco-Roman; but as they consist of regularly planned quoins usually dressed with a marginal draft, they are not very close parallels to the rude megalithic structure of St. Catharine's. We can draw from them no conclusion as to date.

(4) For the façade, and external profile of St. Catharine's, there are now some fresh observations.

In the plans in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv, pl. xxxiii–iv, no trace of the ancient façade of the monument is recorded, and a pyramidal superstructure is suggested, on the analogy of corbel-vaulted tombs at Xylotymbou. But these tombs have no arch within; their step-profile results only from the undressed outer edges of the corbel-vault courses; and they were designed, as Ohnefalsch-Richter admits, to be covered with earth. They had not in fact any superstructure at all.

[1] Paton and Myres, *J.H.S.*, xvi, pp. 245–54.
[2] Myres, *J.H.S.*, xvii, p 163.

There is, however, a considerable fragment of ancient façade still in place at St. Catharine's. It forms part of the east face, a little south of the entrance. It consists of the following members:

(1) At the base, and apparently at the ground level, or only a little above it, is a replica of the great cornice of the inside, set back to back with this on top of the upright wall-slabs. Another block of this external cornice stands nearly in place north of the entrance, and two fragments of another (see p. 192 below) lie at a little distance. The L-shaped holes in the projecting upper edge of this cornice seem to have been made for the purpose of tethering animals at the festival.

(2) Above this cornice stands a plain course, set flush with the outer face of the wall-slabs and with the concavity of the cornice.

(3) Above the plain course is a simple *cyma reversa*, slightly quirked below, over a plain fillet.

(4) Then comes another plain fillet course, which seems to have projected slightly beyond the face of course 3, but is much decayed and perhaps displaced as well.

(5) Then begins the vertical wall of the superstructure, of blocks on edge set back well behind course 4. Only one course is preserved, but it would take at least two more to come level with the crown of the vault. Above this, Mr. Jeffery is probably right (p. 172) in restoring a prominent cornice, though conjectures may differ as to its profile.

Whether there was any pyramid or other crown to the monument, cannot be determined now.

The whole of this façade rests on the outer edge of the great wall-slabs, and all but the great cornice stands clear of the vault stones behind it. The interval is filled with large rubble, set in the same cement as was used to seal the portcullis. That this is part of the original construction of the façade is clear, for it was filled in by successive layers, to the level of each course of the façade, and roughly paved at these levels with flat pieces of limestone. Large patches of the same rubble cement adhere to the vault-stones above the entrance, and elsewhere.

From the position and dimensions of the wall-slabs, there can be little doubt that the same façade was repeated at each end of the building; and there are a number of worked blocks from it in the present filling of the north end, approximately in their original positions; but they are ill-fitted, and have perhaps been replaced. Certainly the upper part was much repaired not long ago by a mason named Florenzos from Agios Sergios village, who was an elderly man when he

visited our excavations in 1913. At the south end, the whole of the walling seems to be modern.

This façade, as will be seen, gets part of its effect by slight projections and retreat of plain courses, which is a common feature of the masonry of Syria; and part by the use of a *cyma reversa*, with the convexity uppermost and nearest to the wall face, and the concavity slightly quirked below. On buildings which carry mouldings like the great cornice, I can find no example of this kind of *cyma*, either in plinth or in cornice; but the other *cyma*, with the concave next to the wall face, occurs twice in cornices on built tombs at Amrît, which are associated with the monolithic and megalithic tombs already mentioned, and fall within the same phase of style and workmanship.[1] This, however, need not surprise us, for this *cyma* is the regular profile for capitals in the Late Minoan age, and survives here, only slightly modified, round the eastward colonization area, just as it survives in Etruscan architecture westward. The *cyma* of the plinth at St. Catharine's is, however, itself one which does not seem to appear in the Levant until the Graeco-Roman period, and then is ubiquitous. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that the façade of St. Catharine's is of earlier than Graeco-Roman date. But was the façade affixed later, with the cement filling already mentioned (p. 188), to a vaulted tomb of earlier date? The answer to this question is given by the internal cornice.

This great cornice has a quite different history. It consists of a concave member between two fillets, the upper of which projects considerably beyond the other. Both fillets seem to have been originally flat; this is best seen where the moulding returns into the wall, at a misfit in the south end—but they are so much damaged that they often have the appearance of a *torus* moulding. The curve is not quite uniform, and is usually elliptical, of shorter radius above than below. It will be seen at once that this is not one of the regular Greek or Graeco-Roman mouldings. But it is not unique in Cyprus. A good example is figured in *J.H.S.*, iv, pl. xxxiv, 6, from a gable-roofed chamber-tomb in Old Larnaca, now destroyed; and it is common in the masonry of the Syrian coast. It belongs to a series ultimately copied from an Egyptian cornice of conventional papyrus foliage which, though rare before the Eighteenth Dynasty, becomes habitual in the Ramessid age and persists till Roman times. In Syria and Palestine it passes through a fairly clear series of changes which can be dated approximately at several points.

The earliest datable example is a door-jamb from Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish)

[1] Renan, *Mission en Phénicie*, pls. xiv, xvi.

which is assigned by Prof. Flinders Petrie (*Tell-el-Hesy*, p. 26) to the ninth or tenth century. The torus moulding at the base is narrow, the cavetto decreases in radius from below upwards, and turns over beyond the horizontal line, meeting the upper fillet, which is narrow and prominent, at an acute angle. On the monolithic chamber at Siloam, which cannot well be later than 600 B.C. and may be earlier, the torus is still narrow, the cavetto undercut, and the fillet narrow and prominent. On several chamber-tombs at Amrît (which seem to be collectively about the same period; one of them has the Egyptian parapet of *uraeus* snakes above the cornice) the torus is wider, and the cavetto is of narrower radius below than above, and is not undercut. Here the fillet is still narrow; but on the carved sarcophagus from Athiénu in Cyprus, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no. 1364 of my *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection*, 1914), the torus and fillet are widened at the expense of the cavetto, which is also of much larger radius, and meets the fillet at a larger angle. This sarcophagus is securely dated by its archaic Greek reliefs to the beginning of the fifth century. Then on a Punic tombstone from Sulcis in Sardinia (V. Crespi, *Catalogo*, pl. i, fig. 1),[1] not earlier than the fifth century, and perhaps a good deal later, we have the decadence; and in a fragmentary altar from Phoenicia, published by Renan (*Mission*, p. 162), the cavetto is almost flat, and the torus is replaced by a western moulding of three members, dying out into the wall face in characteristic Greek fashion. In this series the great cornice at St. Catharine's finds its morphological place among the middle group represented by the chamber-tombs at Amrît; and it would be difficult to believe that it was of much later date than these, if it were not for three other considerations: (1) that the cavetto cornice persists in Egypt until Roman times; (2) that it is copied in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, which cannot be much (if at all) earlier than the first century A.D.; and (3) that it is used in conjunction with debased volute capitals (imitated from such as stand in the rock-tombs at Politiko) in two late monuments in Punic Africa, the Mausoleum of Thugga,[2] which is commonly assigned to the first or second century B.C., and the so-called Medracen or 'Tomb of King Juba',[3] which may be as late as the Augustan Age. These probably carry with them the cornice of the 'ancient house' in Malta;[4] the almost purely Egyptian doorways of the

[1] I have only seen the reproduction in Perrot-Chipiez, iii, fig. 233.

[2] Playfair, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, London, 1877; reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, iii, fig. 262.

[3] Brunon, *Mem. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1873–4, pp. 304–53, pl. vii; de la Blanchère, *De Rege Juba regis Jubae filio*, Paris, 1883, pp. 65–7; Perrot-Chipiez, iii, pp. 374–6.

[4] Houel, *Voyage pittoresque des Iles de Sicile, de Malte, et de Lipari*, Paris, 1782–7, iv, pl. 259; Perrot-Chipiez, iii, fig. 261.

rock-tombs of Medain Salih in North Arabia;[1] and an altar with Graeco-Roman inscription from Phoenicia[2] which might otherwise have passed as older than its dedication. From the western examples it is in any case clear that this ancient-looking cornice passed into rare use in architecture of the Graeco-Roman Age.

There remains therefore no feature of the 'Prison of St. Catharine' which can be regarded as indisputably earlier than the Christian era; and probably Mr. Jeffery is right in associating this monument neither with the Cypro-Mycenaean nor with the Graeco-Phoenician group of 'built tombs', but with the Graeco-Roman.

[1] Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, 1885, p. 16; Perrot-Chipiez, iii, fig. 179.
[2] Renan, *Mission en Phénicie*, pl. 22; cf. p. 162; Perrot-Chipiez, iii, fig. 78.

APPENDIX.

Operations undertaken on behalf of the Cyprus Museum at St. Catharine's Prison, in November, 1913.

In the course of excavations in the Minoan necropolis near Enkomi, of which a report is in preparation, the opportunity was given for a few days' work at 'St. Catharine's Prison', with the object (1) of completing the clearance of the ancient entrance begun by Mr. Jeffery in 1912; (2) of determining the ancient ground-level and some details of construction; (3) of securing the monument against risk of damage by rain-water, and by unnecessary wear and tear during its annual festival. The work was done by villagers from Enkomi, under my personal supervision, with the assistance of Mr. Menélaos Merkédes, Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, and Mr. L. H. D. Buxton, of Exeter College, Oxford.

(*a*) *Conservation work round the ancient entrance.* We began by clearing the sides of the dromos, and built a retaining-wall on each side, a little in rear of the face of the original side walls, so as to exhibit the old masonry wherever it is preserved. On the south side, two large fallen blocks were in a dangerous position above the doorway. One of these (1), the original place of which was not certain, was removed to a safe bed on the ancient rubble masonry above the doorway. The other (2), which was found to be part of a large block from the façade, was underpinned with dry walling, where it lay. The large fallen block (3), which lies in front of the façade south of the doorway, seems to give some support to the façade, and was therefore left where it stands; for further security, another block (4) belonging to the façade was set against it, and the façade was carefully underpinned with rubble. This part of the monument ought to be examined at intervals, for further signs of subsidence, or damage from weather. The heap of débris, which had been thrown up south of the doorway, in the recent clearance of the dromos, was entirely removed. A large piece (5) of the great stone P in Ohnefalsch-Richter's drawings (*J. H. S.*, 1883, pl. xxxiii, 7 and 10) was found in this débris and has been fitted to the other half (6), which lies nearly in front of the entrance. Two other large stones (7, 8), partly embedded in the earth a little to the north-east of the entrance, were found to be parts of a single block from the great cornice, and were fitted together: it was not safe to set them upright on their original down-side, because their lower moulding was broken away, so they lie on their backs near the monument.

At the south-east corner, a large cornice-block (9) has fallen forward, but still stands partly on its bed. The original position of this stone is quite certain, and if it were replaced the appearance of the façade would be much improved on this side. It was not possible with the means at our disposal to do this: but it could easily be adjusted with simple tackle and a larger force of workmen. The suggestion was made to me that at the annual festival there would be abundance of labour available, if a skilled superintendent could be sent at that time.

(*b*) *Investigation of the ancient rubble and cement.* The displacement of this block (9) gave opportunity to examine the ancient setting of the stones, which we found to be in a layer of gypsum cement, very white and hard. It fills the horizontal courses, and in part also the vertical joints; and the same cement is used to consolidate the rubble filling between the façade and the great arch-stones behind it. Careful examination of the rubble above the ancient

Fig. 1. The Prison of St. Catharine : north end, showing the modern breach which serves as an entrance and remains of outer masonry and plinth. Excavations in the rubble filling outside the monument were made afterwards at A.

Fig. 2. The Prison of St. Catharine : south-west corner, showing the remains of the outer masonry and the out-fallen block (1) of the 'great cornice' below the plinth courses (2–5)

doorway and behind the fragment of façade on the east face of the monument showed that all this filling is original; and that it was laid in courses level with the courses of the façade, each course paved with thin flat stones before the next was added. The significance of this gypsum cement is considered in the next section (*c*) in connexion with the work at the north-west corner.

(*c*) *The ancient ground-levels and methods of construction.* At the south-west corner, a large piece of the gypsum filling is well exposed, where a block of the plain course which separates the mouldings has been removed. Beyond it, on the west side, this course was buried in earth. Of the upper moulding three blocks are in position, corresponding with those on the east side; but on clearing the earth, we found that the great cornice is absent on the west, and that the plain course rests on rubble in gypsum cement, like that at the corner. This shows that the original level of the mound in which the monument stands was quite two feet higher on the west than on the east. It shows also that the side chamber, whose roof-slab interrupts the plain course and upper moulding, is part of the original design, and that it was intended to be covered with earth. Further evidence of this is offered by the rough packing of large unworked stones, laid against each other in two ranks in gypsum cement along each side of the roof-slab, to protect its junction with the walls of the side chamber. The earth at the south-west corner has now been replaced to the original level, at the foot of the plain course, and has been graded along the south side of the roof-slab so as to expose its edge and the more prominent stones of its packing. The west and north edges of the roof-slab we did not disturb, but we cut out some thorn-bushes both here and between some of the arch-stones.

At the north-west corner, the whole of the façade has been destroyed, even on the west side, and the packing of large stones along the outside of the north wall is not original. It probably belongs to the recent reconstruction of the end wall and the sill of the modern entrance, to which reference will be made later. In this region the earthen mound which encloses the whole monument is at its highest; and as the outside of the great chamber can be examined here below ground-level without disturbing anything, a shaft was cut in the earthen mound, on the north side of the north-west angle, and extended carefully towards the monument. The mound consists of clean earth from the surrounding surface, with a few Byzantine lamps and other late pottery immediately below the turf, and a very few fragments of Graeco-Phoenician pottery in the first half-metre. At about one metre from the surface this clean earth passed into the same chalky subsoil as underlies the adjacent fields, and at two metres we found the stiff marl (χώνος, *chonos*) with which we were familiar from our work in the necropolis at Enkomi, sloping towards the monument. In the cavity bounded by this slope of marl was a packing of large rubble, in gypsum cement, about a metre outwards from the great vertical slabs which form the chamber wall. This mode of construction is already familiar from the built tomb of the British Museum's excavations at Amathus,[1] where the masonry was erected in a similar cavity large enough for the builders to work outside as well as inside their wall: then the space outside was filled with the same kind of rubble in gypsum cement, which was carried up on to the slopes of the gable roof. At Amathus the profile of the cavity was not traced: at St. Catharine's we have the added detail of an outer slope. This served to facilitate the descent of the great slabs into their place, and gave a stronger platform to carry their weight when they came near the edge of the excavation. The backing of rubble cement, which can be traced wherever it has been looked for around the monument, served the double purpose of filling up the cavity, and of reinforcing the upright flags against the outward thrust of the arch.

[1] *Excavations in Cyprus*, 1899, p. 91.

(*d*) *Conservation work round the modern entrance.* North of the ancient doorway, towards the north-east corner, the whole of the outside cornice and moulded casing has been stripped, but one large cornice-block has been replaced back to back with the inside cornice. Here the earth-level has been so much raised (probably by periodically casting forth rain-wash from the interior, through the breach which is the modern entrance) that the cornice was half buried, and it had been necessary to obstruct the lower part of the breach with two rough steps set in the thickness of the wall, to keep out the surface water. The same rise of level had also caused a good deal of surface water to drain in the direction of the ancient entrance. With the double object of recovering the old ground-level, and of turning the surface water away from the monument, the surface soil, which contained a mass of large rubble stones, has now been cut away for a width of one metre from the monument, and the shallow trench thus formed has been made to drain northward, and is filled with rubble lightly covered with soil, level with the base of the cornice, and protected outwards by a low retaining wall of larger rubble. The stones which obstructed the lower part of the breach have been removed, a fresh rubble pavement has been laid in front of the breach, to take the wear and tear of footsteps, and beyond this a small area has been cleared to the original surface-level of the mound, and drained at its north-east corner by a covered trench full of rubble, running due north. These slight alterations will make the modern entrance through the breach in the north wall both safer and cleaner, so long as it remains in use. If it should be decided later to use only the ancient door, removing the staircase, and barring the modern entrance (which should be done by a chain or railing in the breach, so as not to darken the interior or introduce fresh stone-work), the greater part of this area should be filled up again ; but the original earth-level should be observed to the north of the angle, in the same way as on the east.

West of the modern entrance, the outside cornice was found to have been destroyed and replaced by a course of later stones up to the present earth-level. There is no reason for disturbing this.

(*e*) *Fencing and disposal of loose stones.* The 'traces of other walls running southwards, and a smaller Cyclopean structure not yet excavated,' which were noted by Ohnefalsch-Richter (p. 115) were not recognizable in 1913. But a number of half-buried blocks, scattered over the mound and in the adjoining fields, were carefully cleared. They were all found to be merely loose stones from the monument, and were therefore collected and built into a rough fence round the site, leaving only the stone P, and a few other blocks of the largest size, standing free within the enclosure. This seemed the simplest way to discourage plundering, and to detect it.

VI.—*Researches at Rickmansworth: Report on Excavations made in* 1914 *on behalf of the British Museum.* *By* Reginald A. Smith, *Esq., F.S.A., with Geological Report by* Henry Dewey, *Esq., F.G.S.*

Read 20th May, 1915.

After two short seasons spent in investigating the high terrace of the lower Thames, it was considered desirable to examine the gravel of a tributary, in order to equate if possible the various deposits in the two valleys, and to confirm or correct the sequence deduced from former excavations at home and abroad. Two sites near Rickmansworth, at and just below the junction of the Gade and Colne rivers, have been known for years as productive of palaeoliths, and every facility was readily afforded for examining the gravel in pits at Croxley Green and Mill End by the respective owners, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Lord Rendlesham, and the lessees, the Rickmansworth Gravel Co., Ltd., and Messrs. Horwood Bros. Leave of absence was granted by the Trustees of the British Museum, and nine days were devoted to the work in October, the means being provided from a fund under the control of our Vice-President, Sir Hercules Read, Keeper of the Department concerned. Assistance from the geological side was given unofficially by Mr. Dewey, of H.M. Geological Survey, who has read through the paper in manuscript, and contributes an appendix dealing with some of the geological problems involved.

A preliminary statement as to the aims and limitations of the present Report will serve to concentrate attention and criticism on essential points that can and ought to be cleared up by further investigation in more than one direction. Reliance must necessarily be placed to a large extent on the latest published geological map of the district, and on the current classification of palaeolithic implements. Improvements are possible in both, but a general distrust of one or the other must be deprecated in favour of a frank discussion of difficulties that appear in the course of such investigations as those officially conducted for the past three seasons. Any occurrence of palaeoliths in reputed plateau-gravel cannot be disposed of by a wholesale rejection of the French classification; and the established sequence of types may outlive current views as to the date and origin of the plateau-spreads.

It would be unwise as well as unjust to overlook all that has been written by others with regard to the Rickmansworth gravels; hence a short history of local research is necessary, quite apart from the general survey given in the geological section of the Report. For obvious reasons, extracts are given instead of summaries, in order to bring out the interdependence of geology and archaeology. As little was actually found in October, the opportunity will be taken, with the permission of their owners, to report on various collections from the two sites at Rickmansworth, and thus give at least a limiting date for the gravel-deposits.

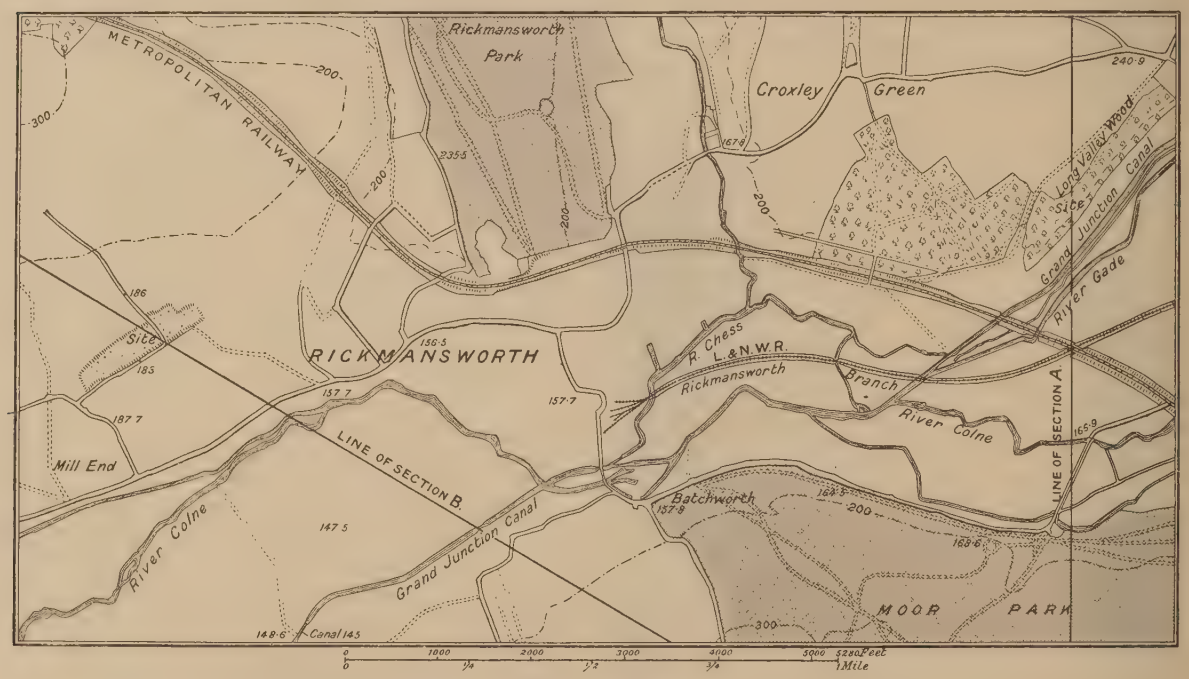


Fig. 1. Sketch-map showing excavation sites at Mill End and Long Valley Wood, Croxley Green, with lines of sections (figs. 11 and 12).

At Mill End (see plan, fig. 1) work was confined to the north-east angle of Messrs. Horwood's pit, 50 ft.-64 ft. west of Berry Lane, the face being at that time about 155 ft. south of the hedge. After the removal of about one foot of soil, which contained a few worked flints later than the Drift, the 17 ft. of gravel was excavated in steps from the top, the whole being sifted and thrown clear so as to prevent any confusion of levels. The top 2 ft. of gravel was loose and whitish, without any earthy matrix, and below there was loose reddish gravel or red earth containing fewer stones. The material is noted below (p. 220), but archaeologically it was of little interest, as not a single implement or worked flake came to light between the soil and the chalk floor, though

every spadeful was passed through a sieve and carefully examined. The opportunity was taken of measuring two sandstone boulders left on the pit-floor, evidently from the gravel, and said to come from the lower levels; both were approximately 20 in. by 16 in. by 8 in., and can hardly have been deposited by normal river-action. The gravel-diggers working about 60 ft. farther west found one implement during the four days, at a depth of 16½ ft., but parted with better specimens from the pit, one (fig. 2) being said to come from just above the chalk in the extreme north-east angle of the pit, a few feet east of our excavation. It is more rolled than most, and is grey to black with yellowish patches, an earlier surface being bluish white. Its interest lies in the sloping

Fig. 2. Flint implement from Mill End: front, side, and back views. (⅔)

butt, which is broad and squared, and is frequently seen in the Rickmansworth series. The point is thin, and the sides slightly zigzag in the late Chelles style.

The floor of the pit has been levelled, but a hole was visible from which gravel 5 ft. deep had been taken, and a pinnacle of chalk 6 ft. above the floor was laid bare during the excavation. The surface of the chalk was therefore anything but level.

Fourteen implements found by the workmen at Mill End were acquired by Mr. Dewey, but in no case was the depth given. Both the sharp and heavy crusted butts are represented, the outline being triangular or sub-triangular. One is definitely water-worn, and two or three tend to an ochreous patina. Most are of Chelles appearance, but one brown oval specimen, 5 in. long, has one face flat, the other with strong convexity.

More satisfactory results were obtained in Long Valley Wood, south-east of Croxley Green (see plan, fig. 1), just north of the 200 ft. contour. The first

site for excavation (fig. 3) was selected as being an undisturbed portion of the bench, or raised floor of the pit, consisting of about 4 ft. of gravel resting on the chalk, the thickness of material previously removed being about 15 ft. It was midway between the pit-railway and the northern face of the pit, and east of the brick-earth mass left standing, about 180 yds. from the road dividing the pit from Croxleyhall Wood (about the letter L of Long Valley Wood on the 6 in.

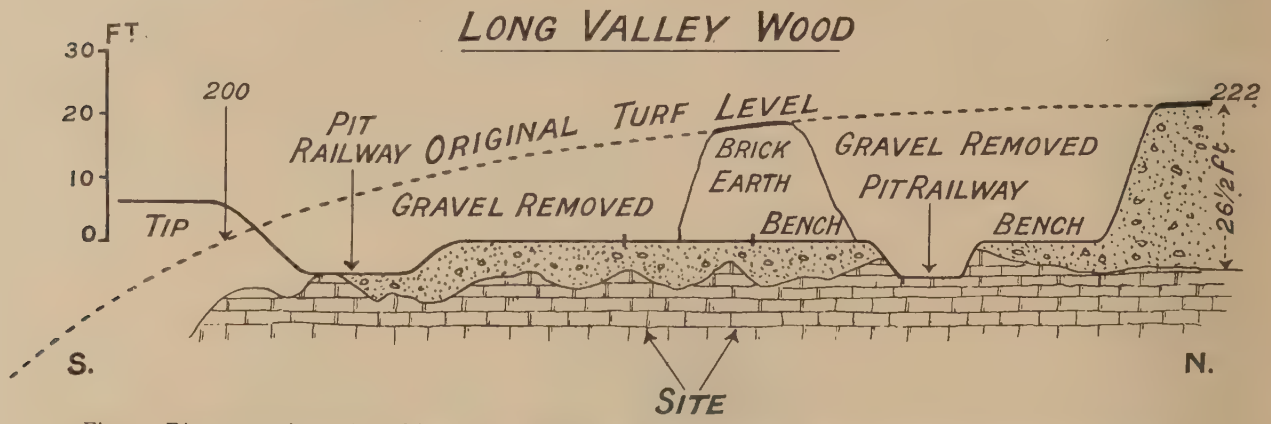


Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section of Long Valley Wood pit, showing site of excavation and original surface level.

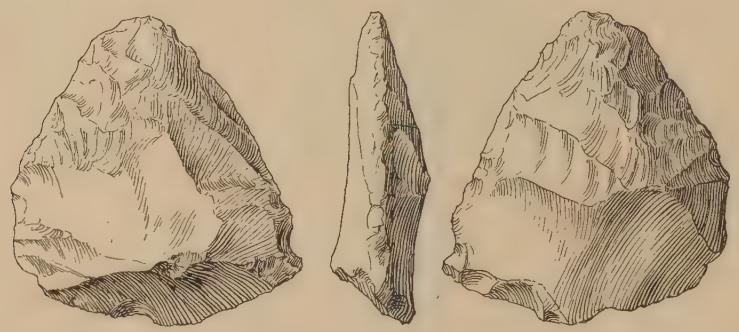


Fig. 4. Worked flint found close to chalk floor, Long Valley Wood: front, side, and back views. (⅔)

Ordnance map). Another cutting (on the right) for a pit-railway has been made since.

In the 4 ft. of gravel immediately over the chalk were collected about forty flakes, the largest of which measured 3 in. Most of them showed signs of use as scrapers on the edge, but their forms were not typical of any industry, and can only be compared with a large number found in the Lower Gravel of the 100-ft. terrace at Swanscombe in 1912.[1] The patination, lustre, and condition are much the same in both cases, but whereas at Swanscombe any chipping of

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 182.

the edge was exceptional, at Croxley it was the rule. Among the latter series were three flakes (one almost a blade) with white patina, and a thick triangular flake that may have served as a pointed implement. Only one specimen was found at all approaching the peculiar Strépy type.

Besides the flakes, an implement (or part of one) was found within 2 ft. of the chalk floor. It is triangular (fig. 4), one angle being more rounded than the other below. Two side-edges are straight and sharp, the third a broad sloping

Fig. 5. Hand-axe from Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views. (⅔)

facet, perhaps an accidental break, but in any case the work is more like St. Acheul than Chelles, and its discovery a definite piece of evidence. The edges and ridges are dulled, but not rolled in the ordinary sense, and the patina is a yellowish brown.

Certain implements purchased from the gravel-diggers at work across the road in Croxleyhall Wood had been recently found, and the alleged sites of discovery pointed out by the foreman. Special mention must be made of a large coarse specimen of somewhat ochreous patina, said to be from a depth of 12 ft. It approaches the *limande* (dab-fish) form, rather thick in the centre, and broken at the butt. The edges are quite sharp, and cracks in the body show that any

degree of rolling would break it to pieces. The point is broad, thin, and sloping, a good example of the basil (*en biseau*).

At 20 ft., on the level of the raised floor, were found two specimens above the average. One (fig. 5) is symmetrical, with a straight and fairly even cutting-edge all round, and equally convex faces. The point is quite sharp, and the ridges barely dulled. The patina is yellowish grey, with some indigo and yellow speckling, recalling the characteristic Warren Hill surface (p. 203), a resemblance corroborated by the pale blue colour of a few more recent (but not modern) chips on the edge. It may be assigned to St. Acheul I.

Fig. 6. Hand-axe from Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

The other (fig. 6) found at 20 ft. is about contemporary, but is mottled bright yellow, with a good lustre. One face is rather more convex than the other, the cutting-edge slightly interrupted on one side of the butt, and what is probably an intentional notch beside the point, which is seen again in two specimens in St. Albans Museum.

Three more were said to be from near the chalk: one a thick ovate, quite sharp, yellowish-grey patina, straight cutting-edge except for 2 in. on one side of the butt, where there is a broad facet (fig. 7). A slight spur at the point should not be overlooked, and the implement may be dated early in St. Acheul I.[1] Another from this level is dark honey-colour with good lustre, coarse flaking, and

[1] Compare Swanscombe example, *Archaeologia*, lxiv, pl. ix, fig. 9.

uneven edges, but with a more or less efficient cutting-edge all round: a rough ovate, probably of late Chelles date, 3·7 in. long.

The third of this group would be valuable evidence of date if the reputed horizon could be trusted. It is a small pointed cordate (fig. 8) of St. Acheul II

Fig. 7 Thick ovate implement, Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views. (⅔)

Fig. 8. Cordate implement, Croxleyhall Wood pit: front, side, and back views. (⅔)

type, with straight and fairly even edges and sharp butt, barely dulled, with the beginnings of white patina on one face. This would imply that the material above (whether clay or brick-earth) was deposited at the end of the Drift period.

The total number of palaeolithic flints found by the gravel-diggers at Croxley Green and Mill End must be considerable, as the following collections have been traced without any difficulty, and there are doubtless as many others in public museums or in private hands. The results obtained in October, estimated in flint, were insignificant; and the kindness shown by the following in

allowing access to their collections, or in exhibiting in illustration of the paper, is all the more appreciated:—

Geological Museum, Jermyn St. (Sir Hugh Beevor's series of over 400).
Herts. County Museum, St. Albans.
Sir Arthur Evans, P.S.A.
Prof. A. Schwartz Barnes.
Mr. Randall Davies, F.S.A.
Mr. Henry Dewey.
Rev. H. G. O. Kend ll, F.S.A.
Mr. V. P. Kitchin.
Mr. Fred. Sadler (over 1,000).

Discoveries at Rickmansworth were brought to the notice of the Society in 1905 by Sir John Evans,[1] whose knowledge of the neighbourhood enabled him to trace similar finds in the valleys of the Colne and tributary streams. In 1904 Mr. Robert Barker found an ochreous palaeolith of ovate type, and another fine example,[2] ochreous and ovate, 20 ft. from the surface, and near the base of the gravel. About a dozen specimens were obtained about the same time from the workmen, and are mostly pointed. They vary considerably in technique and condition, and include a flake of Le Moustier aspect (fig. 9), found about 26 ft. deep; also a small ovate implement, and an elephant's molar found at that same level, and assigned to *E. antiquus*, a tusk of which was also found measuring 10 ft. in length and 6 in. in diameter, though the identification was uncertain on account of its friable condition. According to Sir John Evans, most of the palaeoliths are said to have been found at a depth of 8 ft. or 9 ft. below the surface, but one of large size is stated to have been discovered immediately above the chalk, under 5 ft. of gravel and 15 ft. of clay (probably brick-earth). He noticed the absence of land or fresh water shells, and the fauna cannot be precisely determined, but our Fellow Mr. Kendall also has a fragment of mammoth tooth from one of the Long Valley Wood pits.

The President exhibited, in illustration of this Report, four shapely implements from the Croxley Green pit, including the Le Moustier type already mentioned (fig. 9). It is lustrous yellow-to-black, and consists of a symmetrical flake with level platform and central rib on the upper face, the other being quite plain. The upper faces of both side-edges are flaked, as if by use as a side-scraper; and though the patina suggests the Middle Gravel at Swanscombe, the form is certainly characteristic of the earliest Cave-period. An ovate implement,

[1] *Proceedings*, xxi, 31; *Trans. Herts. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xiii, 65 (two photographs of Long Valley Wood pit).

[2] Exhibited with others from the Herts. County Museum, St. Albans (Curator, Mr. G. E. Bullen), through the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Page, Hon. Curator.

4·3 in. long, has a fine marbled surface, lustred black with greyish markings. The edge is rather zigzag on one side; and though not raw-edged, the implement is by no means water-worn. The others, found in 1905–6, are more pear-shaped, but fairly thin, and of the middle Drift period.

Sixteen implements, from Long Valley Wood, collected or examined by Sir John Evans, are in the Herts. County Museum, but unfortunately the depth is given in only one case, already referred to (p. 202). It is a symmetrical implement 6·4 in. long, with a flat platform on one side of the pointed butt, and slightly zigzag sides, one of which is curved rather like a reversed S. Like most of the

Fig. 9. Flake-implement from gravel at Croxley: style of Le Moustier. (⅔)

Rickmansworth flints, its edges are only dulled, and show that it has not travelled far. The others at St. Albans are mostly typical Chelles implements, two having single notches beside the point; one of these has ochreous patina. Another surface recalls a large group from Warren Hill, Mildenhall, with spotted yellow and indigo colouring, and bluish-white on later edge-flaking,[1] whether human or natural. The specimen probably belongs to the later stage of St. Acheul, and is an ovate 3 in. long. Examples of the pear-shaped hand-axe and the broad basil of Chelles date are included, and there is an exceptional ovate of early St. Acheul character, unfortunately imperfect, found by Mr. Barker in 1904. It is 5 in. long, and is yellow rather than ochreous.

Prof. A. Schwartz Barnes was associated with Sir Hugh Beevor in a paper

[1] Described by Dr. Sturge in *Proceedings of East Anglian Prehistoric Society*, i, 66.

on the Rickmansworth finds,[1] and has a collection from both sites, but the depth is recorded in only a few cases. From Mill End comes a very water-worn ochreous specimen with a notch beside the point in the eolithic manner, and a shapely triangular hand-axe has the same patina on one face. Other specimens approach the triangular form, with fairly heavy butts and bold flaking, all being apparently of Chelles date. From Pratt's pit in Croxleyhall Wood is a pear-shaped hand-axe with rather pointed butt and zigzag sides, found at 14 ft.; and farther east the owner found near the chalk a delicate pointed ovate with square butt, unrolled, with straight sides and rather flat faces, probably of St. Acheul date. Another specimen of that date, also found near the chalk, is thin, with yellow patina and a basil point, and considerably water-worn. A crusted flake nearly 7 in. long shows signs of use, and another 5 in. long has had blade-like flakes detached from it before leaving the core; it is unrolled, with marks of use, and was found 4 ft. above the chalk. Eighty or more flakes of more usual character were of various colours but mostly lustred, and had plain straight platforms or striking-planes.

Over four hundred implements and flakes from Rickmansworth were presented to the Geological Museum by Sir Hugh Beevor, and all are marked *Crx*, except one which is labelled Mill End. They were purchased from the gravel-diggers over a period of two or three years, but private information confirms the account given in 1909, when about eighty palaeoliths were shown from Croxley and fifty from Mill End.[2] Attention was on the same occasion drawn to the absence of typical *coups-de-poing* (hand-axes), with heavy base and acute point, from the Croxley series, though the type was well represented at Mill End. Primitive and unsymmetrical tools, classified as Eoliths, were common: the 'workmen, when removing the gravel next to the chalk, would often pick out five to the cubic yard, many very large, the great majority with the bulb of percussion'.

Apart from the question of provenance, this series throws some light on palaeolithic conditions near Rickmansworth; and a recent examination established the occurrence of distinct St. Acheul types, though the bulk obviously belonged to the Chelles industry. In gravel deposits, especially where the stratification is obscure, the latest implements are naturally the most important, as marking a *terminus a quo* for the deposit or final re-arrangement of the gravel. If the current classification be accepted, it is evident that the Long Valley Wood gravel was laid down or re-arranged at some date after the St. Acheul period, as no less than thirty-four implements of that type are included in the Beevor collection. Of these, just half have the levels recorded, the following par-

[1] *The Dawn of Human Intention: an experimental and comparative Study of Eoliths* (Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manchester, liii (1909), 9).

[2] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xxi, 245.

ticulars being noted on the specimens, no doubt on the testimony of the workmen. Two are marked 'base' (of the gravel, just above the chalk floor), four were on the 'London clay', three on the chalk, and four near it: one was found 20 ft. deep and unrolled, another was '16 ft. over chalk', white and stained; an unrolled specimen was '4 ft. above chalk', and another is marked 10 ft., but the rest is illegible. The colour and condition of the surface vary, but most of the ovate group have the edges and ridges dulled, not quite sharp and fresh, and yet not rolled in the ordinary sense, except two ochreous specimens, one of which (on London clay) is pinkish, like many from the North Downs. Some are lustred, but there is no uniformity of colour; and one of this group had an old white patina, the re-flaked portion being brown. White patina is exceptional from Rickmansworth, and most are brown, yellow, or grey, generally shading into the unchanged black.

The majority collected by Sir Hugh Beevor consist of ordinary Chelles palaeoliths and flakes, probably contemporary, as the latter closely resemble those found in large numbers both in the Lower Gravel at Barnfield pit, Swanscombe, and in the Greenhithe Shell-bed; and in October about forty were excavated close to the chalk floor, hence their early appearance is confirmed. About 170 flakes in the Beevor collection are marked as coming from the chalk floor or within a foot of it, and there were many others found about 5 ft. above the chalk, that is on the 'bench' or raised floor of the pit. About forty-five implements and flakes were selected as typical, and there are besides over forty large implements and cores equally of early Drift date. If there has been no confusion of localities, the Croxley Green series includes a remarkable implement with broad thin point, a predecessor of the basil point (*en biseau*), with lustrous surface and deep ochreous patina, the latter being exceptional, but this variety of point common at Rickmansworth. It was found on the chalk, and measures nearly 5 in., others of the same type being still larger and unrolled. Types familiar from Swanscombe were also represented by sub-triangular specimens with thick squared butt, one being found 6 ft. above the chalk; and five large pear-shaped implements, between 4 in. and 5 in. in length, one being rolled and scratched. A rolled hand-axe, with yellow patina turning white, came from a depth of 18 ft., and another, sub-triangular, yellowish and slightly rolled, approaching the style of St. Acheul, was found on the chalk, as was a similar but coarser specimen in unrolled condition. There are a few flints reminiscent of the Strépy or pre-Chelles industry, more or less cylindrical and chipped at the end; but more surprising is the inclusion of several flints that by all the rules date from the early Cave-period. A mass of reddish brick-earth [1] was left

[1] About 40 ft. from the face of the pit, which is only a foot or two higher. Another mass near the north end of the pit is also 40 ft. from the face, and practically the same height as the cliff.

standing in the pit (fig. 3) about 60 ft. west of the excavation-site, as it was not worth removal; and this deposit alone might explain the presence of flake-implements easily distinguishable from the Drift forms. Thus a domed specimen of oval outline and flat base, 3·3 in. long, was found 7 ft. above the chalk; and of four steep-sided flakes two were found on the chalk and one 5 ft. above it, the same horizon being given for one of three end-scrapers, a Drift type but more common later. In view of other examples, mention should be made of two thick flakes with edges in the style of Le Moustier, one from 1 ft. above the chalk having a steep end and a lateral spur. A long and narrow-pointed ovate implement, more like a 'neolithic' celt, with creamy yellow patina, was found at 13 ft., and one rather dirty yellow flake might be classed as Levallois. Five were specially noticeable for their scratched surfaces, some occurring on or near the chalk.

To prevent confusion, it may be pointed out that the brick-earth masses left standing may explain the discovery of Cave-types at a low level in the pit, which is exactly on the brow of the valley-slope. The pit is an open cast, and the horizontal floor must have been cut first in the gravel surface or in the loam resting on the slope. Hence, in the course of the work, all the archaeological horizons would be reached in turn; but refinements of this kind cannot be expected in information derived from the workmen.

The single implement labelled Mill End in this collection is black, with incipient cones of percussion due to battering in the gravel: it has a thick sloping butt (as fig. 2) and crust left near it, clearly of Chelles character, and measures 4·7 in. A close parallel was found in the Croxley pit at a depth of 20 ft.

Three implements of Chelles character, found at Mill End in 1892, were exhibited by Mr. Randall Davies, F.S.A., who claims to have been the first to collect from that site. One is a rather slender hand-axe, unrolled, with cutting-edge all round, and a square point that may be intentional and not a break. Another, also unrolled, is sub-triangular with a rounded point, but there is no record of their depth. Rev. H. G. O. Kendall, F.S.A., has also been good enough to send sketches and particulars of Rickmansworth flints in his possession. He emphasizes the eolithic character of many found by himself on the gravel-heaps at Croxley. Four of early Chelles type are considerably abraded, with incipient cones of percussion (due to natural battering), and some striations as if by ice action; and numerous rather small flakes, which have been regarded by some as eolithic, are probably of Chelles date, as at Swanscombe. Two finds of his own were at 15 ft. and 19 ft. respectively.

Comparatively few flints in Mr. V. P. Kitchin's Rickmansworth collection

come from Mill End, but special attention may be drawn to three specimens of Chelles type found at a comparatively high level, viz. a long triangular pointed hand-axe with thick butt, and a rough implement with square cutting-edge, both from a depth of 8 ft., and a rather flat *ficron* at 6 ft. All these are however rolled, and apparently derived, as two specimens of St. Acheul type—one flat pear-shaped, of fresh black flint with reversed S twist, from sand at 15 ft., and an unrolled though imperfect pointed hand-axe from the same level—were found considerably lower, and are likely to have been in their original position, though a cordate implement of similar type, at 10 ft., has evidently travelled far; and an ovate with broad point, from 15 ft., is also water-worn. At 15 ft. was found a *limande* of Chelles type, unrolled, with black and yellow faces and a basil point; and from 20 ft. came a rolled black and yellow hand-axe with blunt sloping butt, like fig. 2. The inference here is that Chelles types occur up to 15 ft., with St. Acheul forms in the next 5 ft., and above them derived Chelles specimens. It is unfortunate that a few specimens of later facies cannot be attributed to any particular horizon, as one at least, made from a flake, with the lower angles square and rounded, ought to date from Le Moustier times.

Mr. Kitchin's main series is from Croxley Green, and two (an early pointed ovate at 15 ft. and a small brown rolled ovate at 18 ft.) are labelled from what was formerly known as Pratt's pit, in Croxleyhall Wood, nearest the railway bridge, a continuation of the pits in Long Valley Wood. Among those found *in situ* by the owner are a roughly flaked hand-axe with squared butt slightly rolled, at 20 ft., and a nodular specimen of black lustrous flint, at 25 ft. A long oval implement of Chelles type, with platform at side of sharp butt, was found 20 ft. deep; and a rough *limande* of about the same date 5 ft. higher. At 20 ft. was also found an early ovate implement remarkable for a spur in the middle of the basil end: it is of Chelles type, considerably rolled, and in form resembles one in the Beevor collection found near the chalk at Croxley. The succeeding period is well represented, the earliest St. Acheul specimen being perhaps a creamy lustred ovate with the normal twist, found in wet sand at 12 ft. Another, of more advanced workmanship, with one white face and the other with a white film, came from a depth of 15 ft., but white patination is rare on this site. Among what should be the latest specimens in the pit must be mentioned two of semicircular plan that may rank as segmental tools, the length of base being 3·3 in. and 5 in. A point of Le Moustier character and some flake-implements have no recorded horizon, but there are many flakes barely worked that resemble those from the lowest level at Swanscombe; one used as a scraper at the shoulder, and ending in a lateral point, coming from a depth of 20 ft. An examination of 200–300 specimens shows that most of the rougher implements,

referable to the Chelles period, were found at 20 ft.–25 ft. from the surface, and a few at 15 ft., but any higher level for such specimens is very exceptional. Most were found at the 20-ft. level; and all the ochreous examples in this collection came from just above the chalk near the pit railway-line, where the excavations took place last autumn.

It is difficult to summarize Mr. Sadler's collection of over 1,000 specimens from Rickmansworth, but it contains some valuable evidence as well as exceptional pieces; and a long experience of the two sites has brought to light certain differences. Mill End produces a great variety of types, including large pointed implements, the largest *ficron* measuring 10 in. The typical ovate is barely represented, but there is every variety of patina, a few ochreous specimens being water-worn, whereas the edges of most others are sharp or only dulled. An old white patina is occasionally found, the earliest specimen apparently dating from late Chelles times; and rolled examples are said to come generally from the upper levels at Mill End. A fine black *limande* 6·4 in. long is in that condition, and other Chelles forms with broad or narrow points are common. An ochreous St. Acheul implement, 3·3 in. long, has the reversed S twist, and a still later stage is marked by several specimens in the style of Le Moustier. One flake, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, has facets on the butt and a large bulb, with one scraper edge; another like it is much rolled, and there are examples of the *racloir* and Le Moustier point. A specimen of almond outline, 3·1 in. long, has one face trimmed flat and the other strongly convex, much like one in the Beevor collection 3·3 in. long: both may date from the latest period of the gravel or brick-earth.

According to Mr. Sadler, Croxley Green rarely yields large implements, but medium pointed, or pear-shaped, and ovates of early St. Acheul character are common. One pear-shaped implement, 7 in. long, is of bright ochreous colour with lustred surface and a basil point. Another ochreous specimen with rounded point, 4·1 in. long, was found near the chalk, and has the curious white markings often seen on eoliths from the North Downs. There are examples of the broad thin cutting-edge or point; and many of Chelles type, especially the rough pear-shaped, tend to ochreous patina. Of the ovates, only a few are of late St. Acheul character, and twisted side-edges are rare. One has dirty white and silver-grey faces, but most are dark grey and brown, with the edges just dulled. A broad end-scraper with rather steep flaking, 3·2 in. long, may be of Drift date, though the form has not often been noticed in this country.[1] A bluish-white pointed implement may belong to the latest phase of the Drift, the edges being quite sharp.

[1] Obermaier, *Steingeräte des französischen Altpaläolithikums*, p. 65.

The Rickmansworth gravel has been often inspected and described, and there is little to add to Mr. Hopkinson's account of its appearance in 1907:[1]

'The gravel is (or has been) worked for a distance of about half a mile in a north-easterly direction. Layers of sand and clay are interstratified with it, and the total thickness of the alluvial deposits is from 20 to 30 ft. They rest on the chalk in a very uneven manner, so that it is difficult to determine the height of their base, but it appears to average about 30 or 40 ft. above the level of the existing River Gade, on the right bank of which they are situated at a distance of about a furlong. The Gade is a tributary of the Colne, which here flows from east to west, and is distant half a mile at the eastern, and a quarter of a mile at the western, edge of the gravel in Long Valley Wood; and this gravel should perhaps be considered as part of the alluvial deposit of the Colne in Pleistocene times, rather than that of the Gade.

'The layers of sand and clay, and some peculiar black bands, give to the gravel in many places a stratified appearance, but nowhere horizontal for any considerable distance—this conformation being due in places to cross-bedding, but mostly to the irregular dissolution of the underlying chalk. The gravel consists for the most part of water-worn flints, some completely rounded, others sub-angular, and also contains quartz and quartzose pebbles. Its most interesting feature is, however, the large numbers of palaeolithic implements which have been found in it, occurring throughout, but most numerously near its base.'

By way of comment on Mr. Hopkinson's remarks, it may be added that if Pratt's (later, Miss Beasley's) pit, near the railway bridge, in Croxleyhall Wood be added, also the triangular area now cleared of gravel between Fortune Common and the railway, the extent of gravel excavated is nearly a mile, in a line roughly east and west, both above and below the 200 ft. contour. According to calculations based on data kindly supplied by Mr. Albert Freeman, Surveyor of Rickmansworth, and the Secretary of the Rickmansworth Gravel Co., the chalk-shelf is about 30 ft. higher at Long Valley Wood than at Mill End, as may be gathered from the following table:

Details bearing on the Geology	Mill End	Long Valley Wood
Original turf-level	185 ft. O.D.	222 ft. O.D.
Maximum thickness of gravel, &c.	18 ft.	26 ft.
Level of chalk-shelf or terrace	167 ft. O.D.	196 ft. O.D.
Height of same above nearest point of river	22 ft.	40 ft.
River-level opposite the sites	145 ft. O.D. (Colne)	156 ft. O.D. (Gade)
Thickness of gravel in sunk channel of river	About 13 ft. (Colne)	About 12 ft. (Gade)
Chalk-bottom of the sunk channel	132 ft. O.D.	144 ft. O.D.
Height of chalk-shelf above sunk channel	35 ft.	52 ft.

[1] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xx, 96; see also vol. xxi, 244 (Kidner), for the Reading beds.

The inclusion of masses of the Reading beds and sarsen (greywether)[1] in the gravel at Long Valley Wood is of considerable geological importance, and has been discussed on more than one occasion. Mr. Hopkinson may again be quoted:

'The preservation in gravel (formed by a river) of soft mottled clay and loose white and yellow sand, apparently in the position in which they were originally deposited, is difficult to account for. The mass in question, when first seen, was about 6 ft. in height and 10 ft. in width, and the gravel was distinctly arched above it, a darkish band in it showing the stratification very plainly. . . . It is possible that the whole of the gravel here is piped, that is to say, let down by the dissolution of the chalk, the clay and sand of Reading age having been preserved in their present position by the sarsen stones on their surface and in the sand. Another suggestion put forward whilst this structure was being examined (by the Geologists' Association) was that the gravel has been here washed down from the rising ground above, and meeting this obstacle has disposed itself around it in a curved form.'

Further details were supplied two years later, by Mr. Kidner,[2] who stated his reasons for regarding the section as consisting of Eocene beds *in situ*, contrasting strongly with the overlying Pleistocene gravel; and concluded that the earlier mass was deposited within a depression of the chalk, 'having a ridge of chalk more or less around it, which may well explain how the beds were able, first to resist the agencies of denudation, and afterwards to become covered with the gravels of a much later age'.

Special geological knowledge is required to interpret this phenomenon, and the casual observer may well be puzzled by the presence of friable masses approximately in their original position on the chalk, when the latter floor is considered (by the latest official surveyors) to have been denuded by river-action and then covered with valley gravel. Landslides frequently occur on the banks of rivers, but against such an explanation may be urged, (i) there is no perceptible slope to cause the fall; (ii) if the masses had fallen into the river, they would have been quickly washed away; and (iii) if the plateau gravel of Croxley Green was in position before the river laid down the Long Valley Wood gravel, the remnants of Tertiary beds on the chalk would have been rendered immovable by the capping of plateau gravel. An alternative explanation would be

[1] Dr. Oddie showed in 1909 an oval specimen from Croxley pit, 2½ ft. long; other large pieces were noted two years before, and one was sent to the Herts. County Museum at St. Albans. Photographs of the Reading beds and sarsens at Croxley are published by the Geologists' Association in *Geology in the Field*, part i, 46, pl. ii.

[2] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xxi, 244.

that the Tertiary masses were frozen at the time,[1] but that is hardly in favour of a fluviatile (as opposed to a fluvio-glacial) origin for our gravel.

The Geological Survey map is under revision, but the official view of the deposit under discussion remained unchanged from 1871 to 1903, when the London district map (sheet 1) was issued. A distinction is made between the deposits in Long Valley Wood and at Mill End, the latter being coloured buff and described as river gravel. Croxley Green forms part of a great extent of gravel coloured pink and described as gravel and sand, forming with Boulder-clay the glacial drift of the district. This plateau gravel[2] runs with interruptions north-east to St. Albans and beyond, extending to the foot of the Tertiary escarpment that separates the London-clay area from the chalk subsoil of the Chilterns. The gravel-spread is only intersected by narrow valleys, where the chalk is exposed, in the area bounded by Abbot's Langley, Chenies, Amersham, south to Beaconsfield and Hedsor, thence east over Burnham and Stoke Commons to Iver, and then due north to the neighbourhood of Mill End, and east to Watford. It climbs the slope of the Chilterns as much as eight miles from the Colne valley (Denham to Amersham), rising from the 200 ft. contour to above 400 ft. Hence it is not a river gravel in the ordinary sense, and the question is whether its edge at Croxley Green has been relaid by the Colne,[3] when that river was flowing 40 ft. to 60 ft. higher than at present. As a corollary to this problem there is the further inquiry, whether the chalk-shelf on which the gravel rests is a river terrace or continuous with the subsoil of the plateau.

In this connexion the Geological Survey map opens up some points of vital interest to prehistoric archaeology. Five miles north of our pit in Long Valley Wood, a patch of Boulder-clay approaches the Colne as closely as our gravel approaches the Gade (about a furlong), and between the edge of the Boulder-clay and the river is shown a similar gravel, coloured pink on the map, extending right down to the Colne. The latter site was examined by Sir Joseph Prestwich, whose description is quoted in Mr. Whitaker's *Memoir*[4] of 1864, p. 63:

[1] This seems to be the view taken in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xiv, 158, where Allen Brown discussed the inclusion of sarsens.

[2] Reasons are given elsewhere for regarding these spreads as fluvio-glacial, and the term plateau gravel is best reserved for the still higher deposits, coloured red on the geological map of 1871, but pink on the 1904 map, no distinction being drawn.

[3] During the discussion of this Report, a District geologist of the Survey bluntly stated that the river terrace was obvious at Croxley Green, a view not taken by those responsible for the maps of 1871 and 1904 (London district: no alteration at Rickmansworth).

[4] *Parts of Middlesex, etc.* (sheet 7); see also his *Geology of London*, i, 304, 323.

'A ballast-pit has been opened at the Watford end of the Bricket Wood cutting, immediately south of the railway-line. The Boulder-clay has there almost thinned out, leaving but a seam one to two feet thick, whilst both above and below it is a thick bed of gravel. The lower sandy gravel, which consists chiefly of sub-angular flints and flint pebbles, with some quartz, sandstone, and old-rock pebbles, with subordinate seams of whitish sand, has a clean, washed appearance. The upper gravel consists of very similar sub-angular materials, but is less sandy and darker in colour. . . . The lower gravel reposes upon an irregular surface of chalk.'

Geologists need not be reminded of the Boulder-clay patch at Finchley, resting on gravel which is coloured pink like that of the Rickmansworth plateau. The gravel under the Boulder-clay is distinct from the still older pebble-gravel that is found on higher ground, and has been classed with the Westleton beds. The late Mr. H. B. Woodward, in his *Geology of the London District* (1909), p. 63, mentioned the Bricket Wood deposit, and used the term 'Middle-glacial' to denominate the gravel below the Boulder-clay, including liver-coloured (Bunter) quartzite pebbles, quartz, chert, flint, ironstone, and blocks of sarsen and puddingstone.

'It is now usually held (he continues) that the Glacial gravels mark the first stage in the excavation of the present Thames valley, a fact not surprising when we consider the difficulty that has been felt in many places along the valley in separating the deposits grouped as Glacial gravel from those termed Valley gravel. The overspread of Boulder-clay in areas to the north before it reached our district probably led to floods due to the melting of the ice, and to such fluvio-glacial action the gravels are to be attributed.'

Prof. J. W. Gregory, in a paper[2] on the evolution of the Thames, gives the following sequence of events:

1. Existence of a high plateau, on which were deposited the older plateau gravels, coloured red on the Geological map, and corresponding to the Westleton shingle of Prestwich.

2. Prolonged denudation, and formation of a second plateau on which were deposited the new plateau gravels, coloured pink on the map.

3. Erosion of the north-west and south-east valleys of the Chilterns (Thames at Goring, Miss, Chess, and Loudwater).

4. Cutting back of the chalk escarpment, and decapitation of the Miss, Loudwater, etc.

5. Advance of the ice-sheet which deposited the Boulder-clay.

[1] References given by Mr. Whitaker, *Geology of London*, i, 309.
[2] *Natural Science*, Aug. 1894, vol. v, 101, 104.

According to the dominant view, the palaeolithic period followed no. 5, with an interval of unknown length, and the stock arguments in favour of this sequence need not be enumerated here; but a minority would throw the palaeoliths farther back, possibly to no. 2, and recent developments suggest a suspension of judgement pending further and conclusive evidence. It would be desirable to consider the best palaeolithic finds from both points of view.

The following quotation from a Geological Survey *Memoir*, published in 1909, might well serve as a text to the present Report, and shows the uncertainty prevalent in official circles:

'There are large tracts of gravel on the borders of the Eocene strata and on the Chalk in the north-western portion of our (London) district that require attentive study. On the Geological Survey map the deposits are mostly depicted as Plateau-gravel, but some of them may more appropriately be grouped with the Thames valley-gravels. As observed by J. Allen Brown,[1] the tracts of gravel exhibit a general incline towards the Thames, and the same appears to be the case along the Colne valley; moreover, at this time, contemporary with the later stages of the Glacial epoch, man was present on the scene; and the Geological Survey, at any rate, has classed as Glacial, gravels in which palaeolithic implements have been found. Detailed mapping on the six-inch scale may result in further definition of the successive deposits.'[2]

The gravel extends continuously from Radlett through Aldenham to the waters of the Colne, and on the lower level should probably be grouped with the later valley-deposits. The author then gives details of the Long Valley Wood deposit, and draws special attention to a patch of the Reading Beds and blocks of greywether (sarsen) and quartzite elsewhere in the gravel. In reference to the problem of separating the fluvio-glacial gravels from those of the valley-deposits, the same writer continues: 'Along the Colne valley we are confronted with many difficulties, which more detailed mapping may solve. In the tract which extends from Mill End, south-west of Rickmansworth, to Denham, there is a descent of 40 ft. in 5 miles, while much of the gravel at Mill End rises from the level of the alluvium (150 ft. O.D.) to more than 200 ft. Difficulty arises when we consider the relation of this gravel to that at Croxley Green.' The latter gravel he compares with that on Cockerhurst Farm, north of Shoreham, Kent, and east of Well Hill, ground familiar to London geologists. 'The gravel at the farm is associated with a tract of clay-with-flints, and is 450–470 ft. O.D. It is composed of flint pebbles with chert, pale quartzite, &c., and in it there have been found palaeolithic together with eolithic implements, the last named being regarded as derivative.'

[1] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xiv, 171, 173.
[2] H. B. Woodward, *Geology of the London District*, p. 68.

This parallel indicates that Mr. Woodward was not convinced of the fluviatile origin of the Croxley Green gravel, and if palaeoliths (to omit the disputed eoliths) can be found in what is clearly plateau gravel near Shoreham (independent of the present river-system), there seems little reason to postulate a fluviatile origin for equally palaeolithic gravel at Rickmansworth, just because it overlooks the modern river-valley. This raises a still wider question, and bears upon the old puzzle involved in the general concentration of palaeoliths in river-valleys. Is it that primitive man preferred to live on river-banks, or that the gravel is generally thicker and more profitable to work in such positions? Recent discoveries[1] suggest that man was also living on the high ground away from rivers before his implements were involved in a deluge that deposited gravel over the plateau and filled up valleys already cut in it. The subsequent re-excavation of the valleys by the existing streams would leave untouched on the banks considerable thicknesses of gravel which may in some cases have been mistaken for river-deposits.[2] Observations elsewhere confirm that suspicion, and it is clear that not all the strata on the 100 ft. terrace at Swanscombe were laid down by the Thames, but derived from Tertiary deposits[3] higher up the slope; and south of Swanscombe stretches the enigmatic plateau gravel.

The late Mr. Allen Brown did a great deal of geological and archaeological work in the Thames valley, and met with considerable success in unravelling the quaternary deposits. A few sentences from one of his papers may be quoted in this connexion:

'Going north from Harefield Lodge to the village of Harefield, the Glacial deposits appear at about the 290th contour, and they are also seen to the north and north-east as well as to the north-west of Rickmansworth; in all instances they follow the slopes of the hills. It is a remarkable fact that the area west of the Colne, marked on the map as Glacial, descends to a *lower* level than the River-drift at Uxbridge and Hillingdon, as it falls from 200 ft. O.D. at Dromena to 156 ft. at Love Green. It is difficult, too, to detect any difference between the two forms of deposit, either in their structure or in their constituents.'[4]

[1] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xxvi (1915), 6.

[2] Allen Brown insisted on a distinction between the lower stratified beds (containing implements) and the tumbled masses above them at Hanwell and elsewhere in the Thames valley (*Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xiv, 155–7).

[3] As noticed in *Archaeologia*, lxv, 187. For similar conditions in the Somme valley, see *Annales de la Société géologique du Nord de la France*, 1912, referred to by Commont, *Les Hommes contemporains du Renne*, p. 28, note.

[4] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xiv, 165. For glacial gravel at Harefield (200 ft. O.D.), 'probably connected with one of the gaps' in the Chilterns, and deposits near Amersham and Great Missenden, see p. 401 (A. E. Salter). Mr. Whitaker has some remarks on the gravel of the Colne and its tributaries in *Geology of London*, vol. i, p. 448.

Both the Long Valley Wood and Mill End gravels are understood to figure as river-deposits in the revised Geological map not yet published; and the clear division between the terrace and plateau in the latter case strongly militates in favour of a similar origin farther east, but there is no appreciable distinction between the two gravels at Croxley Green, and most observers would declare them identical. Apart from the difficulty of marking off from the mass the fluviatile deposits on the margin of this plateau, Mr. Osborne White's theory would lead to the classification of all the Croxley Green area as river-gravel. In a paper on the origin of high-level gravel with Triassic débris adjoining the valley of the Upper Thames, his conclusions are summarized as follows:

'When in addition to these facts (the inclusion and distribution of quartzites and other rock-fragments foreign to the area), we call to mind the stratified character of this gravel, its frequent association with sands and loam, and its occurrence in the form of plateau-like terraces at varying levels—the lower being often inseparable from the deposits which are admitted to belong to the River Drift—it seems almost impossible to resist the conclusion that, despite the great elevation it attains above the beds of the neighbouring streams, this gravel owes its existence to fluviatile agency operating along the same general lines of drainage as those in existence at the present day. . . . Of course, I do not mean to imply that the Thames itself is responsible for the masses of gravel and sand which extend along the Tertiary escarpment by Rickmansworth and Hatfield into Essex.'

As independently suggested by Mr. Jukes Browne and Mr. A. E. Salter, the constituents of these gravels were probably introduced in the first instance by a stream independent of the Thames, flowing from the Midlands into the synclinal trough of the London Basin through some channel corresponding to, but lying at a considerable distance to the north-east of, the Goring Gorge.[1]

The similarity of the human output is curiously emphasized by the structure of the deposits at Rickmansworth and Swanscombe; and last season's excavations have therefore been so far successful in bringing the higher deposits of the main river and its tributary into archaeological relation. At Swanscombe the chalk-shelf descends to about 65 ft. O.D., and provides an almost level base for the Pleistocene deposits by means of a capping of Thanet sand. The stratification is excellent, and may throw light on the more tumbled masses at Croxley Green, where there was evidently an Eocene foundation, but the horizontal bedding has been largely obliterated by extensive 'piping' of the chalk. At and near the bottom of the Pleistocene deposits, in both cases have been found flints fashioned by man; but whereas at Swanscombe the lower gravel yielded little but unused flakes, many of the Croxley implements occurred in association with similar

[1] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xv (1897), pp. 173, 174; cf. Salter, vol. xiv, pp. 401, 402; and vol xv, p. 274.

flakes within a foot or two of the chalk, a fact confirmed by the excavations last autumn.

A good deal of brick-earth still remains in the Long Valley Wood pit, and may be compared with the laminated loam at Swanscombe, especially as the frequent discovery of St. Acheul types implies the existence of the upper palaeolithic deposits.[1] There is still a superstition that all types occur together at all levels; but unless one is prepared to discard the results obtained in recent years by careful and laborious investigation, horizons must be determined by the latest type contained in them; and a similar succession of types on two or more sites is all in favour of a similar history.

Sir John Evans gave details in 1897[2] of several chance finds in the neighbourhood, of which two may be quoted. At Watford, on the left bank of the Colne, in gravel near Bushey Park, at a height of about 40 ft. above the level of the existing river, Mr. Clouston found several implements of ochreous flint, and of various types; and an interesting discovery was made by himself on the surface of a ploughed field near Bedmond, in the parish of King's Langley, at a spot probably 160 ft. above the nearest part of the Gade, but towards the bottom of one of the lateral valleys between Boxmoor and Watford. The implement is described as similar to the well-known Gray's Inn Lane specimen, but highly patinated, possibly (in his opinion) from the red brick-earth. The first find is parallel to the Croxley Green series, and is in favour of a fluviatile origin for the gravel, but the other was $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Colne, and high above its tributary, about 400 ft. O.D. There is always the possibility that implements were dropped by the palaeolithic hunter on the uplands, and have remained there ever since. Till several authentic finds in the gravel have been recorded, any inferences are hazardous; but there is elsewhere evidence[3] that palaeoliths, at least of the Chelles type, occur in plateau (or fluvio-glacial) gravel. A few more instances would outweigh many on the brow of the present river-valleys, where the history of the gravel is doubtful, as at Tilehurst, where no less than 169 typical ovates of St. Acheul type and one obviously Le Moustier implement have recently been found in a small area of gravel and brick-earth on chalk, on the edge of the plateau, 80 ft. above the Thames.[4]

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 180, 200, gives the sequence at Swanscombe; and for St. Acheul finds there, see *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xxv, 92, plates 15, 16.

[2] *Stone Implements*, 2nd ed., 596, 597; *V.C.H. Herts.*, i, 224.

[3] For instance, Mr. Guy Nickalls has palaeoliths from the gravel at Gerrard's Cross, Bucks., at 280 ft. O.D., and more than 200 ft. above the nearest point of the Thames. Few would venture to call this a valley-deposit.

[4] *Proc. E. Anglian Prehistoric Soc.*, vol. ii. It may be added that according to Prof. Commont the

It is not for the archaeologist to decide a point that has been disputed among geologists for many years, but he can and should regard such stratigraphical difficulties from the human standpoint, throwing the worked flints into the scale on one side or the other. The problem has been stated above as far as it can be realized by collecting the published opinions of responsible geologists; and the present case appears to be one in which archaeological evidence has given rise to an important change in the Geological map. Whether that change would have been made on purely geological grounds need not be discussed, but it is important to decide, by further archaeological research, whether the change should have been made at all. If the interpretation of the finds is correct, a step forward will have been made, for the benefit of both branches of knowledge; and if the older view of the situation prevails, there will have to be extensive alterations in palaeolithic chronology.

Geological Report, by Henry Dewey, Esq., F.G.S., *H.M. Geological Survey.*

On October 6th I visited Mill End and examined the sections disclosed by the workmen, as well as the geology of the immediate neighbourhood; and a day or two later I examined the sections at Croxley Green. Unfortunately, it can scarcely be said that the objects of our investigations have been attained. It had been known for years that palaeolithic implements of at least two well-known types occur in both the gravel-pits mentioned; that these types correspond exactly with those found at Barnfield pit, Swanscombe; and also that the relationship of the gravels in which they occur to the fluvio-glacial gravels capping the Chiltern Hills appeared to be different at Mill End and Croxley Green. The investigations therefore were primarily undertaken to determine if a sequence of cultural types existed among the palaeolithic implements; and secondly, to ascertain the relationship between the gravel at Croxley Green pit and the fluvio-glacial drift lying on the adjacent hill-tops. The work failed to detect any discontinuity between these two spreads of gravel, but for reasons stated below, it is highly probable that the Croxley Green gravel is merely rearranged fluvio-glacial material derived from the neighbourhood.

Before dealing with the wider aspects of the question, a description is necessary of the two pits, and especially of certain significant features in them.

'limon des plateaux' is of late St. Acheul date (Geneva Congress, 1912, *Comptes-rendus*, i, 245); further references in *Revue préhistorique*, ii (1907), 160, and 9 (footnote); Commont, *Les Hommes contemporains du Renne*, 28, 43.

Long Valley Wood, Croxley Green.

Fig. 10 is drawn to scale, but is diagrammatic and shows the general character of the deposit in Long Valley Wood, Croxley Green.

From the surface of the chalk at the base of the pit to the soil, there are upwards of 25 ft. of sand, clay, and gravel. The lowest 7 ft. (7) consist of un-

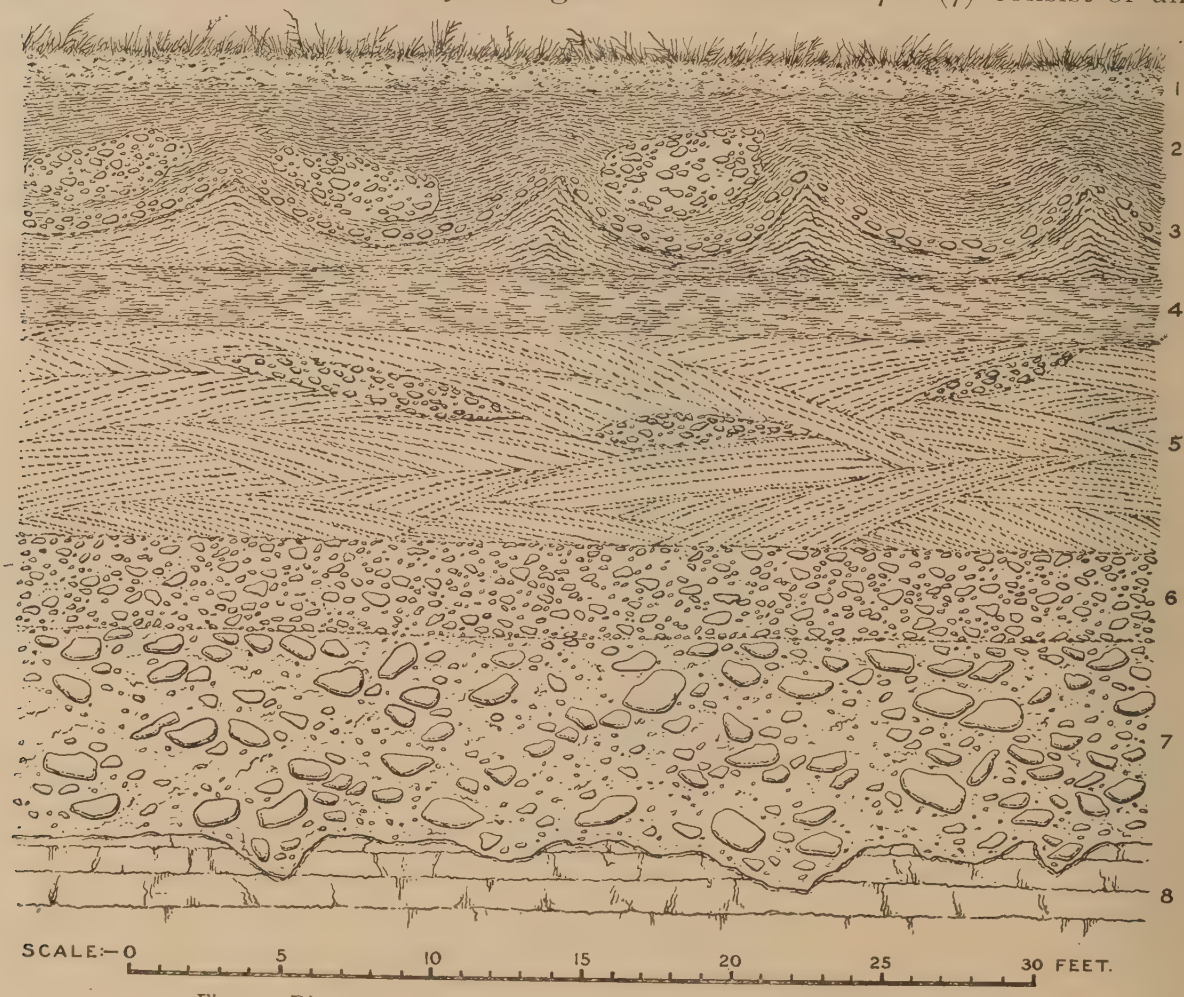


Fig. 10. Diagrammatic section of gravel face, Long Valley Wood pit, Croxley.

stratified detritus with many large boulders of flint, quartzite, and other rocks, differing in this respect from (6) the overlying 4 ft. of gravel with much smaller constituents.

These beds are succeeded by 7 ft. of strongly current-bedded gravel and sand (5), the sand resting for the most part on the lower gravel. A foot or two of

mottled clay (4) lies evenly upon the current-bedded sand; it is festooned by (2 and 3) included clusters or lumps of gravel which appear to have been forcibly driven into it, sometimes to a depth of 3 ft. The surface beds (1) and soil are less than a foot thick.

At the base of the pit the gravel has been dug out by the workmen, and the chalk surface on which it rests laid bare. A series of roughly parallel grooves channel the chalk (8), ranging from a few inches up to several feet in depth. These channels appear to have been formed by numerous streams flowing over the chalk surface side by side, and much at the same time. The largest boulders tend to accumulate in these channels.

Many of the constituents of the lower beds of gravel are large stones which might even be described as boulders. The best-known of these are the sarsens described by Mr. Hopkinson,[1] some of which measure 4 ft. by 3 ft. by 2 ft., while others are purplish quartzite, probably derived from the Bunter Beds of the Trias; sandstone, vein-quartz, and tourmalinized grit similar to rocks now found in the granitic regions of Cornwall and Devon; and large masses of Chalk flint.

As these boulders occur also in the fluvio-glacial gravel, it is probable that they are simply derived from that drift, and re-assorted by river action. They could not be transported over long distances by a slowly flowing stream, and there is no evidence pointing to an origin other than the one suggested. A feature of the lowest parts of the gravel is the prevalence of staining or even of coating of the stones by black dioxide of manganese.

There is no trace of bedding throughout the whole 8 ft. of this gravel, but the tumbled masses indicate deposition from sudden rushes of water.

More normal river-action is shown by the overlying gravels and sands, which are about 7 ft. thick, and everywhere conspicuously current-bedded. The sand is mostly confined to the bottom 4 ft., above which lenses and streaks of gravel appear, and towards the next bed tend to coalesce into a uniform mass.

These beds are cut evenly across by a seam of mottled clay ranging from 1 ft. to 3 ft. in thickness, which for a distance of over a hundred yards shows no sign of disturbance. It in turn is overlain by a seam 4 ft. thick of similar mottled clay, which is much disturbed by clusters of gravel, some of which are 3 ft. thick. These seams of mottled clay look at first sight as though they were *in situ*; they are certainly derived from the mottled clays of the Reading Beds, and cannot have travelled far.

This spread of gravel continues without any perceptible slope into the mass

[1] *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xx (1907), p. 96, and H. Kidner, *ibid.*, xxi (1909), p. 244.

covering the long spur on which the village of Croxley Green is built, and, as shown by the Geological map, this forms part of the great sheet of fluvio-glacial gravel lying on the southern slope of the Chiltern Hills. There is neither a terrace notching the hill nor a slope of bare chalk between this gravel and the fluvio-glacial beds, the section (fig. 11) in these respects differing entirely from that at Mill End, next to be described.

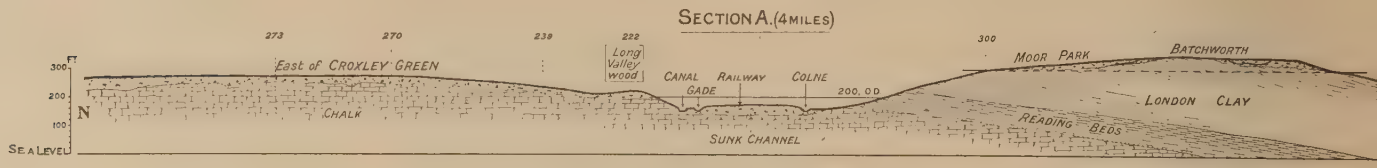


Fig. 11. Section across the valley through Long Valley Wood, along line A in fig. 1.

Mill End, Rickmansworth.

The fields at the top of the hill in Berry Lane near Catlip's Farm are nearly flat, and lie at some 300 ft. above sea-level. They are covered with a thick sheet of fluvio-glacial gravel, identical in character with the Croxley Green deposits, and spreading uninterruptedly over the surface of the Chilterns almost to the chalk escarpment.

From the 300 ft. contour the land falls steeply to the terrace of the river Colne (fig. 12), and consists of bare chalk without any appreciable coating of gravel, as may be seen by the sections in the two chalk quarries. Eighty feet

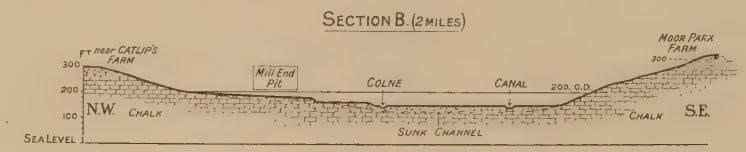


Fig. 12. Section across the valley through Mill End pit, along line B in fig. 1.

below the level of the fluvio-glacial drift another wide spread of gravel forms the terrace flanking the river Colne, and it is in this spread that the pits at Mill End have been excavated.

The sections exposed in these pits differ essentially from those at Croxley Green. A foot and a half of stony soil lies upon 16 ft. of red gravel with seams of sand. It is an unstratified mass consisting of lenses of sand lying among the more stony constituents. A peculiar feature of the gravel is the frequent

presence of large hollow or cave-like spaces, which possibly were originally filled with frozen masses of sand, from which the water drained away on thawing. These are a source of danger to the workmen, who, however, have learned to detect signs of their presence before the ground collapses.

The gravel here also rests in channels cut in the chalk, but there are not so many large boulders as at Croxley Green. Water-worn and sub-angular stones are about equally common, and the gravel was probably derived from the fluvio-glacial beds of the Chiltern Hills.

The Gravels of the Thames Valley.

The relative periods of formation of the several kinds of gravel found in the Thames valley can only be inferred from the somewhat meagre details that have been gathered by many observers. Roughly, there are three main groups, described respectively as plateau gravel, fluvio-glacial gravel, and valley gravel.

Plateau gravel forms widespread sheets covering the flat uplands in Hants, Berkshire, and Surrey, and consists mainly of flint and chert. These uplands, although generally flat, are not all at the same height above sea-level, but form a series of steps, one separated from another by more or less bare slopes.

The gravels termed *fluvio-glacial* contain, in addition to the constituents of local derivation, fragments of rocks derived from distant localities, such as pebbles of quartzite from the Triassic rocks, radiolarian cherts and crinoidal limestone from the Carboniferous Beds, and various kinds of igneous rocks. These gravels also form wide spreads covering high land, and sweeping downwards from near the escarpment towards the river.

As a rule, the *valley gravels* lie at a considerably lower level than either of the two previous groups, especially where the two occur in the same neighbourhood, as for instance near Richmond Park, where the fluvio-glacial drift lies 80 ft. higher than the terrace gravels. If this relationship everywhere obtained, the problem of their respective ages would be simplified, but unfortunately there are localities where the fluvio-glacial gravels form sheets continuous with the terrace gravels, especially in the lower reaches of the river.

But, it may be asked, is there any valid evidence for assigning these gravels to their relative places in time? There are some significant sections which supply relevant data in answer to this query. For instance, in the Aldershot and Easthampstead country the plateau gravels cover all the high ground,

extending for many miles at a uniform altitude of 400 ft. above sea-level. Surrounding these hills are other flat-topped ridges also capped with gravel at gradually decreasing heights. The slopes between the flats are smeared over with gravel, and the whole assemblage, seen in plan, forms a fan or broad delta with its apex pointing at the Farnham Gap. Similar fans occur throughout the upper reaches of the Thames-Kennet drainage basin. Both in form and constitution, these fans closely resemble the wash-out gravels of glacial and glaciated regions, and this fact, with others which need not be enumerated, renders a similar origin probable.

The masses of gravel were carried forward and buried the whole landscape, hill and valley alike, so that the pre-glacial topography can in great part be restored by careful consideration of the present disposition of these fans.

The plateau gravels, however, do not contain fragments of rocks derived from distant sources, but on their northern margins they anastomose with sheets of fluvio-glacial drift, which do contain such fragments, and mask the lower slopes of the Chiltern Hills. These sheets appear to have swept in through the gorges[1] cut through the escarpment, one sheet flowing generally south-westwards from the neighbourhood of Stevenage Gap, and meeting with another vast stream flowing from the west through the chalk near Goring. If it were the only evidence available, the junction along a general east and west line of these fluvio-glacial and plateau gravels would suggest contemporaneity of the two; but there are, at several localities, sections which show the fluvio-glacial resting upon, and therefore later than, the plateau gravels,[2] but the difference in time is probably not great, and in fact the two may in part be contemporary.

The distribution and disposition of the fluvio-glacial drift leaves no uncertainty that at the period of its formation the escarpment of the Chalk was in existence, and the main tectonic features of the Thames valley had been formed. They were afterwards, in part at least, buried and masked by the vast sheets of drift which were swept in through the several gaps. The consequent tributary valleys ought to show this infilling; and where over-deepening occurs, the evidence should be clear, but there are apparently no records of such drift-filled valleys having been re-excavated.

The further history of the Thames valley is revealed by the valley deposits or terrace gravels. Where these occur in the neighbourhood of the other drifts in the upper parts of the Thames valley there is usually a difference of level between the two of some 80 ft.; but followed down-stream the terrace would appear to cut across the glacial drift. Thus at Hornchurch, Essex, the gravels

[1] *Summary of Progress for* 1913 (Mem. Geol. Survey, 1914), pp. 32–6.

[2] *Geology of the Country around Reading* (Mem. Geol. Survey, 1903), p. 75.

of the highest terrace rest on the chalky Boulder-clay,[1] a drift formed rather later than the fluvio-glacial gravel. It is thus possible to trace a succession of drifts, the plateau gravel and fluvio-glacial drift preceding the Boulder-clay and terrace gravels. The periods of formation were successive but continuous, and were not interrupted by violent, cataclysmic changes; hence there is always difficulty in assigning parts of the deposits to their respective positions. Geological inferences rest upon the balance of probabilities; and when difficulties arise, the most probable explanation is accepted sooner than others. Neither is it surprising that paradoxes occur in this connexion, and the present query is a case where the balance of probability must be accepted. For instance, it might be held that as no distinction can be traced between the gravel at Croxley Green and the fluvio-glacial gravel, and as the Croxley Green gravel contains palaeolithic implements of both Chelles and St. Acheul forms, therefore the fluvio-glacial gravel was laid down after those palaeolithic periods had ceased. Acceptance of this contention involves the further conclusion that the chalky Boulder-clay was also deposited after the early palaeolithic periods had ended. We are then faced with the paradox that in the great majority of localities where palaeolithic gravels occur in association with chalky Boulder-clay, these gravels are demonstrably later than the glacial drift.[2] Thus the stratigraphical evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Croxley Green implements occur in the fluvio-glacial drift. There is, moreover, nothing surprising in the fact that no distinction can be drawn between the river and fluvio-glacial gravels in that locality when their history is considered.

Further, the topography of the country enveloped by these drifts can be reconstructed. Briefly, this may be said to differ but little from the existing Thames valley, for the main features of the catchment area were already in existence when the gravel masses were swept over and buried them. After the rigours of the glacial period with its torrential floods had ceased, more normal river erosion ensued, and the terrace gravels were deposited, but there was probably no great break in the succession of deposits. And so it may be said that a bed of gravel belongs in part to one terrace and in part to another. The capacity of the rivers, however, to carry their freights of detritus varied according to rainfall and gradient; during some periods it was powerful enough to sweep forward enormous masses of gravel, but at others had lost its strength and could only cut through the burden previously dropped, while the stream tried to avoid

[1] T. V. Holmes, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, xlviii (1892), p. 365.

[2] *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xvii, pp. 366–7, 1861; *Rept. Brit. Assoc.*, 1896, pp. 1–13; *Proc. E. Anglian Prehist. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 43.

the obstacle by skirting around its borders and thus undercut its old banks. This led to collapses of the banks and consequent mingling of deposits formed at greatly different periods. At Croxley Green there appears to be an instance of this character which would explain the paradox. At Mill End there is no doubt, as the terrace gravel is separated by 80 ft. of bare chalk from the fluvio-glacial drift; and this fact renders it highly improbable that, at such a short distance, a similar gravel containing identical implements should be of greatly different age.

VII.—*Recent Roman Discoveries in London.* *By* FRANK LAMBERT, *Esq., M.A.*

Read 11th February, 1915.

I. ROMAN WALLS DISCOVERED IN 1880–1881 ON THE SITE OF LEADENHALL MARKET.

THE material dealt with in the first section of this paper can only be called 'recent' in a secondary sense. It is not so much a discovery as a rediscovery of old evidence long overlooked.

The site of Leadenhall Market has long been known to cover the remains of extensive and important Roman buildings. Sir William Tite recorded[1] in 1848 that 'besides other remains of buildings, walls 6, 7, and 11 ft. in breadth, extending east and west, were found at and near Half Moon Passage in Gracechurch Street'. This east and west wall was again struck in 1905, when sewers were laid under the avenue of Leadenhall Market (which now covers the site of Half Moon Passage), and was recorded by Messrs. Norman and Reader.[2]

The most complete uncovering of the site, however, had taken place in the winter of 1880–1881, during the demolition preparatory to the building of the present market. Several vague and inadequate contemporary descriptions of the remains then disclosed are extant. The most precise is that of Mr. E. P. L. Brock, who, at a meeting of the British Archaeological Association on 16th February, 1881,[3] 'exhibited a series of plans of excavations recently carried out at Leadenhall Market, showing the foundations of an apse 33 ft. wide, and indications of four distinctly different conflagrations'. The plans mentioned were never published, and seem to have disappeared completely. On 2nd March, 1881, the same gentleman[4] 'described further discoveries at Leadenhall, showing the great extent of Roman building, and the thickness of walling. He also exhibited fragments of fresco paintings, with ornamental patterns. . . . The building appears to have had the form of a basilica in some respects, with eastern apse, western nave, and two

[1] *Catalogue of Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, p. xii.
[2] *Archaeologia*, lx, 225. [3] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, xxxvii, 90. [4] *Ibid.*, 90–1.

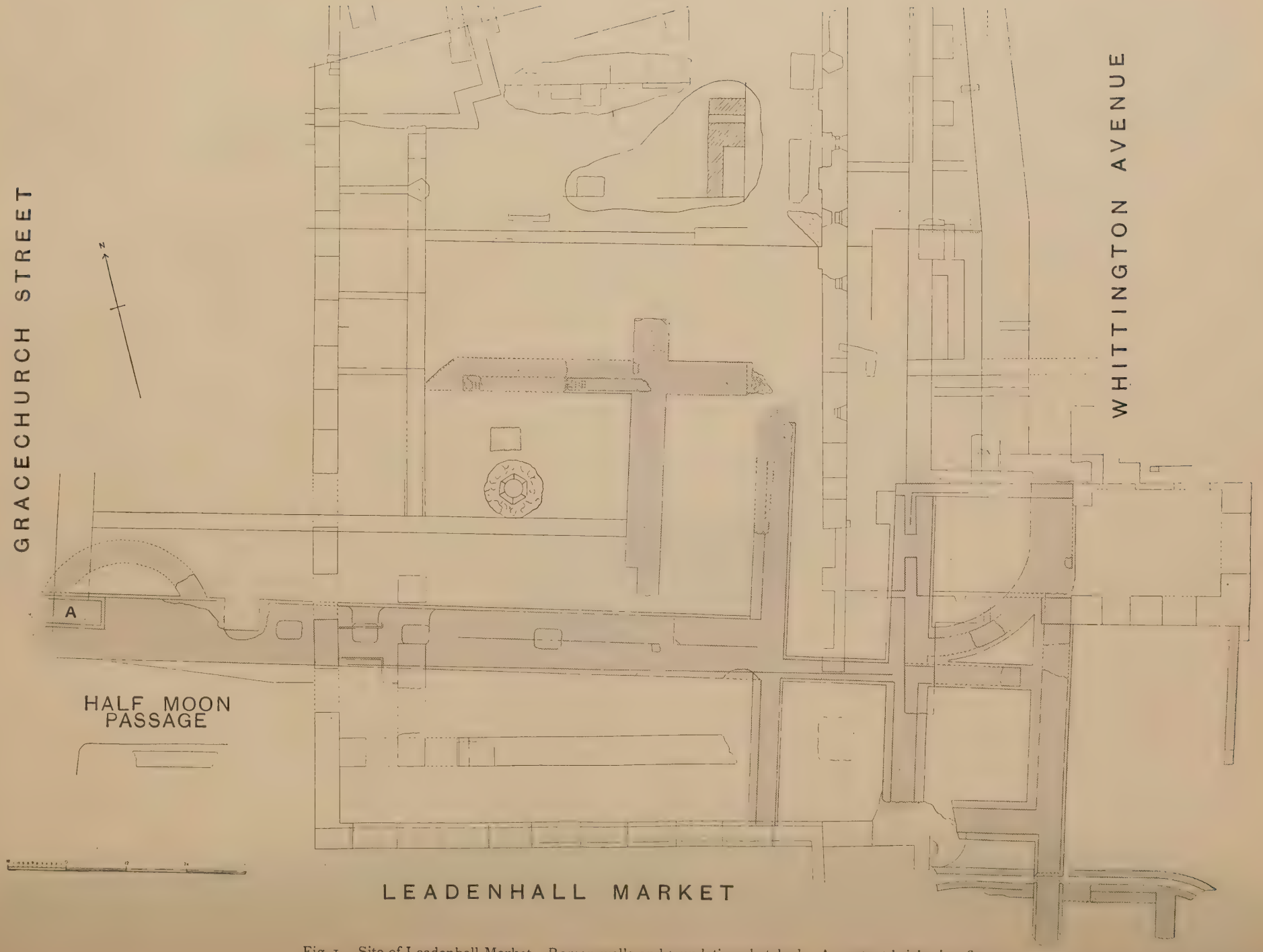


Fig. 1. Site of Leadenhall Market. Roman walls and foundations hatched. A = extant brick pier, fig. 4.

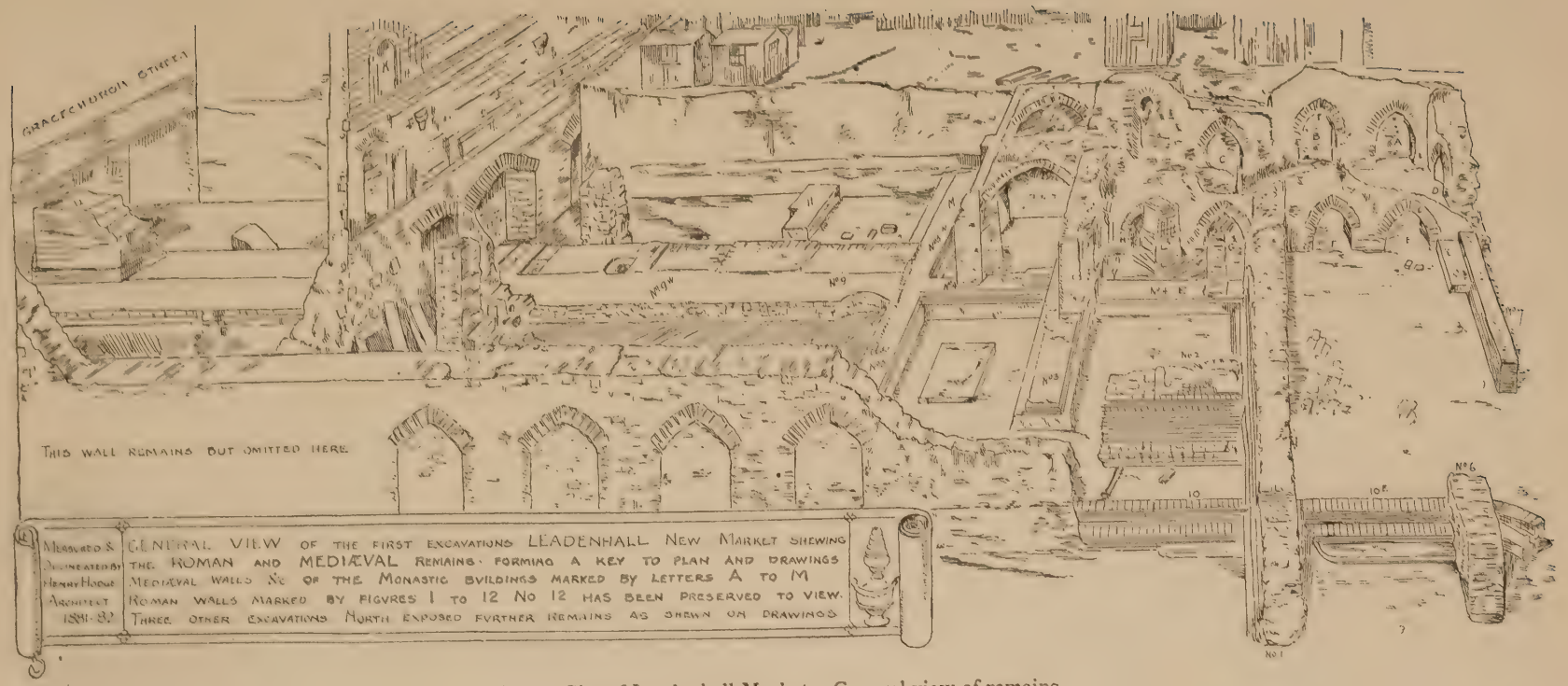

GRACECHURCH STREET
THIS WALL REMAINS BUT OMITTED HERE
Measured & Delineated by Henry Hodge Architect 1881-82
GENERAL VIEW OF THE FIRST EXCAVATIONS LEADENHALL New Market SHEWING THE ROMAN AND MEDIÆVAL REMAINS FORMING A KEY TO PLAN AND DRAWINGS
MEDIÆVAL WALLS &c OF THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS MARKED BY LETTERS A TO M
ROMAN WALLS MARKED BY FIGURES 1 TO 12 No 12 HAS BEEN PRESERVED TO VIEW.
THREE OTHER EXCAVATIONS NORTH EXPOSED FURTHER REMAINS AS SHEWN ON DRAWINGS

Fig. 2. Site of Leadenhall Market. General view of remains.

Fig. 3. Sections of wall (at 9 w and 9 in fig. 2). $\frac{1}{48}$.

chambers like transepts on the south side.' Another summary [1] describes 'walls of great thickness, one with a circular apex (*sic*) at the south-west end'.

Plans and drawings of these discoveries by Mr. H. Hodge were known to be contained in the Gardner collection. Duplicates of them, however, in the Guildhall collection seem to have escaped the notice of archaeologists. Reproductions of the latter set are here published, by permission of the Library and Museum Committee of the Corporation of London.[2]

The plan (fig. 1) covers approximately the southern half of the quadrilateral space bounded by Gracechurch Street, Leadenhall Street, Whittington Avenue, and the Avenue of the Market. It shows clearly at the eastern end a quarter-circle of 25 ft. 7 in. radius, which seems to represent the 'eastern apse' mentioned by Brock. To the west of this arc are indications of two chambers, each about 30 ft. wide, and in continuation of its southern line a wall about 150 ft. long, having the extraordinary breadth of 12 ft. 7 in., runs to the line of, and apparently underneath, Gracechurch Street. On its north side, at the extreme west against Gracechurch Street, are uncertain traces of an apse about 25 ft. wide. This is probably the western 'apex' of the *Archaeological Review*. From the south side of the central wall, at the east end, spring at right angles three walls, which doubtless enclose the 'two chambers like transepts' mentioned by Brock. It was this huge central wall which was noted by Sir W. Tite in 1848, and planned, with its two southern chambers, by Messrs. Norman and Reader in 1906.

It is probable that work of different periods is included in this plan, and cannot with certainty now be distinguished. For example, the small apse at the western end seems hardly consistent with the rest of the structure.

Perhaps the drawings which accompany the plan, and which Mr. Hodge made at the same time, may help to distinguish work of different dates. The largest of these (fig. 2) is a general view of the site, made before the completion of the excavation, for the plan shows further remains to the north. Several portions of the Roman walling are numbered, and of each of these Mr. Hodge made a drawing on a larger scale.

Fig. 4 shows a solid brick wall which still remains in the cellar of a shop at the northern corner of Leadenhall Market and Gracechurch Street. The drawing is in one respect erroneous. The plinth, as drawn, appears to be partly of stone, partly of brick. It is in fact entirely of sandstone.

[1] *Arch. Rev.*, i, 273.

[2] The originals in the Guildhall Library are in pencil on yellow tracing-paper, and cannot therefore be satisfactorily photographed. The figures published herewith are reproduced from ink tracings. I did not learn till these tracings were being made that Mr. Norman and Mr. Reader had already taken some steps towards the publication of the Gardner set. I have to thank them for very generously waiving the claim to priority of publication, which their work on Roman London undoubtedly gave them.

Solid brick building of Roman date is exceedingly rare. The best known example is seen in the Basilica (now a Protestant church) of Trier,[1] attributed to the time of Constantine. In that case the joints are of red mortar (mixed with sand and pounded tile) and as wide as the tiles they separate. In this piece in Leadenhall Market the mortar seems all to be white, and a little less thick than the tiles.

It will be noticed that this brick pier stands on the northern half of the great

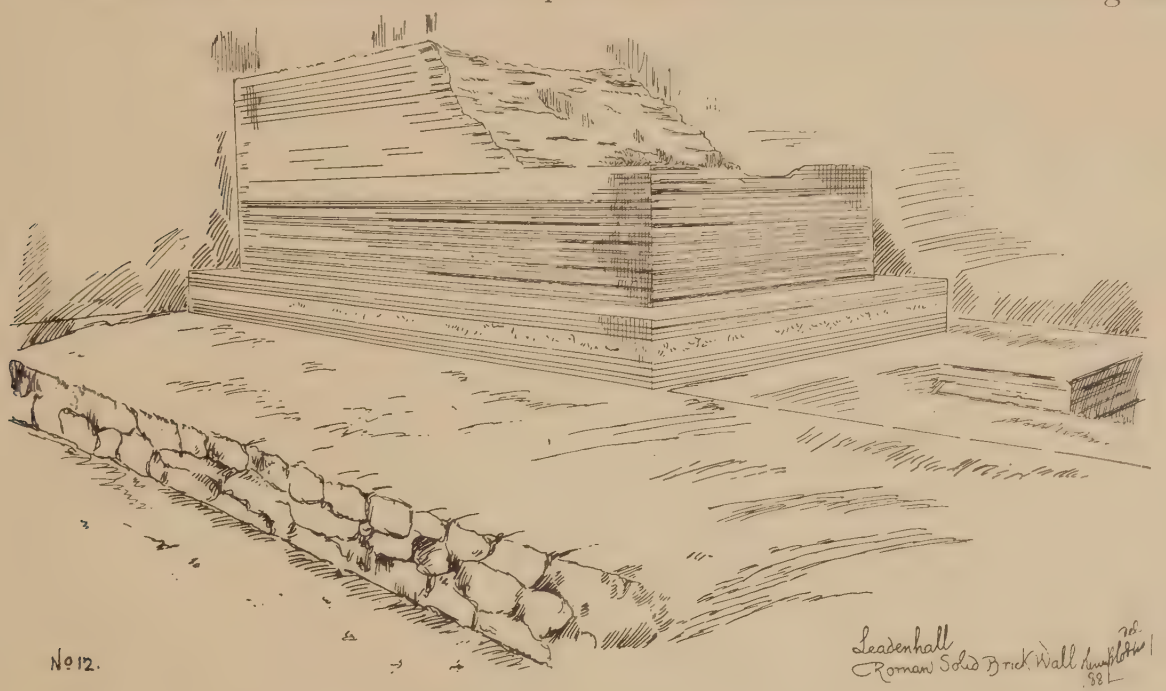


Fig. 4. Leadenhall Market. Brick pier (no. 12 in fig. 2).

central wall. Fig. 3 shows two sections of this wall. The northern half appears to be of brick, the rest of stone or rubble, as though one wall had been built along the face of another. Of course it cannot be assumed that the brick portion was built of brick through its entire height. The small portion of the wall which remained, and was drawn in these sections, may only represent a bonding-course several layers thick.

Fig. 5 shows section and elevation of a piece of wall about 12 ft. high which remained south of the apse.

The method of construction shows a general resemblance to that of the City Wall of London—a method not uncommon in the south of England and in Gaul. A core of rubble is faced with small squared stones (in London ragstone from Kent), and the whole wall is strengthened at intervals with bonding-courses of

[1] See the *Antiquary*, April 1915, and Hettner, *Führer durch Trier*.

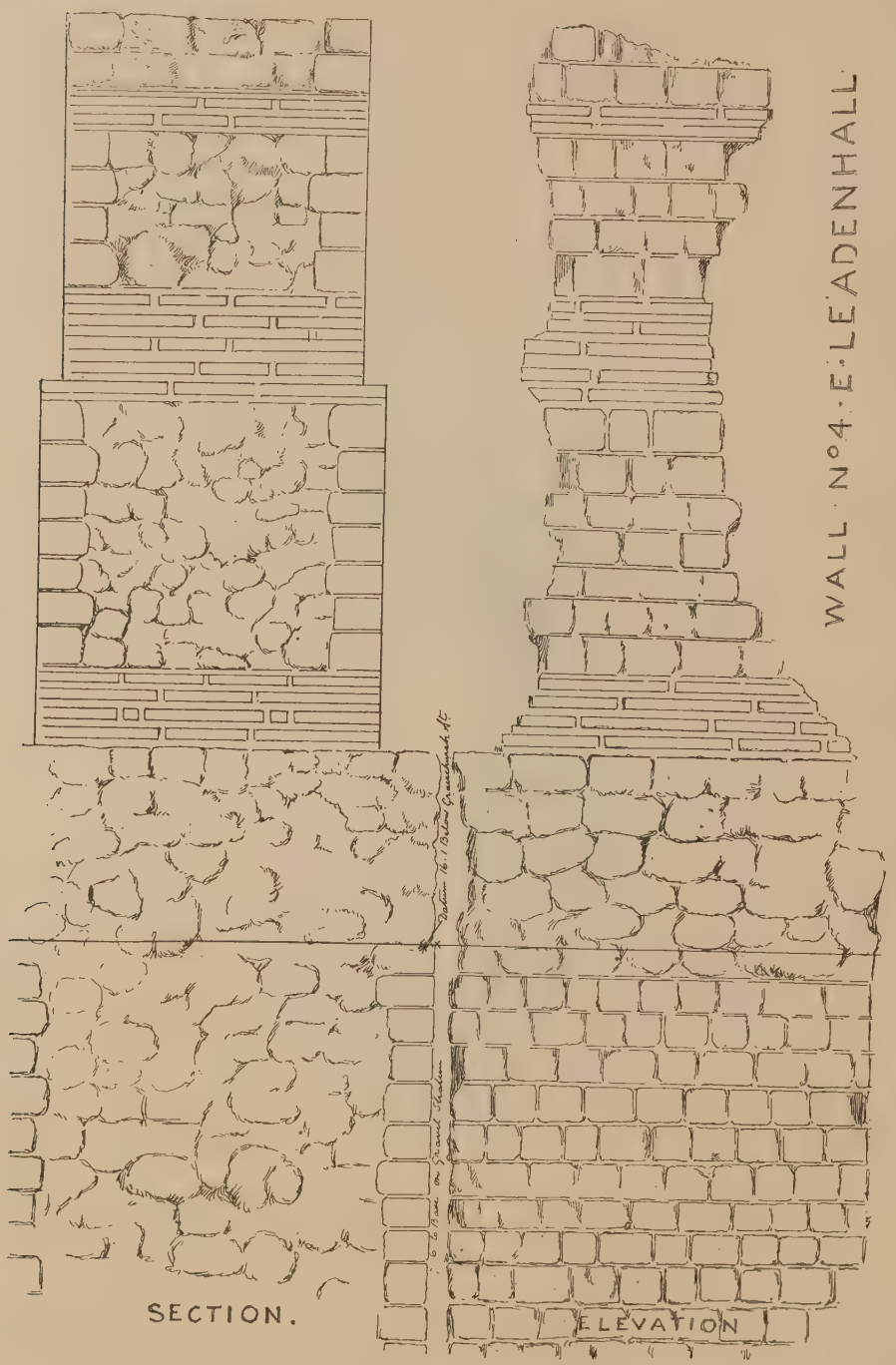
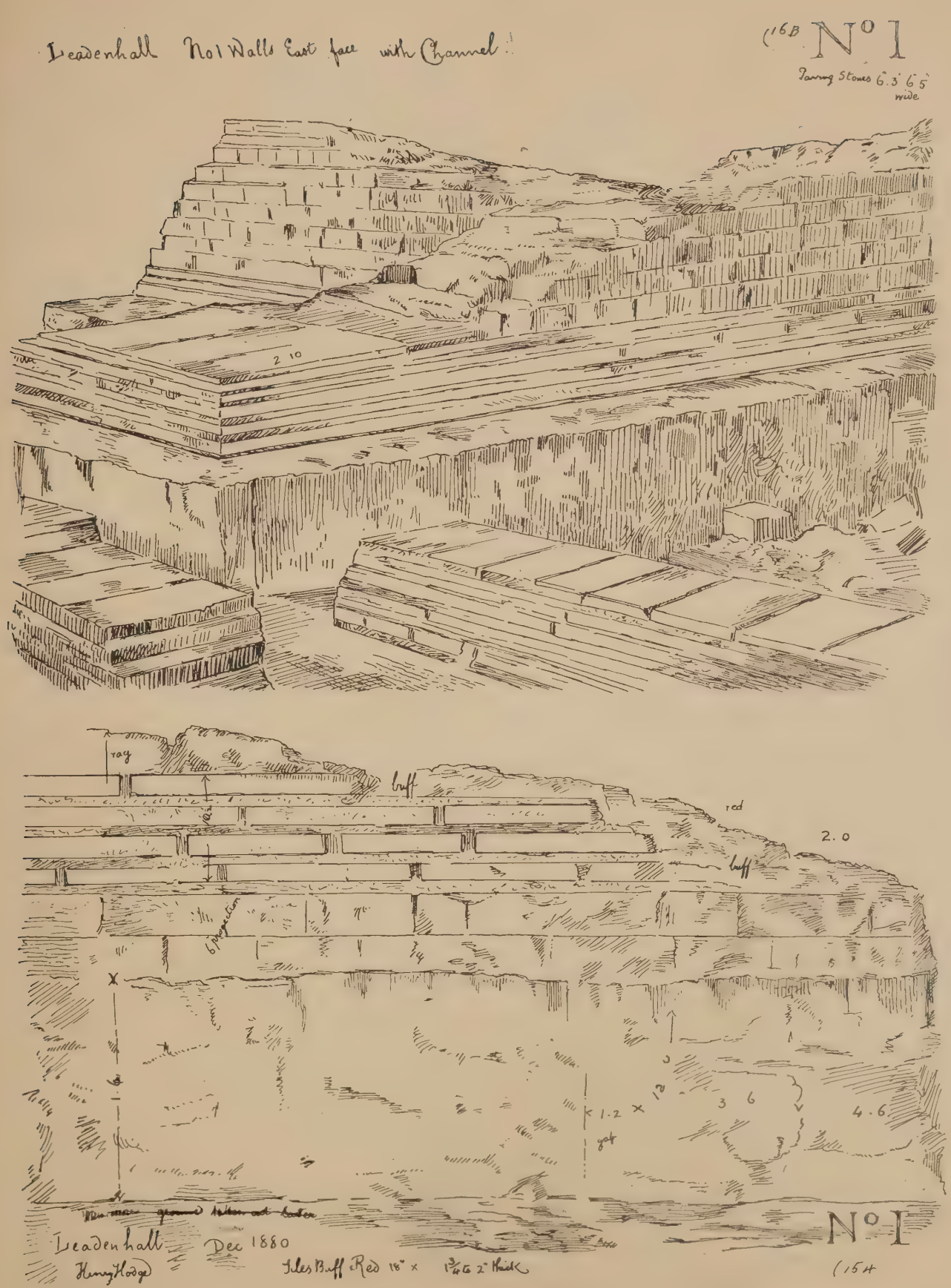
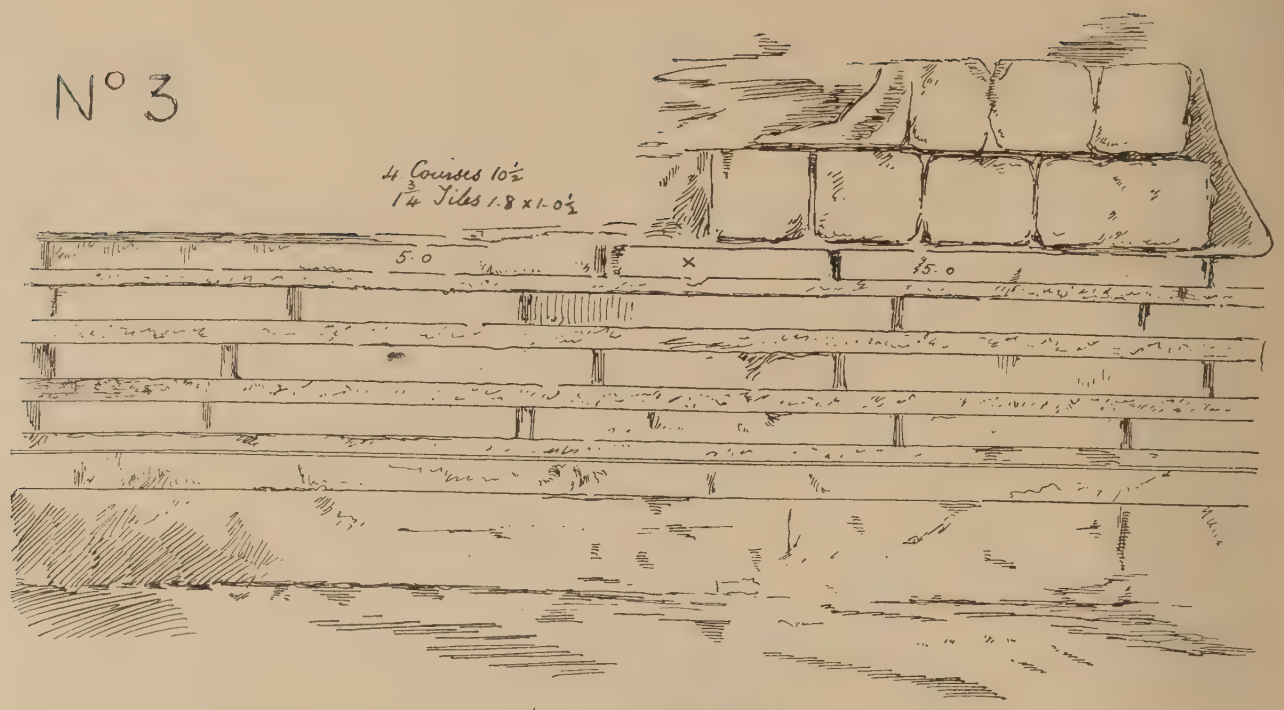


Fig. 5. Leadenhall Market. Roman walls (no. 4 E in fig. 2). $\frac{1}{24}$.



Figs. 6 and 7. Leadenhall Market. Roman walls (no. 1 in fig. 2).



9A

Fig. 8. Leadenhall Market. Roman wall (no. 3 in fig. 2).

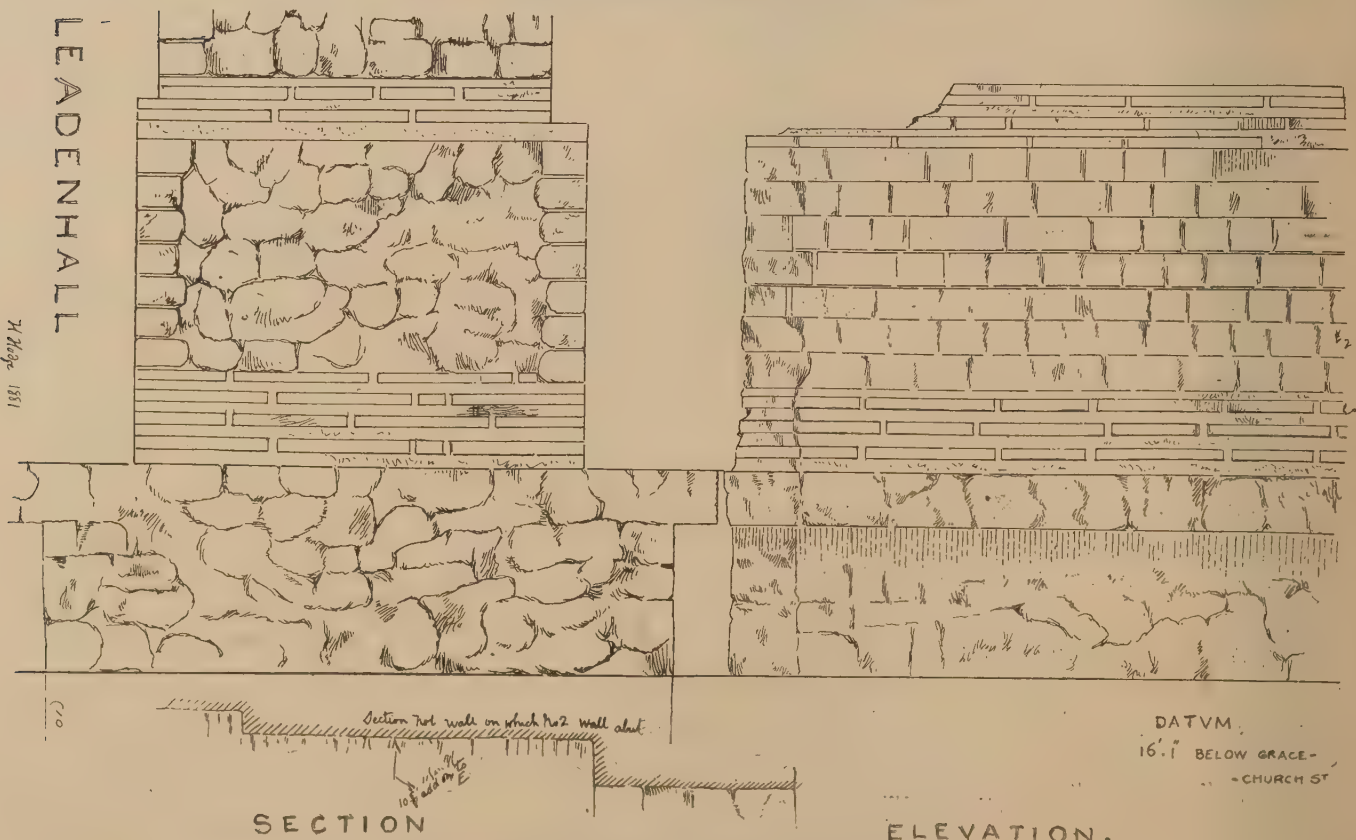


Fig. 9. Leadenhall Market. Roman walls (no. 2 in fig. 2).

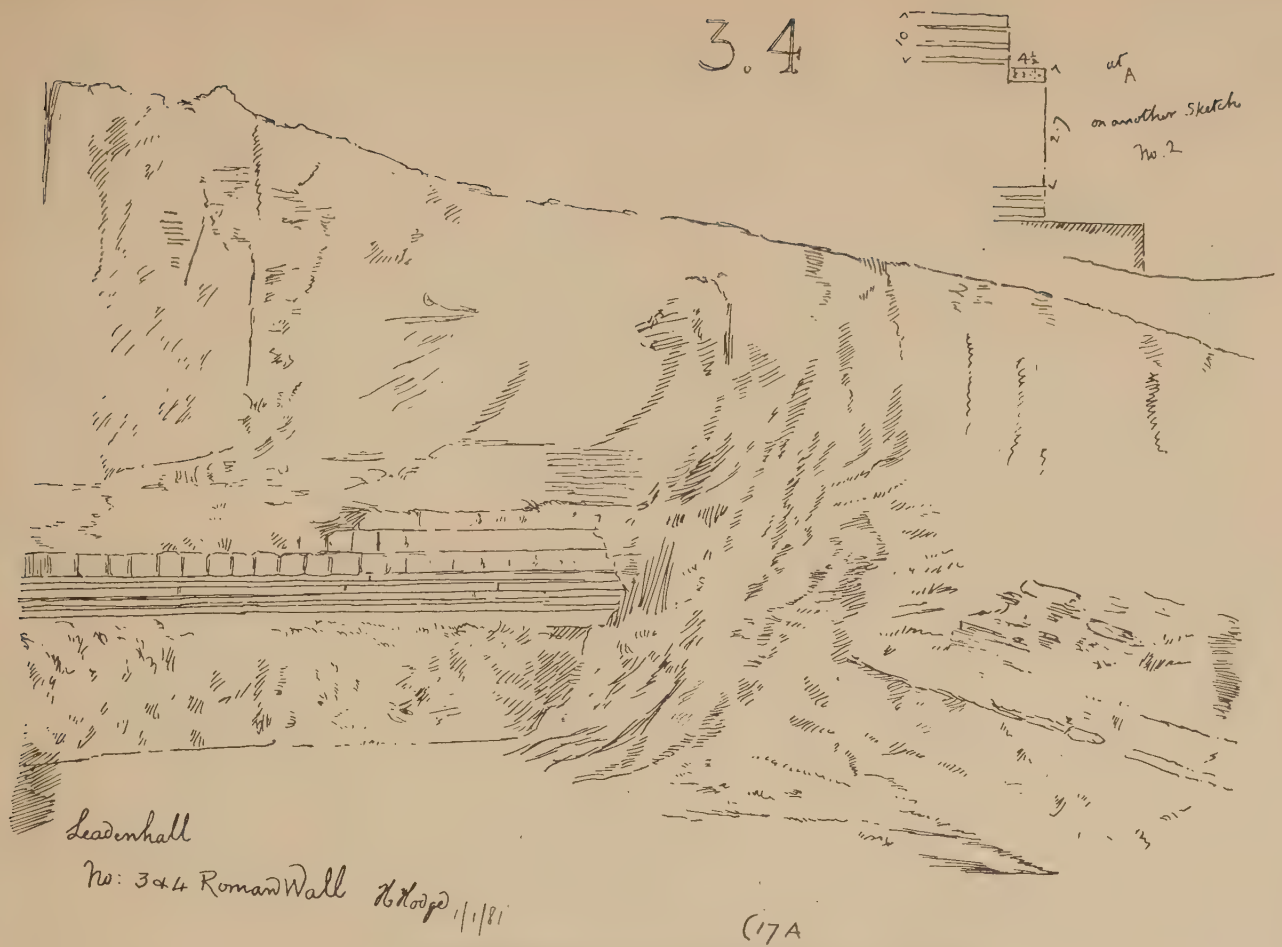


Fig. 10. Leadenhall Market. Roman walls (nos. 3 and 4 in fig. 2).

Fig. 11. Leadenhall Market. Roman walls (nos. 4 and 5 in fig. 2).

tiles. In London Wall the bonding-courses are never more than three layers thick. In these walls five rows of tiles occasionally appear.

Fig. 6 shows the east face of the wall behind the apse, and a brick drain to the south of it. Fig. 7 shows part of the same east wall in greater detail. Fig. 8 shows in detail the east face of the wall that separates the two southern chambers. The considerable thickness of mortar between the courses of tile is very clear in these last drawings. It is stated by M. Blanchet[1] that in the buildings of Gaul, as in those of Rome, late work shows great increase in the thickness of mortar

Fig. 12. Leadenhall Market. Roman brick wall (no. 6 in fig. 2).

between tile courses. If this rule holds good for Britain, the walls under consideration should belong to the third or fourth century.

Fig. 9 illustrates the south wall of the chamber south of the apse.

Figs. 10 and 11 show angles of the two south chambers. The work is obviously of the same type as that shown in the last five drawings.

Fig. 12 shows another fragment of solid brick wall crossing the brick drain at the extreme south-east corner of the site.

It is hardly possible now to produce a convincing reconstruction of the plan of this once important building. It is clear from the drawings that the bulk of the

[1] A. Blanchet, *Les Enceintes Romaines de la Gaule*, p. 251; see pls. iii–v and xi–xvi for examples of this type of wall in Gaul.

eastern portion of the remains is homogeneous in structure and contemporaneous in date. The extra thickness of the great central wall and the fragments of solid brick at either end of the site represent perhaps later additions. Little more than this can be deduced from these imperfect records of an important find.

Unsatisfactory, however, as are these remains, they yet form the most extensive fragment of a Roman building found, and recorded in some detail, within the walls of London. Unhappily they cannot be brought into close relation with other discoveries in a neighbourhood where many such discoveries have been made.[1] Roach Smith described Leadenhall Street as 'abounding in débris of buildings', but not a foot of walls or foundations was planned before their destruction. Several pieces of wall have been put on exact record by Messrs. Norman and Reader,[2] notably west and south of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and in Gracechurch Street between Bell Yard and Corbet Court, but these do not appear to be immediately connected with the remains found in Leadenhall Market. We must wait for building operations of the future to throw perhaps some faint light on the topography of this part of Londinium.

II. EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE OLD GENERAL POST OFFICE, ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.

(*a*) The first modern excavation on this site took place in 1818, when the maze of alleys which then covered it was demolished for the erection of Smirke's building, which was completed in 1825. The builders of that date cleared the soil to a depth of 16 ft. to 18 ft. over almost the whole of the site. There was found and recorded in some detail a crypt,[3] 'in the rear of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane', a part of which, massively constructed and containing Roman bricks, was supposed by some antiquarians of the time to be Roman. Its appearance as illustrated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[4] indicates a Norman date. It is also stated[5] that 'in the back part of one of the vaults was found a large quantity of human bones, thrown promiscuously together, as if collected from different graves'. This discovery of 1818, though it has no connexion with Roman London, is mentioned here because some indication of it emerged during the excavations of 1913 and 1914.

A few vague contemporary references to the early work suggest the general conditions of the site which were to be disclosed in 1913. An anonymous pam-

[1] See Topographical Index of *V. C. H. London*, under Cornhill, Gracechurch Street, Leadenhall Street and Market.

[2] *Archaeologia*, lx, 225, fig. 22, and lxiii, 329, fig. 32.

[3] *Archaeologia*, xix, 255, and xxvii, 411.

[4] *Gent. Mag.*, 1818, ii, 393.

[5] *Ibid.*, 272. See also 1819, ii, 325, and 1825, ii, 245.

phlet published in 1830[1] states that 'in the Roman times we are certain that this was a remarkable spot; for traces both of the living and of the dead—coins, beads, ornaments of dress, glasses of various shapes, pottery—in amphoras, Samian ware, both plain and beautifully figured; funeral arms (*sic*) with burnt bones and ashes, lachrymatories, &c., have been excavated in abundance. Several specimens of these are now in the Guildhall Library.'

The earliest list of donations to the Guildhall Museum records the receipt in 1829 from Mr. H. Cureton of an amphora, a cinerary urn containing burnt bones, some fragments of 'Samian', and other objects found in St. Martin's-le-Grand. They are, however, quite inadequately described, they were never marked with any reference to their site, and they cannot therefore now be identified from among the multitude of Roman objects vaguely labelled 'found in London'.

In 1822 a concrete raft, 6 ft. to 8 ft. thick, was laid over the whole site, except for a small space where two areas flanked the central porch, and no such solid foundation was needed. The most enlightening account of the condition of the site is contained in a note on the use of concrete by Mr. James Elmes in *Notes and Queries*, 9th October, 1858. 'The first concreted foundation of magnitude', he says, 'was laid by Sir Robert Smirke, R.A., under the General Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand. When this destruction of streets, lanes, alleys, and courts was completed, and the site laid open, a greater diversity of subsoil was never before exposed to view, as I am a living and almost daily witness of the progress of this fine substruction. It was a maze of cesspools and wells of various depths and densities; sewers, drains, and bog-holes, intersected with brick foundations of various ages, from the time of the Romans to the Great Fire, many of them as hard as the back of Mount Leinster; and presented a diversity of hard and soft places that would have puzzled any architect from Vitruvius . . . to Wotton, Jones, or Wren.'

(*b*) Such was all the evidence upon which one might have based a forecast of what was to be revealed when Smirke's building was demolished in the winter of 1913, and his concrete raft removed. The foundations of the Accountant-General's office lie considerably deeper than those of the previous building. Not only, therefore, was the concrete removed, but the soil excavated under it to a depth of about 23 ft. (at the south end) and 22 ft. (at the north end of the site) below the street level of St. Martin's-le-Grand, which rises from north to south.

The broad truth of Mr. Elmes's description was at once apparent when sections were laid bare through the concrete and the subsoil (pl. XXIII).

[1] *Illustrations of the Site and Neighbourhood of the New Post Office*, p. 2 (attributed to William Herbert, Guildhall Librarian).

Fig. 1. General Post Office site. Part of east side

Fig. 2. General Post Office site. Part of south side

1. Street level (Foster Lane, fig. 1). 2. Basement, old G.P.O. building. 3. Concrete raft. 4. Brick earth, and 5, gravel, with sections of pits. 6. Gravel floor, showing faint outlines of pits

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

Immediately under the raft was a layer of brick-earth, from 2 ft. to 4 ft. in thickness, the remains of a deposit at least 8 ft. thick when the raft was constructed. This layer rested on a loose and rather sandy gravel, which was found, by experimental boring made on the site by the authorities of St. Paul's Cathedral, to descend another 20 feet before meeting the upper surface of the London Clay. It was immediately clear from such sections as those illustrated in pl. XXIII, that rubbish-pits had been dug in the brick-earth, and often through it into the gravel. The great majority of these pits, containing nothing but Roman débris, were obviously of Roman date; and as the work of excavation proceeded, they were found scattered over almost the whole of the site.

It need hardly be said that rubbish-pits are a common feature of every Romano-British site of any importance.[1] Of the many that must have existed below the surface of London, a few have been recognized and described. The most carefully recorded of these is the large pit found in 1841 under the north-west corner of the Royal Exchange.[2] This was about 50 ft. long from north to south by 34 ft. from east to west, and sank in the gravel to a depth of 33 ft. below the street level. The pit was filled with what Sir William Tite described as 'hardened mud', and contained large quantities of animal and vegetable remains, Roman pottery and other objects of Roman date, most of which are now in the Guildhall Museum. In later Roman times the whole pit had been covered with a bed of concrete rather more than a foot thick, and remains of a building which had been erected on the spot were found.

Other Roman pits have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of the General Post Office. A well-known passage in the *Parentalia* describes one which caused Sir Christopher Wren some trouble in the building of St. Paul's.[3] 'In the Progress of the Works of the Foundations, the Surveyor met with one unexpected difficulty; he began to lay the Foundations from the West-end, and had proceeded successfully through the Dome to the East-end, where the Brick-earth Bottom was yet very good; but as he went on to the North-east Corner, which was the last, and where nothing was expected to interrupt, he fell, in prosecuting the Design, upon a Pit, where all the Pot-earth had been robb'd by the Potters of old Time: here were discovered Quantities of Urns, broken Vessels and Pottery-ware of divers Sorts and Shapes; how far this pit extended Northward, there was no occasion to examine.'

Further early references to the finding, in and about St. Paul's Churchyard,

[1] See Mr. Curle's notes in *Newstead Report*, pp. 105–106.

[2] See W. Tite, *Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange.*

[3] *Parentalia*, p. 286. Mr. Mervyn Macartney, F.S.A., has recently pointed out errors in this description of Wren's work, but they do not affect the fact of the existence of the rubbish-pit (*Proceedings*, xxvi, 219).

of much 'Samian' and other Roman pottery suggest, in the absence of building remains on the site, that other pits besides that which surprised Wren have been struck in this neighbourhood.[1]

In 1845 Mr. W. D. Saull[2] noticed what was probably a rubbish-pit in digging for sewers at the west end of Cheapside. About 20 ft. below the present surface, he found thin seams of ashes, circular in plan and concave in section, above the undisturbed gravel. These were overlaid by Roman débris—pottery, coins, and painted plaster are specified. Mr. Saull assumed the burnt layers to be the remains of a 'British hut-circle'. The conditions are so similar to those observed in several cases in the recent digging (cf. fig. 2, pl. XXIII) that it is more than probable that Mr. Saull only found another rubbish-pit.

In recent years Messrs. Norman and Reader[3] noted eight pits on the site of Christ's Hospital; and finally, turning to another part of the City, the last section of this paper will describe pits of early Roman date lately disclosed in King William Street.

The discoveries of 1913 at the General Post Office, therefore, were not the first that revealed this feature of Roman life, either in the north-west corner of Londinium or in London generally. To return to the excavation of 1913: under the conditions inevitable to contractors' work, careful observation of the position in which objects were found, or their association one with another, was almost impossible. The blasting of the concrete and the removal of the soil beneath it were carried on simultaneously. A section was cut near the south end of the site to the depth finally required for the new foundations, and this section was carried steadily northward. The concrete, as it was blasted yard by yard, fell into the confused heap of gravel, brick-earth, and the black earth of the pits at the bottom of the section. Archaeologically the most that could be done was to collect every fragment possible from the workmen—and it is due to Mr. Thomas Wilson, then Clerk of Works at the General Post Office, that this was most carefully done—to make such few notes as were possible on the circumstances of the finds, and subsequently to report on the collection as a whole.

As on most Romano-British sites, 'Samian' pottery was abundant, and provided the most reliable data for analysis. The examination of the fragments of this and other types of pottery made three conclusions clear.

The first conclusion was that the majority of the finds belonged to the first century. Of 89 fragments of decorated 'Samian', 52 could be assigned to the potteries of La Graufesenque, and the remaining 37 to those centred in Lezoux.

[1] e.g. Dr. Woodward had many objects from this spot. See also Bagford's Letter to Hearne in Leland's *Collectanea*, i, p. lxvii.

[2] W. D. Saull, *Notitia Britanniae*, pp. 13-15.

[3] *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 284-5.

The following potters' stamps represented the wares of La Graufesenque:

OFALBAI	on form	27
AMAN|	,,	27
OFBASSICO	,,	29
BIGA·FEC	,,	18
BVCCVSF	,,	31
OFCALVI	,,	27
COSIRVF	,,	29
COSI·RVTIN	,,	18
OFCREST	,,	18
OFCRESTI	,,	27
OFRONTI	,,	18
OFRONTI	,,	18
GENTILIS·OFI	,,	18
[GERMANIOF	,,	18
IVLLINI	,,	18
[? MAN]SVETI	,,	33
OFMAT	,,	18
OFMODES	,,	27
MOM	,,	27
MONTANVS	on form	27
OFMVR|	,,	27
OF·MVR·TER·F	,,	18
OFNGRI	,,	27
OFNGR	,,	24/25
OFPASSE	,,	18
PASSIEN	,,	15*[1]
PATRIC	,,	27
OFPONTEI	,,	18
[R]VFFI·MA	,,	27
RVFFI·MA	,,	33
OFRVFNI	,,	18
OFRVFIN	,,	27
SACRO·T·MS	,,	18
SECVNDV|	,,	18/31
SENICIO	,,	24/25
OSEVERI	,,	18
OFVIRIL	,,	18

The following stamps represent the potteries of Lezoux and its neighbourhood:

AESTIVIM	on form	33
BORILLIOF	,,	31
BRICCI	,,	33
CARATILLI	,,	80
SVMANNIO	,,	27
DAGOM|	,,	31
DIVICATVS	,,	33
ILLIOMARIM	on form	33
SACER	,,	27
SACERI·MAN	,,	33
SACRIL·I·M	,,	31
SVOBNI·M	,,	31
TITVRONIS	,,	80

The following potter worked at Rheinzabern:

MAMMILIANVS on form 37 (stamped on rim, no decoration remaining).

The factories from which the following stamps emanated are not certainly known:

BALBINVSF (? Galbinus)	on form	18
CADDIRON	,,	27
C·AVTERRA[2]	,,	33
OICIIFEC (? Felicio)	on form	?
CESTIIMA	,,	33
DONTIONIS	,,	27 and 33

[1] In this and subsequent lists the 'Samian' shapes are of course numbered according to the standard classification of Dragendorff. The figure 15* represents the early shallow plate with round moulding (*Viertelrundstab*) inside. The normal type is better shown in Curle, *Newstead*, pl. xxxix, 2, or in Ritterling, *Hofheim*, 1913, pl. xxxi, 4, than by Dragendorff. Many variations occur of the external horizontal flutings in this shape.

[2] Not clear. Perhaps CAVTERRA.

[? OF]IVGA	on form 27	SITICVLA	on form 27
MARC·IIKKIM	,, 27	TAVRINI	,, 18/31
MENDA	,, 33	? VIINI	,, 18
ƧANVIIIIMA	,, 18/31	? VAIII	,, 32?

Of these, forms 18 and 27 were more probably made in the first century, forms 31 and 33 in the second. Dontio may be an early potter of Lezoux. Balbinus,[1] Caddiron, Sanvillus, and Taurinus[2] may also perhaps be assigned to Lezoux. There seem to have been two Marcelli, one of late first-century date, the other working at Rheinzabern.[3] Felicio (?) seems to be an early potter, perhaps of Montans.[4]

Coins of the following reigns were found, confirming the dating of the pottery: Claudius (1), Nero (1), Domitian (1), Trajan (2), Antoninus Pius (2), Faustina I (1), Second Revolt of the Jews[5] (1), Victorinus (1), Valentinian I (1).

The second conclusion derived from the examination of this pottery was that of the second-century fragments, only a small proportion dated later than 150 A.D. For example, there is no certainly German ware, except the stamp of Mammilianus. The black slip ware known as 'Castor' was represented by one fragment only. The potters Aestivus, Caratillus, and Sacrillus[6] are known from the Pudding-Pan Rock finds to have worked in the latter half of the second century.

The third fact that emerged was that the pottery found at the south end of the site was distinctly earlier than that found at the north end. Speaking generally, the finds in the southern half belonged to the first century, those in the northern half to the second century. This is only what might have been expected, the southern part of the site being nearer the central and presumably earlier part of Londinium.

These conclusions were fully confirmed by the later organized excavations.

Pottery fragments were, of course, by far the commonest of the finds. Other objects, however, included:

1. A gold ring, with a plain oval bezel and nicolo intaglio, showing an eagle devouring a hare. On the back, outside, are the initials Q·D·D.

2. A part (about two-thirds) of a flat circular clay mould, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with an erotic subject; probably for making appliqué medallions on a type of bulbous, three-handled jar, assigned by Déchelette to the valley of the Rhône

[1] Perhaps G. Albinus, of La Graufesenque.
[2] Perhaps a Pan Rock potter; see *Proceedings*, xxi, 288.
[3] See *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, 54.
[4] See Déch. i, 272, and *Wroxeter Reports*, 1912, 52, and 1913, 29. Also below, pp. 257 and 268.
[5] See below, p. 241. [6] See *Proceedings*, xxii, 403.

and the late second and third centuries. Most of the moulds known were found at Vienne, but some at Trier and Cologne. See Déchelette, vol. ii, pp. 235 308. For subject, see Fölzer, *Römische Keramik in Trier*, i, pl. xxix, 528.

3. The head of a pipe-clay statuette of Venus. A pilaster of the small shrine in which this statuette may have stood was found on the same spot in subsequent excavations, and a restoration of the whole, based on a shrine found at Vichy and illustrated by Tudot, is shown in pl. XXV, fig. 1. These domestic shrines were made chiefly in the south of Gaul, and in the first century. See Tudot, *Figurines en argile gallo-romaines*, especially pl. i, and *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, p. 18 and fig. 10. The statuettes are not uncommon, e.g. *Guildhall Museum Catalogue*, pl. xv, 2, and xvi, 5, and *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, pl. xi.

4. An iron spokeshave. A similar object (but with its back more curved), found in the bed of the Walbrook at Copthall Court, and now in the Guildhall Museum, is figured by Messrs. Norman and Reader in *Archaeologia*, lxiii, pl. lxix, 4. Another in Devizes Museum was found in the Romano-British settlement on Rushall Down.

5. A bronze coin of the Second Revolt of the Jews, under Simon Barcochab, A.D. 132–135. It is interesting to note that Julius Severus, the general who suppressed the revolt, was recalled from the governorship of Britain to do so. See F. W. Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 244, 39.

6. A fragment of pottery of unusual type is illustrated in fig. 20. This is part of a cylindrical bowl, of fairly fine brown clay, with faint traces of mica dusting. It is rudely stamped with a decoration, in two bands, of concentric circles, small dots and wedges, and C-shaped ornaments. One minute fragment of similar shape and ware was found in the 1914 excavation associated with pottery of the end of the first century, and the traces of mica dust would suggest the same date. Both the stamped ornament and the incised bands are less regular than the complete restoration of outline in fig. 20 seems to indicate. A literal transcript of all the remaining ornament is shown in the lower figure.

(*c*) Many of the rubbish-pits descended below the depth, and extended outside the area, which the contractors had excavated. At the beginning of 1914, therefore, when the contractors had completed their work, the site of the General Post Office was occupied by a great quadrilateral cavity, about 350 ft. by 120 ft., and 22 ft. to 24 ft. deep, on the sides and floor of which could clearly be seen the sections, in plan and elevation, of partly cleared rubbish-pits (pl. XXIII).

Mr. Philip Norman now took up the question of clearing out more carefully than had hitherto been possible the lowest portions of the rubbish-pits, which still remained in the gravel bottom of the site. He approached the authorities

of the General Post Office for permission to undertake such digging, and applied to the Court of Common Council and to the Goldsmiths' Company, whose Hall adjoins the site, for the funds with which it might be carried out. Both applications were entirely successful. The Corporation and the Goldsmiths' Company provided grants of money which together were amply sufficient for the purpose, and the Post Office officials co-operated heartily in the execution of the scheme. By the success of these negotiations, archaeology is indebted to Mr. Norman for a valuable addition to all the excellent work he has done and caused to be done for the furtherance of our knowledge of Roman London.

Mr. Norman entrusted the present writer, by permission of the Committee of the Guildhall Library and Museum, with the supervision of the digging, which began on 12th March and lasted exactly four weeks, ceasing at Easter. Mr. Thomas Wilson again gave freely his valuable help in organizing the labour and preserving the finds, and prepared the plan on which fig. 13 is based. Pl. XXIV shows the appearance of the site after all the holes had been cleared to their base and the earth with which they were filled had been heaped about them.

This earth was almost invariably black and rather damp, and consisted presumably of animal and vegetable matter which had decayed for the most part beyond recognition. With it was mixed, as would be expected, a good deal of the gravel in which the pits had been dug. Many also contained a considerable quantity of the brick-earth which covers the site. This last, however, was never used to line the sides or bottoms of the pits, nor did it ever occur in clear strata, as though deposits had been thrown in and covered. It was always found in irregular streaks and lumps, scattered indiscriminately among the contents of the pits, and appeared to have fallen into them from their sides.

In this matrix of black gravelly earth were embedded, in most of the holes, fragments of pottery, animal bones, and occasionally other small objects. Pottery was more abundant at the south end of the site than elsewhere, but bones were fairly equally distributed over the whole area.[1]

The depth of the pits was found to vary from a mere staining of the surface at which digging began to some seven feet (where the water-level was met) below

[1] Mr. Lyell was kind enough to examine material from Pits E 23 and F 20 at St. Martin's-le-Grand. The general appearance of each suggested an accumulation of surface rubbish containing sand, pebbles, lumps of burnt clay, charcoal, &c., and showed evidence of infiltration of iron, giving the soil a more or less reddish appearance. The specimen from Pit E contained several lumps of burnt clay, a piece of coarse pottery, a fragment of oyster shell, several small pieces of oak, elder, and hazel charcoal, and a few seeds of elder, a sedge (*Carex*), and a grain of wheat, also a few minute bones. Pit F specimen contained a small fragment of Samian ware, a toe-bone of a pig, a tiny fragment of oyster (?) shell, oak charcoal, and a single grain of wheat.

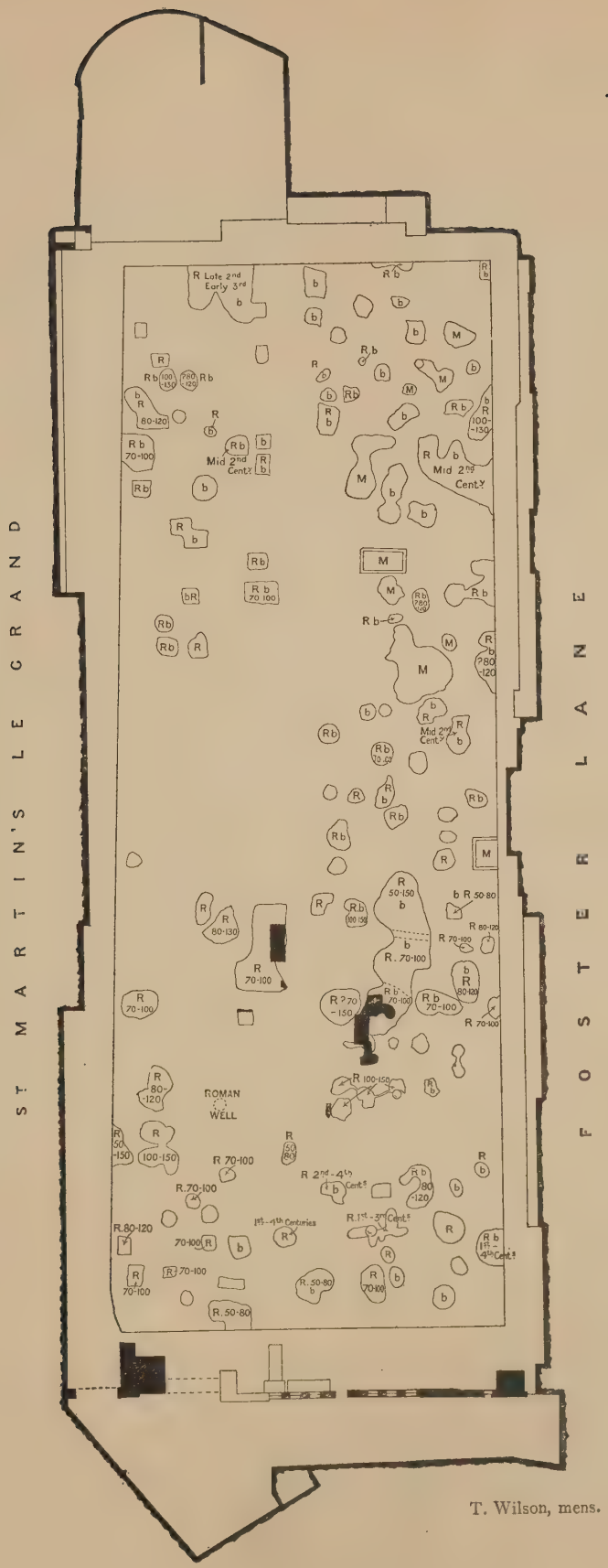


Fig. 13. General Post Office site. Plan of pits.

that surface. The deepest pits therefore sank about thirty feet below the pavement level of St. Martin's-le-Grand.

The contents of each pit were kept carefully separate, and afterwards examined in detail, partly in order to date the beginning of each pit, partly in order to obtain new evidence, by the association of dated with undated pottery, of the age of different types of coarse Roman wares.

The first results, the dating of the pits, are illustrated in fig. 13, which shows their plan. In this plan, the absence of any lettering attached to a pit indicates that nothing was found in it but black earth; *R* (without figures) indicates that Roman pottery was found, but not sufficient in quantity or sufficiently distinctive in character to be dated; figures after *R* indicate the approximate limits of date A. D. to which the contents of the pit probably belonged; *b* indicates that the pit contained animal bones; *M* indicates that the pit was either dug or disturbed in the Middle Ages or more recently.

The dating was based almost entirely on the shape and style of decorated 'Samian' and the potters' stamps of plain 'Samian', according to the results obtained by Déchelette, Ritterling, Knorr, and others on the Continent, and Mr. Curle and others in this country. The work done by Mr. Bushe-Fox in the investigation of coarse pottery at Corbridge and Wroxeter has also been valuable for comparison. We were unlucky in finding only one decipherable coin.[1]

Pits which contained no 'Samian' except fragments of form 29 or stamps of pre-Flavian potters (see Ritterling's list from Hofheim in *Nassauische Annalen*, xl, p. 249) have been assigned to the years A.D. 50-80. Where the 'Samian' consisted of fragments of form 37, in the style of La Graufesenque, there the pit has been attributed to the years A.D. 70-100. Form 37 of Lezoux or the stamps of potters who worked in the neighbourhood of Lezoux have been taken to denote the second century. Most of the decorated fragments of these factories were in the style of small panels which seems to belong to the earlier part of the second century. Hardly any traces were found of the larger panels and broader style characteristic of Cinnamus and Divixtus and their fellow-craftsmen of the Antonine period. Pits which contained a mixture of the late products of La Graufesenque and the earlier products of Lezoux have been dated A.D. 80-120. In a number of pits no 'Samian' at all was found; some of these were dated from their coarse ware, according to results deduced from other pits which did contain 'Samian' (see coarse ware below, figs. 14–16).

Obviously not every pit could be given even an approximate limit of time, but of the cases where this was possible, it will be seen that four pits were

[1] Of Valens, in a mixed pit at the south end of the site.

GENERAL POST OFFICE SITE (FROM GENERAL POST OFFICE NORTH), AFTER EXCAVATION OF PITS

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

dug between A.D. 50 and 80, fourteen between 70 and 100, ten between 80 and 120 or 130, nine in the first half of the second century, three in the middle of the second century, and one at the end of that century or the beginning of the third. It will also be seen that the earliest pits are situated towards the south end of the site, and the latest undisturbed pit at its extreme northern boundary. The latest of all the Roman objects, however, came to light in four very mixed pits at the southern end, which contained remains dating from the first to the fourth centuries.[1] The pottery unearthed during the organized excavation of the lowest part of the pits was, as would be expected, on the whole a little earlier than that obtained by the contractors from the higher deposits. Otherwise the results of the second excavation entirely confirm those of the first. They also raise an interesting possibility. The latest and northernmost of the pits is only 70 yards south of the line of the wall of London, which at this point has not in recent years been uncovered. If, when excavation takes place on this spot, our field of rubbish-pits is found to extend under the line of the wall, we may at last be afforded definite evidence, in one direction of time at least, of the date of the circumvallation of London.

In connexion with the plan several points of interest may here be noted.

The first pit which was cleared, in the extreme north-east corner of our area, revealed the remains of wattle which had been used to support its side. The wood is hazel. This was the only instance of lining of any sort found in any of the pits.

A number of the pits at the north-east corner contained fragments of medieval and later origin. Conspicuous among these is an oblong chalk-lined enclosure, apparently a cesspool, the deposit in which consisted chiefly of decayed bracken, containing fragments of fourteenth-century pottery.

A large irregular hole about 20 ft. to the south of the last was apparently dug after the Great Fire. It contained a considerable number of human bones, the skulls being at the opposite end of the hole from the limb-bones. This spot is near the position of the churchyard of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, and recalls similar finds made during the excavation of 1818 (see above, p. 235). The ragstone foundations marked in solid black to the south of the centre of the plan may also have some relation to the crypt found in 1818.

The most remarkable of the Roman deposits was brought to light in the late first-century pit in the extreme south-west angle. Here a depth of four feet of the pit remained below the floor-level. The lower two feet consisted of the usual black earth, containing several 'Samian' fragments of the last period of

[1] Of course, it is always possible that some of the pits which produced insufficient or no evidence of date may have been dug at a later date than the second century.

La Graufesenque, and many fragments of coarse black ware (types 13, 21, 22, 38, 39). The upper two feet was composed of the débris of a 'wood-and-daub' house which had been destroyed by fire. These included broken bricks and roofing-tiles (with one *imbrex* practically whole), about 500 small pieces of painted plaster, and a number of large pieces of clay daub, burnt hard by the conflagration which had destroyed the building. In several cases the plaster was still adhering to the daub, and in many cases the latter still showed clearly the mark of the wood—apparently laths, not the more usual wattle-work—which originally backed it.

The suggestion of a path among the pits, leading from the east side of their area towards Aldersgate, is of some interest.

The traces of a Roman well beside the line of this apparent path were accidentally discovered during investigations carried out by the authorities of St. Paul's Cathedral. Several planks, about 2 ft. 9 in. long and 6 in. wide, were brought up by a diver engaged in operations below the water-level on the spot indicated, and if his description of their position is correct, would seem to have formed the lining of the bottom of a well. They were said to have been arranged barrel-wise, with a diameter of about 3 feet, and above them was a shallow box, open top and bottom, about 3 ft. square and 9 in. deep. One of the planks is stamped

T·C·PACA

and in another part

C·P +

These would seem to be imperfect impressions representing T. C. Pacati.[1]

The first result of the separate examination of the contents of each pit, whereby the dates of the pits were determined, has been set out above, and summarized in fig. 13. It remains to consider the second set of results, and these are illustrated in figs. 14-16, which show sections of all the types of coarse vessels whose outline could be restored from base to rim, and also of some characteristic necks of flagons, the bodies of which were missing. These drawings are the work of Mr. Thomas Wilson. There follows the description of each of these types, together with its date, where associated finds made approximate dating possible.

Coarse Pottery.

1. Neck of flagon. Very light red clay. A.D. 50-80. This type, characterized by a single overhanging flat band round the rim, is the commonest type of single-

[1] The impressions are faint, and any of the Cs may be a G. Prof. Haverfield reads the first EC·PACA (*Roman Britain in 1914*, p. 35), but after very careful examination I believe the strokes that appear to form E to be accidental.

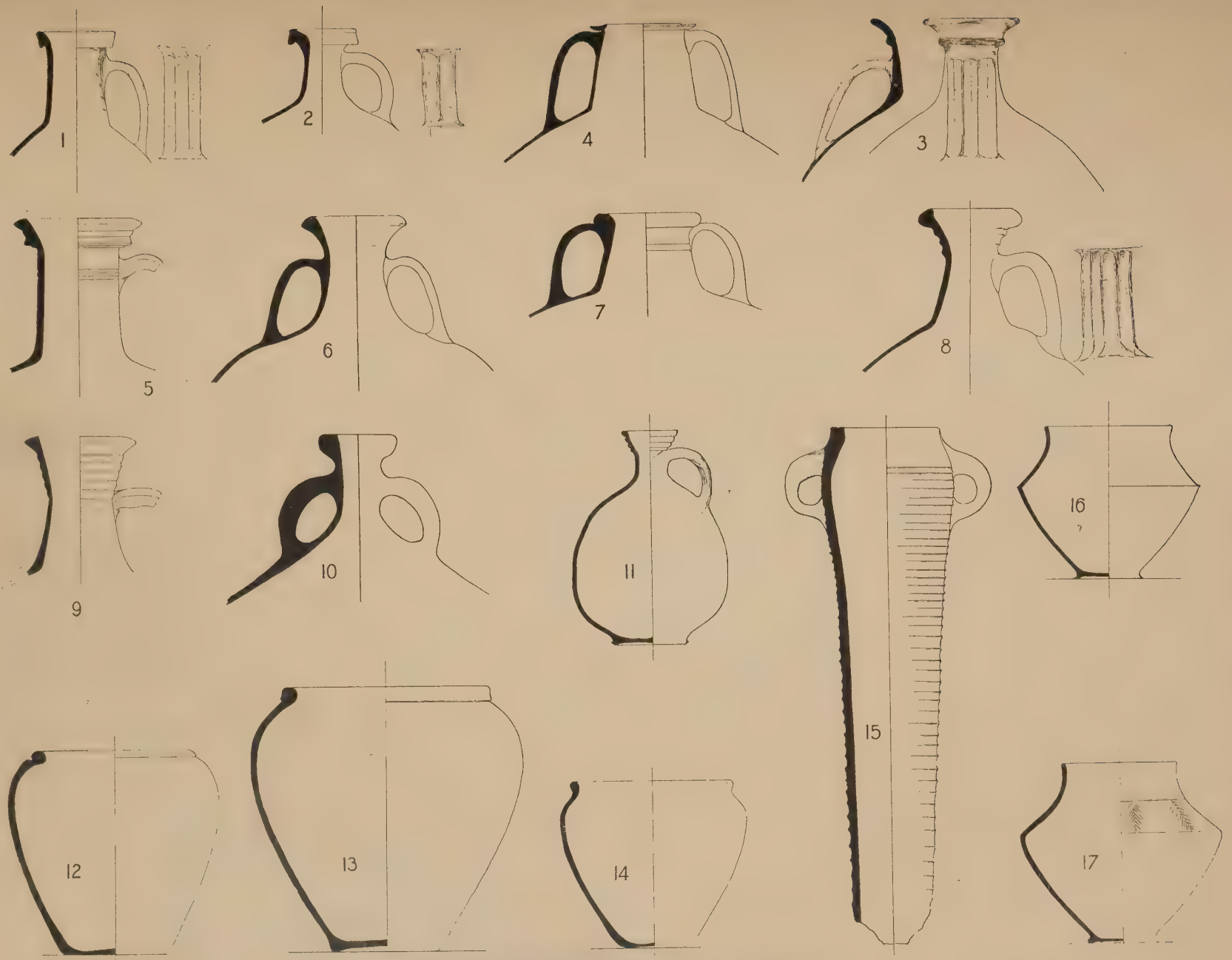


Fig. 14. Coarse Roman pottery, General Post Office site ($\frac{1}{4}$).

T. Wilson, del.

handled flagon found at Hofheim (Ritterling, *Hofheim*, 1913, pl. xxxiv, 50 A and B). Common at Haltern (*Mitt. der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen*, ii, figs. 17 and 18, and v, fig. 24). See also *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, 46, specimens dated A.D. 80–120. The type occurred twelve times on the G. P. O. site, and was in no case associated with any decorated 'Samian' except form 29.

2. Neck of flagon. Light red clay. A.D. 50–80. Variant of 1.

3. Neck of flagon. Light red clay with white slip. Single rib below rim. A.D. 50–80. See Pit E 4, p. 258.

4. Neck of flagon with two double-ribbed handles. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 50–80.

5. Neck of unusually large flagon. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 50–80. An ornamented variant of 1 and 2. See Pit E 4, p. 258.

6. Neck of flagon with two double-ribbed handles and smooth trumpet-shaped mouth. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 70–100. See Pit F 15, p. 260.

7. Neck of flagon with two double-ribbed handles. Yellowish-white clay. Early second century. See *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, 45. See Pit E 2, p. 261.

8. Neck of flagon with four-ribbed handle. The mouth has four indistinct rings, the uppermost much larger than the rest. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 70–100. See May, *Roman Pottery in York Museum*, pl. xvii, 7, for similar mouthpiece.

9. Neck of flagon with five-ringed mouth and three-ribbed handle. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 70–100. See Pit B 15, p. 258.

10. Neck of flagon with two handles. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 70–100. See Pit F 11, p. 260.

11. Flagon with four-ringed neck. The characteristic type of the second century. This was unfortunately the only flagon of any date whose outline was complete from mouth to base. Necks of this type occurred in many second-century deposits, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, of white or red clay, the latter with or without a white slip. The rings are much closer and the neck shorter than in earlier types. The Guildhall Museum contains a number of specimens of this type, and in all cases, as in this illustrated, the greatest width of the body is below its centre. A neck of this type has lately been found in Finsbury Circus with a coin of Marcus Aurelius. See Pit F 13, p. 261.

12. Bead-rimmed pot. Coarse grey ware, irregularly burnt outside, containing grains of calcite. A.D. 50–80. See Bushe-Fox, *Hengistbury Head Report*, pl. xxiii, 6. Common at Haltern (*Mitt. der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen*, ii, 27 33). A pre-Roman type surviving into the early Roman period. See Pit E 4, p. 258.

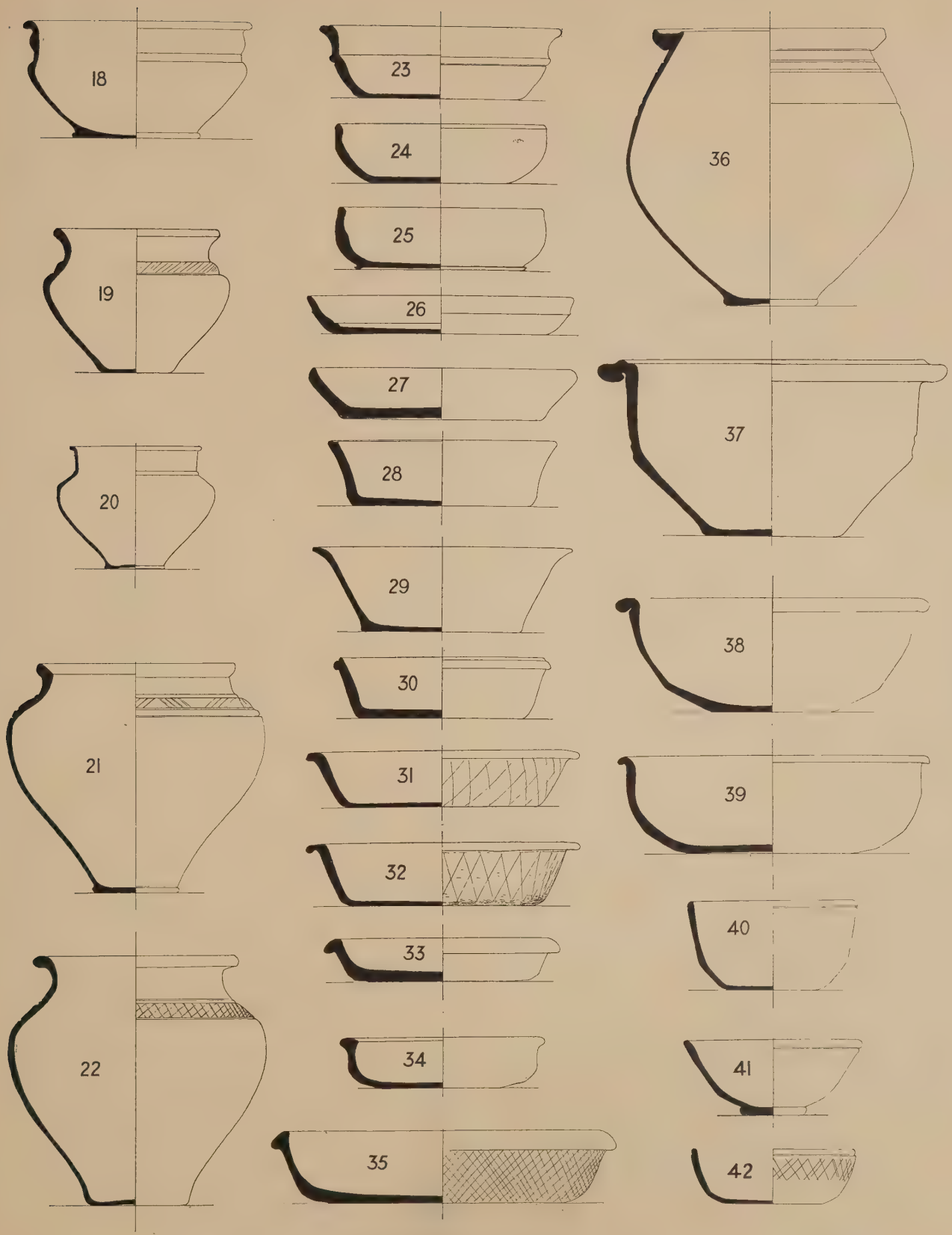


Fig. 15. Coarse Roman pottery, General Post Office site ($\frac{1}{4}$). T. Wilson, del.

13. Bead-rimmed pot. Dark grey clay. A.D. 70–100. This and the last type were common in first-century deposits. The earlier specimens are sometimes hand-made, and always of coarser ware than the later. The earlier specimens were found to be shorter in proportion to the size of their base than the later in the few cases where more than the rim remained. See Pit F 15, p. 260.

14. Bead-rimmed pot, from same deposit as last. Dark grey clay.

15. Amphora, narrow and tapering, with screw from neck to broken point. Dull reddish-brown clay. A.D. 50–100. A similar vessel was found in Southwark in 1868, with a jug of St. Rémy ware and a pre-Roman 'anthropoid' dagger. See *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, xxiv, p. 309; Ritterling, *Hofheim*, 1913, fig. 72.

16. Carinated pot. Fine dark grey clay. Pit F 7, p. 259. See next.

17. Carinated pot. Fine light grey clay. Upper part decorated with incised feathers. The imperfect specimens from which 16 and 17 are drawn both occurred in deposits dating A.D. 70–100, but fragments were found in earlier pits.

18. Bowl with slight shoulder and marked grooves round neck. Dark grey clay. A.D. 50–80. See Pit E 4, p. 258.

19–22. Bowls with well-defined shoulder. 19, 21, 22 are decorated with incised lines round the shoulder. Dark grey clay. These four examples occurred in deposits dating A.D. 70–100, but fragments of similar rims were found in all the four earlier pits. See *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, xxi, p. 202. Pits F 7 and F 15, pp. 259–60.

23. Plate. Dark grey clay, black on the surface. First century.

24. Plate. Grey clay. A.D. 50–80. See Pit E 4, p. 258.

25. Plate. Dark grey clay. A.D. 50–80. See Pit E 4, p. 258.

26. Plate. Dark grey clay. First century.

27. Plate. Grey clay, dusted with mica. Bevelled rim. The commonest type of plate from A.D. 70 to 100. Almost all examples of mica-dusted ware found on the site lay between these two dates. Its absence from the very few earlier pits may of course be accidental; but it very rarely occurred in association with the pottery of Lezoux. Cf. type 22, Wroxeter. See Pit B 15, p. 258.

28. Plate. Light grey clay, irregularly burnt. A.D. 80–100.

29. Shallow dish. Grey clay. A.D. 70–100.

30. Plate. Grey clay, surface irregularly burnt. A.D. 70–100.

31 and 32. Plates. Grey clay. Decorated with trellis hatching. A.D. 80–120.

33 and 35. Plates. Dark grey clay. The commonest type of plate of the second century, but found occasionally (perhaps by accident) in late first-century pits. Characteristic are the overhanging rim and bevelled edge round the base. The type occurred commonly in all sizes between the two here drawn, and also less commonly in a deeper form.

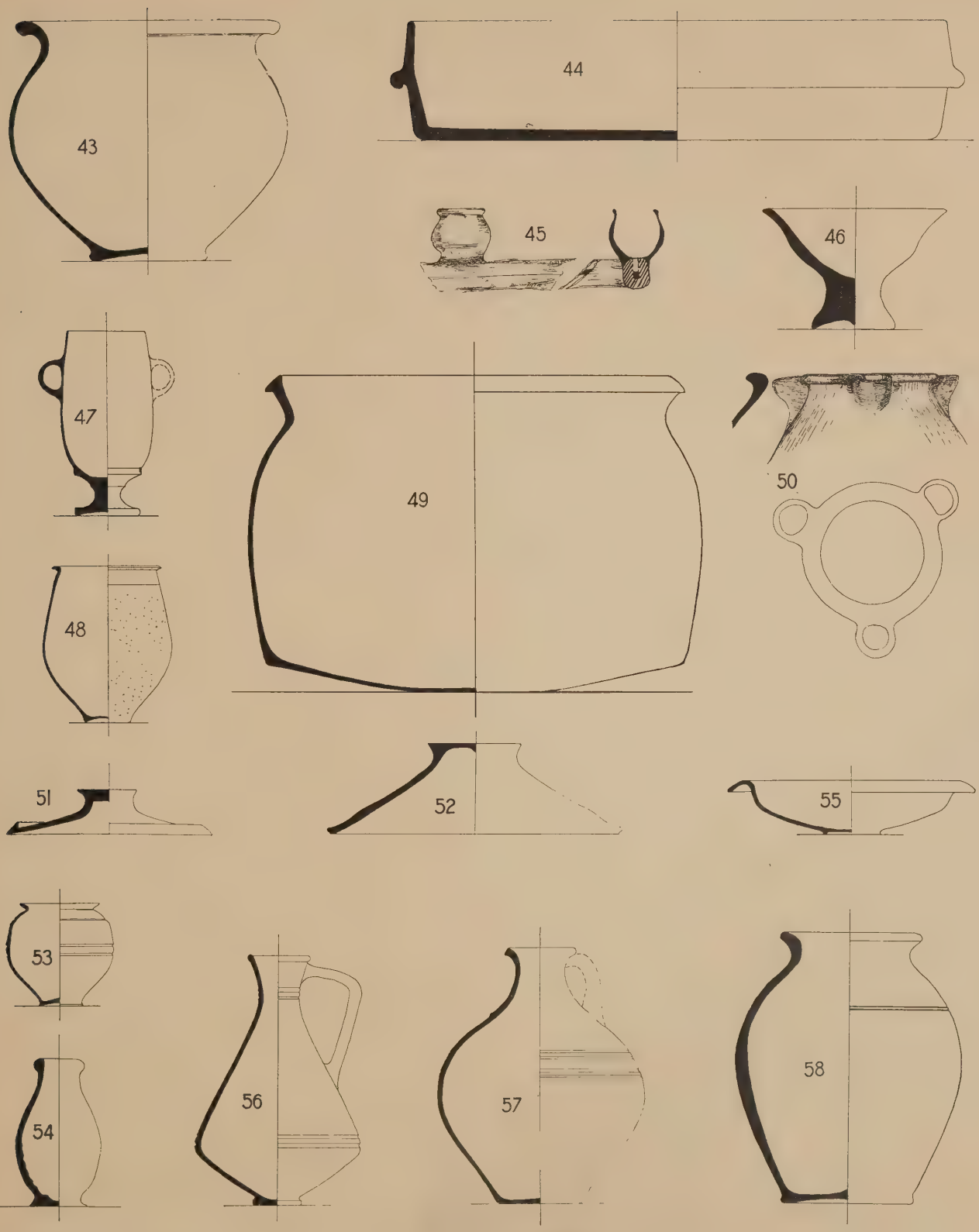


Fig. 16. Coarse pottery, General Post Office site (¼). T. Wilson, del.

34. Plate. Dark grey clay. From a deposit which seemed to date from the end of the second or beginning of the third century.

36. Pot. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 80–120, and perhaps later. Rims of this type were found freely in deposits of this date, but no complete example. This drawing is based on a perfect specimen in the Guildhall Museum.

37. Bowl. Red clay. A.D. 80–120. The outline resembles the Corbridge types 4–7, but this rim is bolder.

38. Bowl. Grey clay. A.D. 70–100.

39. Bowl. Coarse dark grey clay. A.D. 80–120 and perhaps later. See Pit F 13, p. 261.

40–42. Small bowls. Dark grey clay, with smoothly finished surface. Features common to all are the groove round the rim, and slight angle in outline of sides. A.D. 80–120 and perhaps later.

43. Pot. Light grey clay with white slip. A.D. 70–100.

44. Large flat dish. Very coarse brown clay, irregularly burnt, containing sand and tiny fragments of pebbles. A.D. 70–120. See Pit F 11, p. 260.

45. Part of triple vase. Light brown clay. No date. See the *Antiquary*, May, June, and August, 1914.

46. Cup, hand-made. Coarse black ware, containing grains of calcite. Probably A.D. 80–120.

47. Cup. Fine light red clay with white slip. A.D. 80–120. See Pit E 6, p. 260.

48. Cup. White clay, with granulated surface and brown slip. A.D. 100–130.

49. Cooking-pot, with sagging base. Hard coarse grey clay. The obvious resemblance of this type to a common medieval form raises considerable doubt as to its date. Fragments of the type occurred, however, in apparently otherwise undisturbed pits of Roman date, and the section is published here in case later discoveries may prove it to represent a Roman as well as a medieval type. It should be noted that the medieval rim is usually less sharp than this, and its upper surface often flat. For medieval sections and illustrations of pots see *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, n.s., vol. xii, p. 183.

50. Upper part of pot with three spouts. Red clay, with white slip. Probably A.D. 80–120. For an example with spouts more detached see *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, 39.

51. Lid. Light greyish-red clay with white slip. A.D. 70–100.

52. Lid. Dark grey ware. A.D. 80–120.

53. Cup, mica-dusted. A.D. 80–120. See Pit F 13, p. 261.

54. Small pot. Yellowish-white clay. A.D. 70–100. See Pit F 1 c, p. 259.

55. Shallow bowl. White pipe-clay, with smooth surface. A.D. 70–100. See Pit F 11, p. 260.

56. Jug. Light red clay. Only the body of this was found, and neck, handle, and foot have been restored from a complete example in the Guildhall Museum. Second century.

57. Flagon. Hard grey clay. No date.

58. Pot. Hard dark grey clay. Found in same pit as last.

Mortaria. (Figs. 17 and 18.)

Many fragments of *mortaria* were found. The great majority resembled types 38 and 58 (*Wroxeter Report*, 1912, figs. 19 and 20), having curved overhanging rims, with a small bead inside the *mortarium*, just below or level with the top of the curve. The dating of these, at the end of the first century and beginning of the second, agreed with the results obtained by Mr. Bushe-Fox at Wroxeter and elsewhere. Occasionally the bead was above the top of the curve, as in no. 8 below. These were probably of rather later date. All types possessing a potter's stamp, and all exceptional types, are illustrated in figs. 17 and 18. It is to be regretted that so many of the apparently later shapes cannot be more closely dated.

1. A.D. 50–80. See Pit E 4, p. 258. A very early type, found at Haltern. See *Mitt. der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen*, II, xxxviii, 24, and V, fig. 33. 1–10 and pl. xii, 59.

2. Probably A.D. 50–80.

3. From 1913 excavation, therefore not dated. Stamp probably imperfect impression of Saturninus. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* M 2803.

4. Late first century. See Pit F 15, p. 260. Stamp probably *Melus feci.* Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* M 2764 and M 2791.

5. Found with 8, 17, 19, 20 in a pit containing 'Samian' from A.D. 50 to 150, and coarse wares probably later. Stamp of Martinus. Cf. no. 7.

6. A.D. 80–120. See Pit E 6, p. 260. Stamp *Manu.* Presumably the potter's name was on another stamp on opposite side of lip.

7. A.D. 100–150. See Pit F 13, p. 261. Imperfect impression of same stamp as on 5.

8. No date. Found with 5, 17, 19, 20. Cf. rim in May, *Roman Pottery, York*, pl. xxiv, 29. Faint stamp, reading perhaps NIMVG.

9. A.D. 80–120. See Pit E 18, p. 261. Imperfect stamp, perhaps of Melus. Cf. 4 above.

10. Found in mixed deposit, chiefly early second century. Stamped twice with name of Virilis. Cf. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10006, 113.

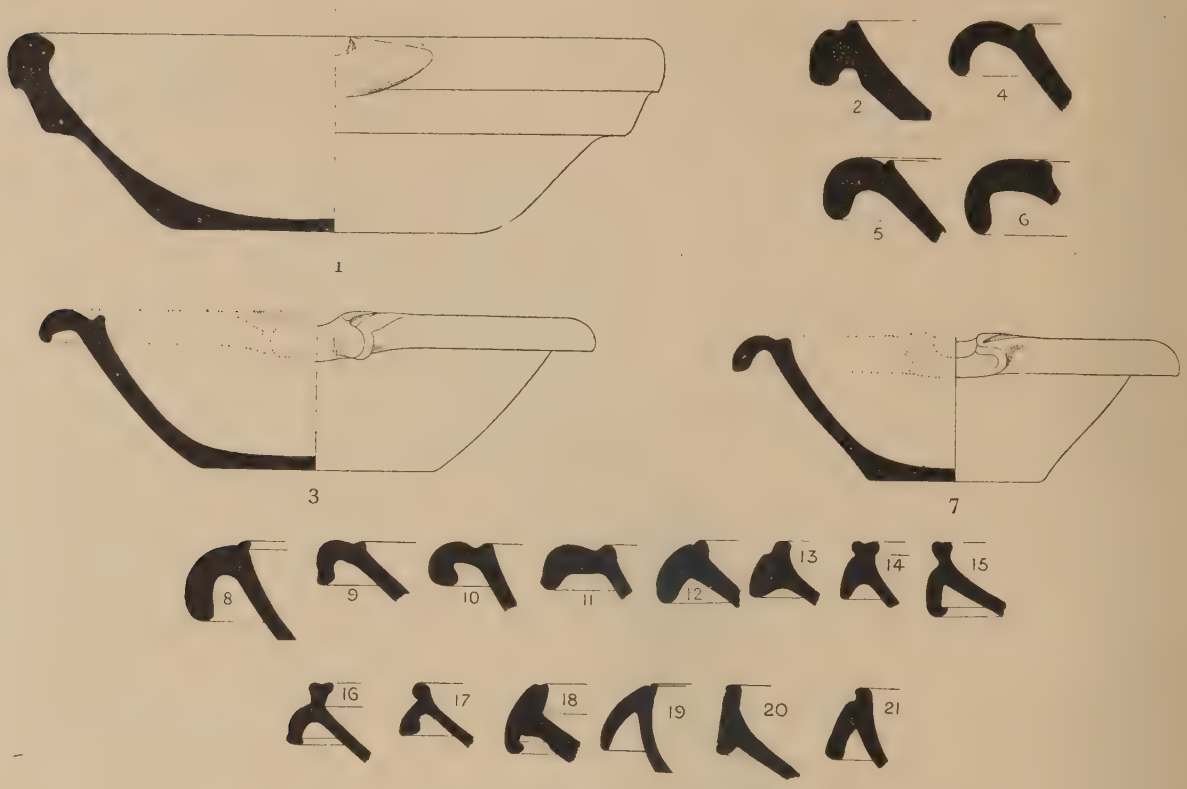


Fig. 17. Mortaria rim-sections, General Post Office site ($\frac{1}{4}$).

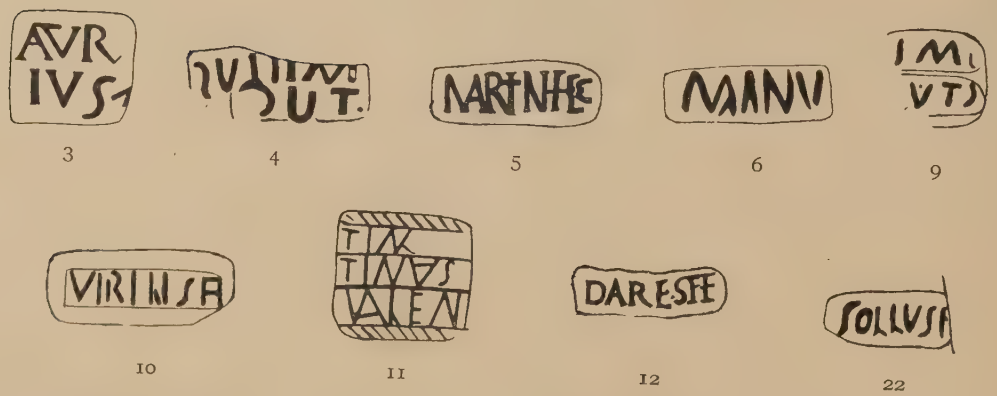


Fig. 18. Stamps on mortaria, General Post Office site (found on rims with corresponding nos. in fig. 17) ($\frac{1}{2}$).

11. From 1913 excavation, therefore not dated. The unusual thickness of centre is caused by proximity of section to lip of *mortarium*. Stamp of Valentinus. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 2806, and *Guildhall Cat.*, p. 102, 628.

12. From 1913 excavation, therefore not dated. Stamp of Dares. Cf. type 98, from Poltross Burn, latter half of second century.

13. Second century. Found with stamp of 'Samian' potter Peculiaris. See Pit E 2, p. 261.

14, 15. Found together, without sufficient evidence of date. With 15 cf. type 106 Wroxeter. With 14 cf. type 230, though latter has outer face vertical.

16. Found with stamp of Cinnamus. Middle of second century. Cf. no. 15.

17. No date. Found with 5, 8, 19, 20.

18. No sufficient dating evidence.

19. No date. Found with 5, 8, 17, 20.

20. No date. Found with last. Cf. type 226, perhaps fourth century.

21. Found at bottom of well. No associations.

22. Stamp of Sollus, on fragment of curved rim, probably type 38 or 58. Cf. *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, p. 46, 37.

Stamps, etc. on Amphorae (fig. 19).

1. Late first century. See Pit E 28, p. 259.

2. Late first or early second century. See Pit E 6, p. 260.

3. Cf. *C. I. L.*, xv, 3084 (Monte Testaccio).

1 2 3 4

Fig. 19. Stamps on handles of amphorae, General Post Office site (½).

4. C. Ster(tini?) Paullini. Cf. *C. I. L.*, xiii, 10002, 482, and xv, 3193 (Monte Testaccio).

Fig. 20. Numeral incised on rim of amphora. Cf. *C. I. L.*, 10003, 126.

Fig. 21. Letters incised on handle of amphora. ? VALVOI. They seem equally meaningless if inverted.

Fig. 20 (½).

Fig. 21 (½).

'Samian' Stamps.

The following is the complete list of decipherable 'Samian' stamps found during the organized excavations:

First century, from La Graufesenque:

OFAIBN	on form	27
OFAQVIT	,,	27
OFCALV	,,	27
OFCRESTIO	,,	18
CRESTIO	,,	24–25
OFRONTI	,,	18
OFGER	,,	27
GERMAN	,,	18
INGENVI	,,	18
OFIVCVN	,,	27
ICNIMO	,,	18 (? Licinus)
OFMAS	,,	27
MASCVLI	,,	33
OFMODES+	,,	18
OFMO	,,	27
OM	,,	27

OF MVRRN	on form	18
MVRR	,,	29
OFNGR	,,	24–25
PASSIEN	,,	15*
SAGGO	,,	27
OFPATRIC	,,	18
OFPAT/	,,	27
OFPRIMI	,,	18
OFPRM	,,	27
SENICI/	,,	27
SENTRVS·FE	,,	18
OFSEVER	,,	18
OFSVLPICI	,,	18
OF·VITA	,,	18
VITA	,,	27
VITALISOF	,,	27

The following belong to the *second century*:

ALBVCI	on form	37[1]
BVTTVRRI	,,	33
IMANI	,,	37[2]
DVIC·AT·V:S	,,	33

LOLLIIVSFE	on form	27
METTI·M	,,	80
ŒCVLIARIS	,,	33

The origin of the following is not certain:

ABALLANF	on form	33 (A.D. 100–150)
ACVRIO·F	,,	33 (no certain associations)
ANNIVSF	,,	31 (A.D. 100–130)
SVAIAO	,,	18 (A.D. 70–100)
OFCO·IV (? Coelius)	,,	18 (A.D. 80–120)
OFCO·IV	,,	27 ,,
CVCALIM	,,	33 (no certain associations)

[1] Of decoration, only part of circumference of a medallion remains.

[2] Cinnamus. Part of two panels remains. One contained a medallion, but the figure it contained is gone. Small circle in corner. The other contains a figure of Athena (Déch. 77). Name vertically up side of panel, retrograde.

OIOILƎƎƆ (? Felicio)[1]	on form ?	(A. D. 50–80)
GAI·M	,,	18 (no certain associations)
GNAT/	,,	31 ,,
/EDV (probably Malledu)	,,	18 ,,
OFMASO[2]	,,	33 (A. D. 70–100)
POT·TACVS	,,	31 (no certain associations)
OF·SEMP	,,	33 (A. D. 70–100)

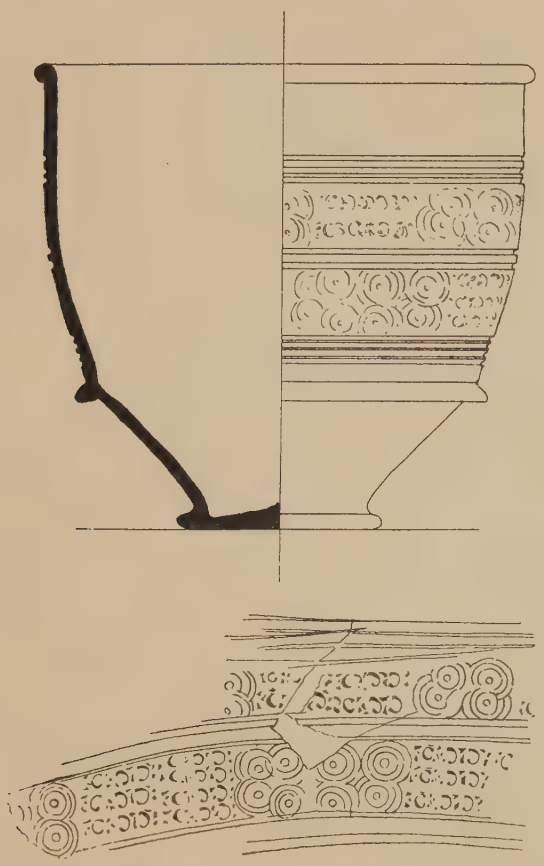


Fig. 22. Stamped fragment and re-constructed vase, General Post Office site (½). (p. 241)
T. Wilson, del.

If the forms on which they are generally found, and (in two cases) the associations with which they were found in these pits, are any criterion, then Aballanis, Acurio, Annius, Cucalus, and Pottacus should belong to the second century and probably to the potteries of Lezoux.

[1] See similar stamp (and foot-note), pp. 239-40 above.

[2] Perhaps a badly written stamp of Masclus, but the last letter is clearly an O. A Maso worked at Heiligenberg and Ittenweiler. See Forrer, pl. xvi, 40, and fig. 232.

For the associated objects found with the stamps of Felicio (?), Licinus, Modestus, and Sentrus, see summary of Pit E 4 following; for Calvus, Crestio, and ƨVΛIAↃ, see Pit B 15; for Primus and CRESTIO see Pit E 28; for Niger see Pit F 1 c; for Maso see Pit F 7; for Crestio and Vitalis see Pit F 11; for Jucundus and Vitalis see Pit F 15; for OFCO·IV see Pit E 6; for Peculiaris see Pit E 2; for Albanus and Aballanis see Pit F 13.

Summaries of Selected Pits.

Summaries are appended of the contents of a number of characteristic pits, chiefly from the southern end of the area, where the pits were both more numerous and far richer in remains. Fragments of the sides and bottoms of vessels of coarse ware, which did not show a complete section from base to rim, or the type of which could not certainly be classified, have in all cases been omitted.

Pit E 4. Dated A. D. 50–80, but perhaps a little later.

Decorated 'Samian'. Fragments of two specimens of form 29. (*a*) Upper frieze, festoons, containing small birds looking alternately right and left; lower frieze, scroll with broad leaves. (*b*) Upper frieze, festoons; lower frieze, alternately cruciform patterns and medallions containing fan-like leaf. (*b*) perhaps pre-Flavian. Also one fragment of base of form 30.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamps of Licinus, Modestus, and Sentrus on form 18, of Passienus on form 15*, and of Felicio (?) on uncertain shape. Fragments (no stamps remaining) of forms 15*, 18, 24, and 25.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 3, 5, 12, 18, 24, 25, figs. 14 and 15. One neck of flagon, type 1. Four fragments of bead-rims, type 12. Three fragments of rims, types 20–22. Two fragments, type 10 Wroxeter. Fragment of black carinated vessel, imitation of 'Samian' form 29. One fragment, perhaps types 29, 30 Corbridge. Eighteen fragments (at least three large vessels) of thick hand-made ware, containing grains of calcite.

Mortarium. Original of type 1, fig. 17, and fragment of type 22 Wroxeter (see *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, figs. 19 and 20).

Pit B 15. Late first century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Small fragment of form 37, La Graufesenque, with double frieze. Traces in upper frieze of medallion, and in lower of conventional grass-plant.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamp of Calvus on form 27, and of Crestio and ƨVΛIAↃ on form 18. Also fragments of forms 18, 24, 25, 27, 33, 35, 36, and ?67.

Coarse wares. Original of flagon neck, type 9, fig. 14. Five fragments of bead-rims, types 12, 13. Eight fragments rims, types 20–22. Fragment of bowl, type 39. Fragment of 'Upchurch' ware (grey surface with parallel rows of raised dots). Fragment of bowl, types 4–8 Corbridge. Fragment of plate, type 27, fig. 15.

Mortaria. Fragments of types 38 and 46 Wroxeter.

Pit E 28. Late first century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Seven fragments of form 29, representing at least four bowls. The only considerable pieces are (*a*) part of upper frieze, panels containing alternately arrow-heads and a dolphin (Déch. 1062) and fish, (*b*) lower frieze, gadroons. Three fragments of rims and traces of decoration of form 37 La Graufesenque. One fragment of base of form 30.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamps of Primus on form 18 and CRESTIO on forms 22–25. Also fragments of forms 15*, 18, 27, 82, and 'ink-well'.

Coarse wares. Original of type 27, fig. 15. One fragment flagon, type 4. Two fragments of bead-rims, types 12, 13. Three fragments rims, types 20–22. One fragment bowl, type 39. Eight fragments lids, type 51 or 52. Three fragments of type 10 Wroxeter. Two fragments, types 4–8 Corbridge. Fragments of two cooking-pots, type 66 Wroxeter. Fragment of lid, mica-dusted. Fragment of 'incense-bowl'.

Mortarium. Fragment, types 38–58 Wroxeter.

Amphora. Handle stamped MIMOPSI.

Pit F 1 c. Late first century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Three fragments, upper friezes of bowls form 29, with traces of panels. About half bowl, form 37 La Graufesenque, double frieze; upper frieze, small scroll, as *Roman Journal*, iv, pl. xiii, 71; lower frieze, S ornament.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamp of Niger on forms 24, 25. Also fragments of forms 18, 18/31, 27, 33, 35, 36, 83.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 29, 49, 54, figs. 15 and 16 (49 perhaps medieval, see p. 252). Eleven fragments bead-rims, type 13. Twenty fragments pots, types 20–22. One fragment plate, type 27. One fragment dish, type 29. Fragments of several plates, type 33 or 35. Two fragments bowls, type 39. Part of beaker, granulated surface, type 48. Five fragments lids, type 51. Necks of flagons, types 8 and 9. Neck of flagon, pinched to form spout, as Curle, *Newstead*, fig. 33, 9. Fragments of three or more pots 'Upchurch' ware (grey ware with raised spots).

Mortaria. Two fragments rims, type 22 or 26 Wroxeter.

Pit F 7. Late first century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Two fragments of form 29, no decoration remaining.

Plain 'Samian'. Part of unusually large form 33, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, with stamp OFMASO; an early example of this shape, thin ware with high glaze, and incised lines round outside, near rim and base. Also fragments of forms 18 and 27, stamps wanting.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 16, 19, 20, figs. 14 and 15. One fragment bead-rim, type 13. Neck of bottle, hard dark grey ware with band of chevron decoration round it. Two fragments of rims of small cups, sharply turned. Fragment of type 39, fig. 15.

Pit F 11. Late first century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Fragment of lower frieze, form 29, gadroons. Fragment of lower frieze, form 29, in style of Germanus, with heavy festoons, containing cyclamen leaves (cf. Knorr, *Rottweil*, pl. v, 1). Fragment of form 37 La Graufesenque, with large scroll; in the lower space, a boar to left (Déch. 837) and double volute ornament. Six fragments of rims of early form 37, with traces of decoration.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamps of Crestio and Vitalis on form 18. Also fragments of 15*, 18, 27, 31, 35–36, 40, 83.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 10, 30, 38, 44, 55, figs. 14–16. Two fragments of bead-rims, type 13. Thirty fragments, types 20–22. Nine fragments lids, type 51. Seven fragments lids, type 52. Three fragments bowls, types 31, 32, but deeper. Two fragments plates, type 27. Also fragments 'Upchurch' ware (grey with spots). One fragment, type 10 Wroxeter. Fragments of several cooking-pots, type 66 Wroxeter. Neck of flagon, type 9, fig. 14.

Pit F 15. Late first century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Fragments of form 37 La Graufesenque, with double frieze. Upper frieze, festoons (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. xxxviii, 4); lower frieze, dog running to right (Déch. 916) and conventional clump of grass. (Cf. for similar bowl, *Roman Journal*, vol. iv, pl. xi, 57.) Also fragment of form 37 La Graufesenque, with head of Minerva in panel.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamps of Jucundus and Vitalis on form 27, and fragments of forms 18, 27, 35, 36, and 82.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 6, 13, 14, 21, 22, figs. 14 and 15. Fragments of two bowls, type 13, and fifteen of types 20–22. Rims of three bowls, type 38. One rim of plate, type 33 or 35.

Mortarium. Original of type 4, fig. 17, with stamp of Melus.

Miscellaneous. Fragments of statuette and shrine illustrated in pl. XXV, fig. 1.

Pit E 6. Late first century or early second.

Decorated 'Samian'. Fragment of form 37. Scroll of vine-leaves. Above, part of male figure (Déch. 438?), and in angle below, goat (Déch. 889). Probably early Lezoux.

Plain 'Samian'. Fragment of forms 15*, 18 with stamp OFCO·IV. Also fragments of forms 18, 27, 35, 36.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 47 and 52, fig. 16. Neck of flagon, type 9, fig. 14. Fragment of plate, type 27, fig. 15. Part of frilled 'incense-bowl'. Fragment of hemispherical bowl, thin black ware, with groups of incised vertical lines ending in concentric semicircles. (Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, fig. 274.)

Mortarium. Original of type 6, figs. 17 and 18.

Amphora. Handle with stamp MVR, fig. 19.

Pit E 18. Late first and early second century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Fragments of four bowls, form 37. (*a*) La Graufesenque, double frieze. Upper frieze, medallion containing lion (Déch. 765 *bis*) and traces of panels adjoining; lower frieze, boar (Déch. 837) and conventional tuft of grass. (*b*) Part of cruciform ornament and wreath below it, perhaps latest La Graufesenque. (*c*) Scroll of vine-leaves, resembling (but not exactly) scrolls in *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, fig. 12 and pl. xv, 14. Small bird in scroll. Conventional wreath in place of egg and tongue. (*d*) Small panel containing crouching lion (Déch. 754) and male figure (Déch. 403), the latter placed sideways. In remains of adjoining panel, two pairs of concentric circles (Déch. 1182). Panels separated by waved lines.

Plain 'Samian'. Fragments of forms 18, 27, and 33.

Coarse wares. Two fragments of types 20-22, fig. 15. One fragment plate, type 27. Two fragments plates, type 33 or 35, but deeper. Two fragments cups, rough-cast ware, type 48, fig. 16. One fragment, types 4–7 Corbridge. One fragment, type 10 Wroxeter. One fragment bowl, incised vertical lines and semicircles, and Pit E 6. One fragment 'Upchurch' ware (grey with rows of spots).

Mortarium. Original of no. 9, figs. 17 and 18, with imperfect stamp.

Pit E 2. First half of second century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Three small fragments, form 37. (*a*) Free style, part of lion; (*b*) panels, part of human figure; (*c*) thick rim.

Plain 'Samian'. Form 80, with stamp of Peculiaris. Fragments of forms 18, 31, 33, 38.

Coarse wares. Originals of type 7, figs. 14 and 16. Neck of flagon, type 11. Fragment of pot, type 36. Fragment of lid, type 51. Four fragments plates, type 33 or 35. Fragment of frilled 'incense-bowl'. Fragment of cooking-pot, type 66 Wroxeter. Fragment of huge hand-made vessel, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, containing calcite grains.

Mortarium. Original of no. 13, fig. 17.

Pit F 13. First half of second century.

Decorated 'Samian'. Fragments of five bowls, form 37. (*a*) Parts of two panels, one containing figure of Diana (Déch. 64), the other divided horizontally with boar (Déch. 826) in lower half, upper filled with pyramid of arrow-heads and diagonal wavy lines (as *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. xxxix, 2 and 6). (*b*) Parts of two panels, containing figures of Pan (Déch. 411) and lion (Déch. 737) and small circles. (*c*) Small fragment, free style, part of lion. (*d*) Small part of large scroll. (*e*) Cupid in festoon. All these probably Lezoux. Also two rims, form 37.

Plain 'Samian'. Stamps of Albanus on form 27 and Aballanis on form 33. Fragments of forms 27, 18/31, 38.

Coarse wares. Originals of types 11, 36, 39, 41, figs. 14 and 15. One fragment bowl, type 36. Four fragments bowls, types 20–22. Six fragments plates, types 31, 32. Six fragments plates, type 33 or 35. One fragment pot, type 43. Neck of flagon, type 7. Neck of flagon, pinched to form spout, as Curle, *Newstead*, fig. 33, 9. Fluted cup, almost whole,

as Curle, *Newstead*, pl. xlix, B, 6. Fragments of two frilled 'incense-bowls'. One fragment, types 28–30 Wroxeter. Fragments of six cooking-pots, type 66 Wroxeter. Fragments of several pots 'Upchurch' ware (grey with rows of raised spots).

Mortarium. Original of type 7, with stamp of Martinus, figs. 17 and 18.

Amphora. Rim with figures incised, fig. 21.

The carrying out of this excavation has been due to the collaboration of a number of people. Dr. Norman's share in organizing it has been mentioned above. Thanks are due to Mr. Carey, Mr. A. G. Ferard, and Mr. Ivor Richards, of the General Post Office; and to Sir Walter Prideaux, of the Goldsmiths' Company, Mr. C. G. Kekewich, Chairman of the Library Committee of the Corporation, and Mr. Bernard Kettle, Librarian and Curator at the Guildhall, for their successful efforts in obtaining the necessary funds. In the preparation of this report, the writer must express his gratitude to Mr. Thomas Wilson, of the Office of Works, for planning the pits, preserving carefully the objects found, and drawing the sections illustrated in figs. 14-16; to Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox, for valuable suggestions both personally given and derived from his published writings; and to Mr. Donald Atkinson and Dr. Felix Oswald, for much help with the 'Samian'.

Note on the Remains of Animals found during Excavations on the Site of the Old Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, examined by E. T. Newton, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S.

The bones of animals brought to my notice from the site of the Old Post Office (built in 1825) were obtained from the many ancient waste pits, and were accompanied by pottery, some of which was of Roman origin.

The majority of the bones were those of domestic animals, and chiefly such as would have been used for food—such as ox, sheep, pig; and with these was a much smaller number of bones of horse, goat, dog, cat, and fowl. The only evidence of red-deer were two pieces of antlers, and there was one skull of a roebuck. This scarcity of deer bones is remarkable.

Two forms, at least, of oxen are represented, the long-faced ox (*Bos longifrons*), which is of common occurrence among Roman and pre-Roman remains, and larger forms such as might represent oxen of the present day.

The sheep remains exhibit the same variation in size that is usually found in such collections. For the most part the horns were small, but two skulls have what we may regard as large horn cores. The most interesting pieces of sheep are, perhaps, portions of two skulls with indications that each animal had possessed four horns.

Fig. 1. General Post Office site. Fragments of pipe-clay statuette and shrine, restored (p. 241). ($\frac{1}{2}$)

(*Block kindly lent by the Phoenix Assurance Company*)

Fig. 2. King William Street site. Red glazed vessel (p. 267). ($\frac{6}{15}$)

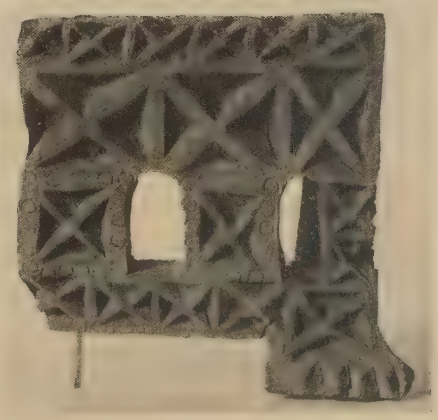


Fig. 3. King William Street site. Terra-cotta fragment of stand (p. 267). ($\frac{1}{2}$)

The few bones of horses belonged some to large and some to smaller animals.

The bones of dogs and cats were not numerous, the former indicating animals of different kinds, as shown by the size of their limb-bones, but none was so large as an ordinary retriever, and one little skull with a short nose is evidently that of a small 'pug-dog'.

Only limb-bones of cats were identified, and these were all comparatively small, and one extremely slender.

The only bones of birds were those of domestic fowls, which were for the most part small; and one arm-bone of a goshawk and another of a raven. The former (which is somewhat deformed) may very well have been part of a bird kept for sporting purposes, and the latter may have been kept in captivity.

The following is a list of all the forms which have been identified, arranged roughly in the order of their abundance:

Ox (*Bos longifrons and B. taurus*).
Sheep (*Ovis aries*).
Pig (*Sus scrofa*).
Horse (*Equus caballus*).
Dog (*Canis familiaris*).
Cat (*Felis domesticus*).
Goat (*Capra hircus*).
Red-deer (*Cervus elaphus*).
Roebuck (*Capreolus caprea*).
Hare (*Lepus europaeus*).
Fowl (*Gallus domesticus*).
Goshawk (*Astur palumbarius*).
Raven (*Corvus corax*).
Fish (? *Codfish*).

Also a few human bones.

Bones of oxen and sheep were by far the most abundant. Every pit in which bones were found contained some of oxen; and nearly every such pit contained some of sheep.

Few, if any, of these animals give any definite information as to the age of the deposit in which they were found. The *Bos longifrons* as a distinct species is not likely to have been living here much after Roman times. The other oxen may be of Roman age.

III. EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF 3-6 KING WILLIAM STREET.

In April, 1914, while the excavations on the site of the General Post Office were in progress, the buildings numbered 3 to 6 King William Street, between Sherborne Lane and Abchurch Lane, were demolished, to make way for the new offices of the Phoenix Assurance Company. During the following month the floor of the old basement and the footings beneath it, which had been carried to a depth of about 15 ft. below the pavement, were removed, and the ground excavated to a depth of 23 ft. to 27 ft. for the foundations of the new structure.

It soon became clear that another series of Roman rubbish-pits was being disclosed. Immediately under the footings in several places black earth appeared, similar to that found in St. Martin's-le-Grand, containing abundant fragments of Roman pottery.

During the progress of the work the Phoenix Assurance Company and the contractors allowed the writer every facility for watching the site. That part of it at the corner of Sherborne Lane and King William Street is the property of the Corporation, and all antiquities found in that angle came therefore by the terms of the contract to the City Lands Committee, and thence to the Guildhall Museum. The writer visited the site daily, partly in order to note the conditions generally, partly to collect on behalf of the Corporation the finds belonging to it. The finds on the rest of the site were carefully collected by Mr. Izant, the surveyor of the Phoenix Assurance Company, and are in that Company's possession.

Owing to many difficulties, exact observation was almost impossible. In the first place, the complications below ground were considerable. The footings descended to different depths at different parts of the site, resting, over a large portion of the Corporation property, on a concrete bed, the deposition of which in 1834 implied the removal of 6 ft. or so of the top of the pit. No less than five wells of medieval and later date had been sunk at various points in the area uncovered, and its western side was cut up by deep chalk walls, presumably of medieval origin. Secondly, the writer could only spend on the site quite a small proportion either of his own time or of the hours of day and night during which the work was carried on. Some evidence, therefore, must have been destroyed unnoticed. Finally, the methods which contractors are bound to use are not the methods of archaeologists. When objects have to be sorted out from heaps of bricks, concrete, gravel, and humus, the noting of such details as the level at which they occurred in the pit is out of the question.

It was possible, however, to obtain the approximate outline of the pits at a depth of about 15 ft., and these are shown in fig. 23.

The largest of them extended along the line of Sherborne Lane, and its limits on the northern side were not reached. The bottom of this pit was 23 ft. below the street. Its length, more than 100 ft., would surprise even those who remember that the Royal Exchange pit, opened by Sir William Tite, measured 50 ft. by 30 ft. It is certain, however, that the soil had been disturbed over the whole of this area to the depth mentioned, for a section along its whole length was open for several weeks, and showed made earth from the top, where the footings ceased, to the bottom, where clean gravel formed the floor of the excavation. On the other hand, antiquities were only found at its western end, under

the 'Clachan' public-house, and at its eastern end, on the property of the Corporation. Its central portion (with the exception of some pieces of 'Samian' at the bottom of a modern brick well) produced nothing but a few bones. It is possible that the sinking of this well, and the laying down of the concrete bed to the east of it, caused a disturbance between two smaller pits, which gave them the appearance of one continuous pit. All the objects found at the bottom of

Fig. 23. Plan of pits, King William Street.

the eastern end (for instance the 'Samian' bowl shown in pl. XXVI, fig. 2) seemed to belong to the third quarter of the first century. At the bottom of the pit under the 'Clachan', on the other hand, occurred two coins of Domitian and pottery of the late first and early second century.

The uppermost layers that remained at the eastern end of this long pit contained evidence, in the form of considerable quantities of burnt clay daub and broken roofing-tiles, and some fragments of painted plaster, of a conflagration

on or near the site, perhaps early in the second century. At the western end, this evidence recurred throughout the depth of disturbed ground, thus suggesting again a later date for the origin of this end of the pit.

The other pits showed no unusual feature. They descended to a depth of 20 ft. to 25 ft. below the pavement, and were filled with black earth of the same appearance as in the pits of St. Martin's-le-Grand. The potsherds that were certainly known to have been found in them seemed to belong entirely to the first century. A few fragments of 'Samian' from the factories of Lezoux came to light, but these probably occurred among the footings at a higher level.

The coarse pottery agrees entirely, so far as the evidence which was obtained from the site of the General Post Office (see figs. 14-16) goes, with the first-century dating of these pits. Fragments were found of types 1, 4, 9, 12, 15, 16, 19-22, and 38. These have all been assigned to the first century. The only certain second-century evidence was a fragment of type 33 found with a little Lezoux 'Samian' at the western end of the long pit.

'Samian' Pottery (pl. XXVI and fig. 24).

Pl. XXVI, fig. 1. Plain vessels found at bottom of pit, north corner of site. (1) Form 27, with stamp [?O]FABIT; (2) form Ritterling (Hofheim) 1, with stamp OFMOM; (3) form 27, with stamp OPASE; (4) forms 24, 25, with stamp SENICIO; (5) form 27, with stamp BASSI: on side is scratched AQVII; (6) form Ritterling 1, with stamp NESTORFEC; (7) forms 24, 25, stamp indecipherable; (8) form 18, with stamp OFPRIMI. All these vessels are slightly restored.

Pl. XXVI, fig. 2. Form 29, with stamp PRIMIM. Upper frieze: panels containing alternately (*a*) arrow-heads, as *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. xxxix, 8, and (*b*) an eagle (Déch. 985 or 986) between two birds facing towards centre (Déch. 1005 and 1033). Each panel is repeated four times about the bowl. Lower frieze: above, a band of the three rows of arrow-heads; below, a scroll ornament, containing in the upper spaces two leaves, as *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. xxxvi, 19, and in the lower spaces a conventional cruciform flower, with small rosette in each angle. The vessels in figs. 1 and 2 were found within a few feet of each other, associated with two coins of Claudius. They are now in the Guildhall Museum.

Pl. XXVI, fig. 3. Form 37, earliest type with double frieze. The friezes are identical, and consist of a scroll ornament, containing in the upper spaces a heart-shaped leaf and poppy-head, and in the lower spaces alternately (*a*) same leaf and poppy-head and (*b*) arrow-heads. Above, egg and tassel; between the friezes, a wreath, and below them, a smaller wreath.

1 2 3 4

5 6 Fig. 1 7 8

Fig. 3. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Fig. 2. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Fig. 4. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

KING WILLIAM STREET SITE: 'SAMIAN' POTTERY (pp. 266-7)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

Pl. XXVI, fig. 4. Form 29, with stamp of Niger. Upper frieze: small panels, containing alternately (*a*) seven or eight vertical beaded lines, and (*b*) three heads, very crude and faintly impressed, to left. Each panel repeated eight times about the bowl. Lower frieze: gadroons. Figs. 3 and 4 belong to the Phoenix Assurance Company and were found almost under the pavement of King William Street.

Fig. 24. Fragment of form 30, with stamp of Masclus. Parts of three panels remain. The central broad panel, with tendril in each corner, contains, above, an eagle (Déch. 985 or 986) over letters MS inverted. A semicircle, ending in a leaf, separates this from rest of panel. Five lines radiate from middle of lowest side. In either lower corner, a hare (Déch. 946 and 954) and a bird. On either side of centre panel, narrow panels, cruciform, with tendrils inside spaces, arrow-heads top and bottom. For other examples of form 30 of Masclus, with signature in raised letters amongst decoration, see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 406 and M 444, and Knorr, *Rottweil*, 1907, xiii, 2. Dated by Knorr between A.D. 50 and 70 (Phoenix Assurance Company).

Fig. 24. Fragment of 'Samian' form 30 with stamp of Masclus, King William Street site (½).

Two other objects from this site are illustrated in pl. XXV, figs. 2 and 3.

Pl. XXV, fig. 2. Vessel of fine red earth, with thin dull glaze. Two spouts, one funnel-shaped, the other bulbous. Handle at top missing. Vertical and diagonal feather ornament on body. Found at bottom of pit, extreme west corner of site. A similar vessel in the Ransom Collection is illustrated in the *Victoria County History of London*, vol. i, fig. 64, 5.

Pl. XXV, fig. 3. Fragment of reddish-brown earthenware, apparently the corner of a hollow square stand. If the complete object was symmetrical, it would be about 5 inches square, with a circular hole in the top, and a foot at each corner similar to that shown. Found, with pottery of the first century, among the lowest strata at the northern corner of the site.

The following 'Samian' potters' stamps were found in these pits:

[?O]FABIT	on form	27	OFBAS	on form	27
OFAQVITAVI	,,	15*	BASSI	,,	27
OFBASSI	,,	18	[OFB]ILICAT	,,	29
OF·BASSI	,,	24/25	BIOFE	,,	40?

CASSIVSF	on form	33	
CETI	,,	27?	
COCILLIVS	,,	33	
OF·CRESTIO	,,	18	
OFCRES	,,	24/25	
OFCRES	,,	27	
?ELVN	,,	27	
CELICIO (? Felicio[1])	,,	18	
?OFELICIS	,,	24/25	
OFFELIC	,,	27	
CALLIM	,,	18	
[I]NGENVI	,,	18	
IVCVND	,,	29	
[I]VLLINI	,,	18	
OFLABIONIS	,,	29	
LIBERTVS	,,	24/25	
LOG /	,,	18	
OF·MACCAR	,,	18	
OF·MACCAR	,,	Ritterling 1[2]	
MARINVS·FE	,,	29	
MS	,,	30 (see fig. 24)	
OF·MAT·VGE	,,	18	
[ME]RCATOR	,,	33	
OFMOD	,,	15*	
OFMODES+	,,	18	
OFMOD	,,	27	
OFMOM	,,	Ritterling 1	
OFMVR	,,	15*	
OFMVRA	,,	27	
OFMVRRA	,,	29	
OFMVRRA	,,	29	
OFM	,,	27	
NESTORFEC	,,	Ritterling 1	
NICEPHORF	,,	27	
OFNIGRI	,,	15*	
OFNICI	on form	27	[fig. 4]
OFN▒RI	,,	29 (see pl. XXVI,	
OFNIGRI·AD	,,	18	
[?O]MOBON·F	,,	18	
PASSENI	,,	18	
PASSEN	,,	18	
OPASE	,,	27	
OFPATRICI	,,	18	
PATRICI	,,	18	
PATRIC	,,	27	
PECVLIAR·F	,,	31	
OFPOTEI	,,	18	
PRIMVLI	,,	18	
OFPRIMI	,,	15*	
OFPRIMI	,,	18	
OFPRM	,,	27	
OFPRIM	,,	27	
PRM·M	,,	27	[fig. 2]
PRIMIM	,,	29 (see pl. XXVI,	
REGENV|	,,	18	
[R]OPPVS·FEC	,,	18	
OFRVFIN	,,	29	
RVFINI	,,	33	
OFRVFI	,,	27	
RVTAEN	,,	27	
OSABINI	,,	27	
BINVS (? Sabinus)	,,	29	
SENICIO	,,	24/25	
SENICIO	,,	27	
OFSEVERI	,,	18	
SEXIVLIVCVNDI	,,	18	
[S]IIVAN	,,	? 24/25	
VASSIL	,,	Ritterling 8	
IRTHVSF (Virtus)	,,	15	

Of the above, Cassius may be a Heiligenberg potter of early second century date (*Wroxeter Report*, 1913, p. 33); CETI may represent Cettus of Lezoux (Déch. i, p. 162); Cocillus, and perhaps Gallus, Masclus and Niger, worked at Banassac (Déch. i, p. 118); Mercator, or another of the same name, worked at La Graufe-

[1] See somewhat similar stamps (and notes) pp. 239 and 257 above.

[2] Numbers of shapes attached to the name of Ritterling refer to his classification of forms at Hofheim (*Nass. Ann.*, xl, pl. xxxi). Other numbers are, of course, those of Dragendorff.

senque, Heiligenberg, and Lezoux (*Wroxeter Report*, 1912, p. 44); Peculiaris was a potter of the Hadrian-Antonine period (*ibid.*, p. 57); the locality of Regenus, Sex. Jul. Jucundus, and Vassilus and ? OMOBONF does not seem to be known. All the rest may be assigned to the potteries of La Graufesenque. It will be seen, therefore, that of these potters almost all belong certainly to the first century. One only, Peculiaris, belongs definitely to the second.

The writer cannot close this section of his paper without expressing his great indebtedness to Sir Gerald H. Ryan and Mr. Frederick Izant, respectively General Manager and Surveyor of the Phoenix Assurance Company, for the facilities they gave him for watching the excavation and examining all the objects found.

IV. THE GROWTH OF LONDINIUM.

The location of the earliest Roman settlement at London has long exercised the ingenuity of archaeologists. Its ultimate extent, bounded by the Wall and bisected by the Walbrook, is of course well known. This, however, covers an area of more than three hundred acres. Londinium must have begun on a much smaller scale at some point within these boundaries. Many attempts have been made, from the time of Stukeley onwards, to determine this earliest site.[1] Some have placed it on the eastern bank of the Walbrook, in the angle between the Thames and its tributary, and have given it a definite and (in one instance)[2] a fantastic outline. By others it has been placed to the west of the Walbrook, on the hill where now stands St. Paul's.

The chief defect of these theories is that they have been founded in most cases on no better evidence than the imagination of their authors. The first to base a conclusion on ascertained facts was Mr. Reginald A. Smith, who pointed out[3] that the almost entire absence of burials within a space bounded approximately by Cornhill, Mark Lane, and the Walbrook, indicated probably the primitive site of London.

Such was the result of the examination of the negative evidence supplied by Roman burials. The discoveries reported in the last two sections of the present paper, where some of the earliest Roman objects found in London are seen to have come from such comparatively distant sites as King William Street and St. Martin's-le-Grand, suggest that positive results might be obtained, indi-

[1] See Mr. F. W. Reader's summary of such attempts in the *Arch. Journal*, lx, pp. 213–21.
[2] By Loftie in his *History of London*.
[3] In the *V. C. H. London*, i, pp. 1–41.

cating not only the original site of London, but its extent at various periods before the ultimate line of the Wall was reached. It seems possible that, by marking on a series of maps the spots where objects of certain dates have been found, we may estimate roughly the size of London at each of those dates.

Two classes of objects may be used for this purpose. Coins are in some cases exactly datable, in all cases limited in date to a few years. We know enough now about 'Samian' pottery to make this also of great value. The diagrams that follow are based on the coins noted in the *Victoria County History of London* (together with a few in the Guildhall and London Museums) and on the 'Samian' vessels and fragments in the British, Guildhall, and London Museums. The approximate site of each item is marked by a small cross. Spots from which a number of specimens of the same class are recorded are indicated by a quadruple cross.

There are certain obvious and serious limitations to the use of this statistical method. (1) The objects may have been long in use before they were lost or broken or thrown away. The date at which an object was made only serves to limit in one direction of time the date of the occupation of its site. This applies particularly to coins, which were often long in circulation. (2) Only a small proportion of the coins and pottery fragments found in London have been exactly recorded. It is possible that this imperfect record may in some cases be misleading. In the case of two areas equally densely inhabited, an abundance of objects may have been noted from one area, none by accident from the other. (3) Even when a street is named, no indication is in most cases given of the part of that street in which an object may have been found. This makes the evidence from such streets as Thames Street or Fenchurch Street almost useless. (4) The circumstances of the finds are very rarely recorded. They may have been parts of burial-groups. They may have come from rubbish-pits. In both cases their presence on a site would indicate absence of occupation, and would suggest that the spot was at their period outside the inhabited area.

In view of all these reservations, the results that follow must be taken as approximate and suggestive, rather than conclusive or exact.

Fig. 25 shows the spots on which coins of Claudius and his predecessors have been found. Allowing about twenty years for the circulation of the coins, this should suggest the limits of London about A.D. 70. The recorded coins are very few, but most of them are situated east of the Walbrook, their limit in this direction being the line of London Bridge. So far as any conclusions can be drawn from such scanty evidence, this plan seems to confirm what the early pottery from King William Street and the General Post Office suggested. The first settlement appears to have been in the eastern angle of the Walbrook and

Fig. 25. Distribution of Claudian and earlier coins.

Fig. 26. Distribution of 'Samian' form 29.

Fig. 27. Distribution of form 37, La Graufesenque.

Fig. 28. Distribution of potters' stamps, La Graufesenque.

Sketch-maps of London within the walls.

the Thames, but already at an early date there was some occupation of the hill of St. Paul's. Even though all these coins come from rubbish-pits, it is hardly likely that rubbish would be carried across the Walbrook and uphill to be shot on the top of the St. Paul's hill. The finds in this neighbourhood probably indicate a small settlement west of the Walbrook.

The line of the Wall is indicated on this, as on the subsequent diagrams. Of course it was not in existence at this earliest date, and perhaps not even at the latest of the periods dealt with in the following diagrams. It is only inserted to show the relative positions of the finds. For the sake of simplicity the position of no modern road or building has been included. If it be remembered that the eastern limit of Londinium is represented by the Tower, the northern by Finsbury Circus, and the western by Ludgate Hill, and that Cannon Street Station stands partly across the mouth of the Walbrook, no difficulty will be found in estimating the areas suggested by each diagram. It should also be remembered that the General Post Office stood below the western re-entrant angle of the Wall, and that the King William Street pits were situated just south of the centre of the map, on the eastern bank of theWalbrook.

Fig. 26 shows the spots on which have been found fragments of the 'Samian' form 29, which went out of use between A.D. 80 and 90. This should therefore indicate the extent of Londinium about A.D. 100. With the exception of a couple of records on Tower Hill and one in the Minories, the outline of the thickly inhabited eastern area is fairly definitely bounded by St. Mary-at-Hill and Lime Street. The western half is still thinly inhabited.

The 'find-spots' of form 37 of La Graufesenque manufacture are mapped on fig. 27. This form ended with the disuse of these factories about A.D. 100. The plan should therefore give us the size of London early in the second century. These sites appear to reach almost to the line of the Wall on most sides. They are, however, somewhat scattered, and should be confirmed by fig. 28, on which are noted the sites of finds of stamps on the plain wares of La Graufesenque. These of course ended with the disuse of the factories, at the same date as the evidence for fig. 27. It will be seen that the extension is not so wide as fig. 27 would suggest. It is in fact not much wider, except for some growth suggested eastward to the line of Mark Lane, and westwards, north of Cheapside, than appears in fig. 26.

An attempt was made, with the collaboration of Mr. Donald Atkinson (to whose expert knowledge of 'Samian' and to whose freely given advice, in this section as before, the writer is greatly indebted), to map separately the pre-Flavian and Flavian potters of La Graufesenque. Unfortunately the areas covered and the relative distribution of the finds seemed the same in each case.

Perhaps the records in either case are for some reason misleading. May one even dare to suggest that the German evidence for the dating of some of the exclusively pre-Flavian potters is not so definite as it appears?

In a recent paper[1] the present writer claimed that the distribution of La Graufesenque pottery proved Londinium to have reached its ultimate limits by the end of the first century A.D. This argument was based on an imperfect acquaintance with the facts, and is seen in the last three diagrams of this series to be unsound. It may be true of the northern and western limits, but it is certainly not true, so far as our evidence goes, of the eastern. There is indeed

Fig. 29. Distribution of form 37, Lezoux.

a large space within the Wall between Aldgate and Bishopsgate which none of the evidence at our disposal seems to fill.

Fig. 29 shows the distribution of the decorated pottery of Lezoux, and should indicate the extent of Londinium in the third century, when that factory was destroyed. A very considerable expansion has taken place westwards, and every corner of Londinium seems now inhabited except that space, noted in the last paragraph, in the north-east quarter of the town.

Here again conclusions must not be too hastily drawn. The north-eastern (and to some extent the north-western) part of the area of Londinium is a back-water of present City life, and is largely occupied by warehouses. It is perfectly

[1] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, n. s., xx, 307. See also *Archaeologia*, lxiii, p. 338.

possible that excavations in this district may have passed unnoticed, and no finds in it therefore recorded.

This is the last period for which useful data can be obtained. 'Samian' ceases in the middle of the third century, and even if we knew enough to make coarse pottery of value, its fragments have never been preserved with the care that has been given to the more decorative and attractive 'Samian'. An attempt was made to map the later coins, but recorded specimens are so few that their evidence is valueless.

If ever we are to learn by this method at what date Londinium reached its final limits, and when the wall may have been built round it, we must wait for much more evidence and more exact evidence than we have at present.

VIII.—*The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford.*[1] *By* Sir William H. St. John Hope, *Knt., Litt.D., D.C.L.*

Read 6th May, 1915.

The last testament and inventory of John de Veer,[2] the thirteenth earl of Oxford, are documents of their class of more than usual interest and importance: firstly, by reason of the nature of their contents; and secondly, because the testator was a man of great wealth and high social standing. He was consequently the possessor of many beautiful and valuable things; and though, alas, not one of them is now known to exist, their appearances and characteristics are vividly brought before us in the descriptions set down in the inventory of the earl's effects.

John de Veer was the second but eldest surviving son of John the twelfth earl of Oxford, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Howard, and *suo jure* baroness Plaiz. He is believed to have been born in 1443, and on the beheading in February 1461–2 of his father and his elder brother Aubrey, on account of their strong Lancastrian sympathies, John de Veer became heir to the earldom of Oxford and to the hereditary office of great chamberlain: the earldom was not, however, restored to him until 1464.

There is no need here to refer at length to the well-known efforts of the new earl in the Lancastrian cause; to his escape to France after the disastrous battle of Barnet in 1471; to his return, capture, and imprisonment at Hammes; or to the temporary loss of his honour, dignities, and estates by attainder. All these troubles came to an end with his escape from Hammes and return to England

[1] The documents that form the subject of this paper were first brought to my notice through the many extracts from them printed by the Rev. Severne A. Ashhurst Majendie in an interesting little book, entitled *Some Account of the Family of De Vere, the Earls of Oxford, and of Hedingham Castle in Essex*, published by him in 1904. These extracts were made from a manuscript volume of transcripts of documents relating to the Veers collected by the late Mr. Lewis Majendie which has been most kindly lent me by his daughter-in-law Mrs. James Majendie, and from it the texts of both testament and inventory, with her permission, have been set up in type and subsequently collated by myself with the originals. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking not only Mrs. Majendie, but the Rev. Severne Majendie for his kind help in many ways.

[2] The Earl calls himself and his forbear Aubrey 'de Veer', but his brother, uncle, and other kinsmen named in the will are called simply 'Veer'.

in 1485 with Henry of Richmond, on whose side he fought on Bosworth Field as captain-general of his army.

On Henry's accession as king of England, John de Veer, who acted as high steward at the coronation, had all his titles and honours restored to him. In November 1485 he once more became the thirteenth earl of Oxford of his line, viscount Bulbeck, lord de Scales, and hereditary great chamberlain. A few weeks later he was made a privy councillor, constable of Rising Castle and of the Tower of London, high steward of the Duchy of Lancaster for south of the Trent, steward of the Forests of Essex, and admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. He had been created a Knight of the Bath so far back as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth Wydvile in 1465, and was elected a Knight of the Garter in April 1486.

John de Veer was twice married: first, about 1465, to Margaret daughter and heir of Richard Nevill earl of Salisbury, who died in or about 1489, and was buried at Colne Priory. His second wife (after 1507), who survived him, was Elizabeth daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Scrope, and widow of William viscount Beaumont. By neither wife did Earl John leave any issue.

The earl died in his seventieth year, at his castle of Hedingham in Essex, on 10th March, 1512–13, and was buried some ten miles away, with great solemnity and state, on the following 24th April, in the priory church of Colne, also in Essex, of which foundation he was patron.

The testament of John de Veer is dated 10th April, 1509, soon after his second marriage, and was proved and enrolled, together with his will, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 10th May, 1513, just two months after his death.[1]

The inventory of all and singular his goods, debts, chattels, and sums of money, made by Thomas Mercer, apparitor-general of William archbishop of Canterbury, on 20th May, 1513, ten days after the probate of his testament and will, for some occult reason is now in the Public Record Office.[2]

Although both documents are written in English, the bequests under the testament are not always described in the same words as in the inventory, and sometimes it is difficult to identify them. Some of the ornaments described in the testament cannot be found in the inventory at all. There are also cases where one document completes or supplements the description in the other: some noteworthy instances will be noticed in their place.

The opening sentences of the testament are full of wisdom:

I John de Veer Erle of Oxinford, beyng in goode helthe and perfeyt mynde, not grevid, vexed, troubled, nor diseasid with any bodily syknes, knowyng and consideryng

[1] 11 Fettiplace.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. iv, ff. 70–103.

well thuncerteyntie and unstables of this wretchid lyfe; And that there is nothing so certeyne to any creature in this world lyving as is the departure from the same; And natheless nothing soo uncertayne as the tyme and howre therof, Ordeyne and make this my present Testament . . . . in maner and forme ensuyng.

The earl continues:

First I geve and bequethe my soule to thinfynitie mercy of Almighty Gode Maker and Redemer therof / to the moost blessid and glorious Virgyn oure lady seynt Mary, seynt John baptist, seynt John thevaungelist, seynt Antony, seynt George, and to all the holy company of heven; And my body to be buried tofore the highe aulter of our Lady Chapell in the Priory of Colne in the Countie of Essex in a tombe whiche I have made and ordeyned for me and Margaret my late wif where she nowe lieth buried. My body thider to be brought according to my degre.

After renouncing and revoking all other former testaments, and giving directions for the proving and payment of his debts, and the recompense and restitution of any wrongs done, the earl proceeds to dispose of his worldly goods.

He begins by bequeathing a jewel of gold to the image of Our Lady of Walsingham, and his whole best suit of vestments of cloth of gold to the monastery of Bury 'in the honour of the holy and blissed Kyng maiden and martyr seynt Edmond'. The jewel for Our Lady of Walsingham is shortly described as 'myn egle of gold displaied and garnysshid', but the inventory tells us that it was 'a splayde Egle of gold w^{t} an angell face w^{t} vj dyamoundes and xj perles w^{t} iiij rubies' valued at £30. The Bury bequest likewise is more fully described in the inventory as 'a vestyment of blue cloth of gold of tyssewe w^{t} thorfreys on the foresyde w^{t} my lordes armes and the Howardes wrought in the stole of crymsyn colo^{r} the Bakeside of crymsyn cloth of gold of tyssewe w^{t} ij Dalmatykkes of the same w^{t} thorfreys of crymsyn clothe of gold of tyssewe'. The value is set down at £20.

Next follow directions for the saying or singing of masses of requiem for the testator's soul at various religious houses, and especially within the priory of Colne, wherein he was to be buried.

To the intent that Divine Service hereafter shall be the more reverently ministered in the aforesaid priory the earl also leaves to the prior and convent a handsome bequest out of the ornaments and jewels pertaining to his chapel.

These include

a whole suit of vestments of black velvet powdered with garters, flowers, and molets, with orfreys of red velvet; with three copes of black satin and another of black velvet purled;

two altar-cloths (i.e. a front and a nether front) of white damask embroidered 'and myn armes in diverse partes of the same' with a frontlet of the same, described as

'wrought in the stole paly[1] with many Werkes And a pece of rede clothe of golde of Tissue at every end therof';

a cope of white cloth of baudekyn with orfreys of blue cloth of gold; two copes of crimson velvet powdered with 'ffire yrongs'[2] and orfreys powdered with angels and molets;

two copes of crimson cloth of gold 'with a monk on the hede';

his second portos[3] 'in the whiche the grauntt of thoffice of the Great Chamberleynship of England made in tyme passid unto Awbry de Veer Erle of Oxinford myn auncester is written in thende';

two great candlesticks of silver parcel gilt chased;

a censer of silver with leopards' faces;

a book called a Cowcher;[4]

a cross without St. Mary and St. John of silver enamelled on both sides with the Evangelists;[5]

a paxbrede of silver and gilt 'w^{t} an aungell in the myddes under a glass holding a vernacle', described in the inventory as of 'the olde fasshion';

a chalice written about the bowl: *laudemus et superexaltemus eum in secula*;[6]

a monstrance of beryl (or crystal) for relics 'the fote and the coveryng thereof silver and gilt w^{t} seynt Anne havyng our lady in hir armys';

another but lower monstrance with a beryl in the top of the covering and St. Margaret in the bottom; and

an angel silver and gilt bearing relics.

The earl also left 'unto thapparellyng of the Chapell of oure lady in the said Priory of Colne where my tombe and the tombes of myn Auncestres and frendes tofore rehersid be nowe and herafter shalbe made, of the ornaments and parcells now used belonging to my Chapell in my clossett':

a chalice of silver and gilt, with the Trinity in the paten, and in the foot of the chalice the Crucifix with St. Mary and St. John 'and this scripture following aboute the boll *Calicem salutaris accipiam*';

two small candlesticks of silver with gilt borders;

two small basons of silver and well gilt embossed with a scripture about the borders;

a paxbrede of silver gilt and enamelled 'with a crucifixe Mary and John sett theryn';

two cruets of silver with gilt borders with molets graven on the lids;

[1] That is, with vertical stripes. [2] Described in the inventory as 'Iron to stryke fire'.

[3] A *portiforium*, porthos, or breviary; a book containing the services for the Hours in a form which the priest could *carry abroad*.

[4] A cowcher seems to have been the name for any service book, such as a mass-book or antiphoner, which had to lie upon a desk on account of its large size.

[5] Described in the inventory as 'A greate Crosse ennamyled on bothe sydes w^{t} the iiij Evaungelistes poz all w^{t} the tymber and the pyn of Iron lxiij oz. wherof the silver wayeth by estimacion xlij oz.', and valued at £7.

[6] In the inventory a paten is included, and both are entered as of silver all gilt.

a mass-book with these words in the beginning of the second leaf, *post aspersionem aque dicat sacerdos*;[1]

two altar cloths of white sarcenet[2] sett with flowers, garters, and molets, with 'a pane in the uppare clothe of Chekred sateyn figury w^t^ a Crucifix Mary and John sett theruppon and on the nether clothe an Image of Our Lady';

a 'payre of vestmentes'[3] of white cloth of gold of tissue; another of crimson satin with orfreys of blue velvet; and a third of crimson cloth of bawdekyn with an orfrey of needle work and on the back of the orfrey a pelican and an image of Our Lady;

also two frontlets of divers sorts, four corporases and their cases, four altar cloths of linen 'to lay upon thaulters', and two altar cloths (i.e. an upper and a nether front) of black cloth of gold.

None of these ornaments, save the two silver-gilt basons, seems to be included in the inventory.

To the high altar of Colne priory church were also left two altar-cloths of russet sarcenet powdered with garters and molets, with a pane in the middle of crimson cloth of bawdekyn, and

'my crosse w^t^ the fote silver and gilte / the whiche is accustomed to stande upon the aulter in my closset'.

From the correspondence of the weights, 69 ounces, this cross seems to be identical with that described in the inventory as 'a crosse silver and gilt w^t^ Mary & John w^t^ xiij counterfet stonys[4] and xvj perles', valued at £12 and 18 pence.

The earl further left to the prior and convent of Colne, to the intent they should the more heartily and devoutly pray for him, a standing cup silver and gilt with a flower in the bottom, 'whiche is my daiely cupe', weighing 20½ ounces; a great standing salt six-square silver and gilt, with a cover pounced with vines, weighing 39 ounces; and

'I woll that they have the basson and ewre silver and parcelles gilt that is accustomed to be caried w^t^ me weying $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ viij unces'.

The earl directs that 'theis goodes formerly by me to the said Prior and Convent yeven' are to be delivered to them by a tripartite indenture, of which one part is to remain with them, a second part with his executors, and the third

[1] This is the rubric towards the end of the *Benedictio salis et aquae* which was done before the Sunday procession that preceded high mass.

[2] Sarcenet was a silk stuff first made by the Saracens, probably in Spain.

[3] A 'pair of vestments' (a term used in the testament only) probably means an albe and an amice with their apparels, a girdle, stole, and fanon, as well as the chasuble or vestment itself.

[4] Counterfeit stones made of coloured paste seem to have been used very largely, even for the ornamentation of quite precious objects or pieces of plate. Cf. the description of the jewelled ouches and other portions of the mitre of William of Wykeham, *Archaeologia*, lx, 473, 474.

'to be delivered by myn Executours unto myn heire at his full age'. Also that upon delivery of the said stuff, jewels, and plate, the prior for the time being, and every future prior upon his installation, shall make solemn oath not to embezzle, sell, nor put away any of them, 'but the same alwayes to remayne and contynue in the saide house to thuse above expressid'.

Of the three vessels above named, the standing salt only can positively be identified in the inventory, and the only possible cup seems to be one weighing 21 ounces, described as 'a gilt Cupp of silver playn w^{t} a cover lakking thennamyling in the bottom'.

Lastly, the earl bequeathed £20 towards the building of the belfry of Colne priory church.

The next few bequests are of some interest:

to St. John's priory at Colchester, two copes of crimson cloth of gold of Lucca;

to the cathedral church of St. John of Amyas (Amiens) in Picardy[1] the best image of Our Lady 'being in my clossett', and an image of St. John Baptist of silver and gilt, weighing together 150 ounces. These are described at greater length in the inventory as: 'Item a nother Image of o^{r} Lady of silver and all well gilt w^{t} her childe in her armes / a crowne on her hed, a septer in hir hande poiz̄ C viii oz.', and 'Item an Image of saint John Baptist standing upon a base silver and the camell skynne all gilt and his mantell white poz̄ xliii oz.';

to Woburn Abbey 'whereof I am Founder' the Earl leaves 'myn Image of seynt Andrew silver and gilt accustomed to stande in my Chapell';

to the Black Friars of Cambridge 'myn Image of seynt Peter silver and gilt accustomed to stande in my said Chapell';

to the priory of Hatfield Broadoak, 'myne Image of seynt James silver and gilt accustomed to stande in my forsaid Chapell'; and

to the nunnery of Brusyard in Suffolk, 20 marks 'towardes the amendement & reparacions of the saide house'.

The earl further leaves directions for 'a Reward of the stuff of my Chapel by the discrecion of myn Executours' to every house of religion being of the foundation of his ancestors, and to the parish church of every place where he had manors, lands, or tenements, on condition of prayers being said for him and his wife and others.

The personal bequests come next, beginning with one 'unto myn olde frende S^{r} Thomas Lovell Knyght' of a salt of silver and gilt with a pearl in the top, weighing 25 ounces.[2]

[1] The cathedral church of Amiens still possesses as a most precious relic the front part of a human skull, brought thither from the East in 1206, and reputed to be part of the head of St. John Baptist. See *Archaeologia*, lii, 672, for a fuller account and description of the relic.

[2] This does not seem to be noted in the inventory.

Then follows a substantial bequest of chapel stuff, plate, clothes, and household stuff 'unto my moost loving wif'.

The chapel stuff left to Lady Oxford would have made many a parish church rich. It included two altar-cloths of blue cloth of gold lined with blue buckram,[1] with a whole suit of vestments of the same stuff, and three copes to match, all with orfreys of crimson velvet; three other rich vestments, and another set of altar-cloths, with six altar-cloths 'of lynnen hallowed to lay upon aulters', and a pair of curtains, probably ridels, of red sarcenet. Also

a cross with a plain foot garnished with seven stones 'w^{t} a vice to open and to putt in a pece of the holy crosse';[2]
a pair of candlesticks of silver-gilt with the shanks pounced;
a censer of silver and parcel gilt with leopards' faces;
a great chalice 'with a patible Mary and John in the fote' and written about the bowl *hic est enim Calix novi testamenti*;
another chalice parcel gilt 'with Ihs made in a knot in the paten';
a holy water stock of silver with a sprinkle 'which is accustomed to hang in my closet';
two images of silver and gilt 'thoon of o^{r} Lady and thoder of Seynt John Evaungelist that be accustomed to stande upon the highe aulter' weighing together six score and eighteen ounces;
two salts of silver and gilt with a cover 'daiely accustomed at my borde';
his best two cruets 'with spowttes like dragons'[3] silver and gilt; also
his second antiphoner, two grayles (one of the best, another of the worst), three processioners, and a legend complete.[4]

The bequest of household plate to Lady Oxford included

a spice plate standing gilt and without a cover;
a standing cup without a cover silver and gilt with cheverons and the testator's arms in the bottom;
another standing cup gilt and enamelled with blue 'Trulovys' in the bottom;
a standing cup gilt with a broken flower in the bottom enamelled with blue;
two pottle pots[5] gilt and chased;
two plain white pots of silver with molets on the covers;
six bowls, with a cover parcel gilt 'w^{t} myne armys in the botome';
a salt 'of berall stonding w^{t} an ymage of a Morion under the berall bering up the salt with a covere silver and gilt';

[1] Buckram or bokeram was a kind of coarse linen cloth.

[2] The inventory describes this as 'a crosse w^{t} a foote silver and gilt w^{t} a vice in the bothom and Images enamilid in the tabernacles under the sokett'.

[3] In the inventory these spouts are described as 'ravonbilles'.

[4] An antiphoner was a book of anthems used in the hour-services; the grayle or *graduale* contained the musical portions of the altar service; the processioner or *processionale* contained the procession services; and the *legenda* or legend the long lessons read at mattins.

[5] Pottle pots were probably vessels capable of holding a pottle or liquid measure of half a gallon.

a plain standing salt without a cover with gilt swages;
also another like salt;
a pair of basons covered and gilt, 'with a Scotchion of myn armys and my late wifes armys departid in the botom of the same';
two basons of silver chased and each other chase gilt 'wt baynes';
two ewers with broad bottoms;
two plain candlesticks of silver parcel gilt 'wt brochis for waxe';[1]
a great candlestick with 'a nose and broche' parcel gilt;
six gilt spoons with round knops upon the ends; and
twelve spoons not gilt.

The most noteworthy of the objects left to Lady Oxford is probably the crystal salt with the figure of a 'morion' or blackamoor, which must have resembled the famous 'Huntsman' salt at All Souls College, Oxford.

The next bequest to Lady Oxford reads strangely in these days of married women's rights, but in the sixteenth century a wife was evidently a man's chattel, and her goods not her own:

Item I geve and bequeath to my said wif wtout dymynucion or restraint all maner appareill to her persone, as well clothe as sylkes, and almanner of cheynes, rynges, girdelles, devices, bedes, brooches, owchis, precious stones, and all other thinges beyng parcell of hir appareill whatsoever they be.

The apparel and stuff of his household and chambers bequeathed by the earl to his lady contains many interesting 'parcells', as he calls them:

a 'celour',[2] a tester, and a counterpoint of cloth of bawdekyn crimson and green with lions of gold with three curtains and a traverse of sarcenet and a counterpoint of green tapestry with an angel in the midst;
'the hangyng of grene tapestrie of my devices which serveth for the hall', with a cupboard cloth, a tapet under the window, and a carpet;
a sparver[2] of green cloth of gold of bawdekyn, with curtains of green 'tartron', and a counterpoint of green verdure;[3]
a carpet and a cupboard cloth 'accustumed to be in my lodging chamber at Hedingham', with the green hanging of tapestry 'of my devices' from the same chamber;
two pieces of red say and a traverse of silk, 'accustumed to be in the gentillwomenys chamber at Hedingham';
five pieces of red say and a carpet 'perteynyng to my said wife's closset there';
a celer and a tester of baudekyn with birds of gold and three curtains of green;

[1] A broche here was probably a spike or pricket to set a candle on.

[2] A sperver or sparver was a complete set of hangings for a four-poster bed, and included the tester or head part, the celour, celer, or seler overhead, the side and foot curtains, the valance, and sometimes the counterpoint or quilt as well. A bed often had only a tester and a celer, with or without side curtains. A trussing-bed was a portable one used in travelling.

[3] Verdure was perhaps a kind of baize; it was made at Bocking and elsewhere in Essex.

the counterpoint and all the tapet with the history of Grissell, a cupboard cloth and a carpet 'usid to lye in my chamber callid the Kynges chamber at Hedingham', with all mattresses and pallets 'for to lye under beddes lying in any of the said chambres there';

a celer, a tester, and a counterpoint of white and red verdure paly, with tapets of the same for all the chambers;

a great carpet to lie under a board and a carpet for a cupboard cloth;

a sparver of blue cloth of gold of bawdekyn 'wt iij curteyns white and blew tartron'.

Likewise 'besides all the premisses', three pair of fine sheets and ten pairs of coarse sheets, twelve pairs of sheets for servants, three pairs of fustians,[1] eight pairs of blankets, eight coverlets, twelve feather beds with the 'transoms', and twelve pillows.

Also of the kitchen stuff, besides the premises, a new garnish of pewter vessel[2] and three garnish of household pewter vessels 'over and besides her own'. Also a brass pot called a standard, another brass pot of 5 gallons, another of $3\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, two posnets, four pans, two square broches,[3] and two round, and two broches for birds, two iron racks, a gridiron, and a cauldron.

The next bequest is rather a pathetic one in view of the fact that the earl died childless. It begins:

I woll that if I have yssue male of my body laufully begotten that than my same yssue male shalhave the goodes and Juelles hereaftir ensuyng viz.:

First myn Image of the Trinitie silver and gilt and my crosse of gold wheryn lyeth ij peces of the holy crosse wt the garnyshing of the same . . . . . ;

Item my bedde of Roottes which I hade by reason of myn Office of the great Chamberleynship of England at the Kynges Coronacion;

Also my hanging of Tulius;

Item a celour and a testour of Riche Arrais wt a torney therin which I had at the Coronacion of the Quene / that dede is / by reason of my said Office;

Item a celour a testour and a counterpoynt of crymsen saten wt my helmet and device / and a hanging for the great chamber at Hedingham of tapestry paly crymsen and tawny;

Item a celour a testour and a counterpoynt of crymsen saten of Bridges [Bruges] em broidered wt blew borys molettes and a parc;

Item a celour a testour and a counterpoynt of crymsen damaske embrawdred wt flowres borys and crankettes / and ij Women fedyng a popyngay in a cadge: the celour and a testour lyned with canvas and the counterpoynt lyned with bokeram;

Item ij. stonding pottes silver and gilt chacid wt myn armys and the Howardes armes in the toppis;

[1] Fustians were sheets made of coarse linen.

[2] A garnish of pewter was a set of vessels of that metal for table use, and included twelve platters, twelve dishes, and as many saucers.

[3] The broches here were spits.

Item a payre of covered bassons gilt accustomed to be in my chapell;
Item ij aulterclothes of white made and wrought by my lady my moder w^{t} a frontlett of the same wrought w^{t} myn armys;
Item a sute of vestmentes of white for preest Deacan and Subdeacon;
Item iij copes of the same colour;
Item ij censours of silver w^{t} the Caligreyhoundes waying vj^{xx} xiij unces and j quarter;
Item my best crosse silver and gilt weying Clxiiij unces;
Item my beste garnyshe of silver vessell marked with Brikettes w^{t} iiij chargeours all weying M^{l} CCC iiij^{xx} unces; myn almes dishe with Swages gilt weying Cxlvij unces j quarter; My cupe of gold w^{t} splaide eagles and a balace in the tope weying xlij unces j quarter; And my greatest Candilstickes weying Cxxxj unces and j quarter.

A collation of this list with the corresponding items and their descriptions in the inventory reveals a number of interesting facts.

The 'greatest candlesticks' had gilt swages, and the arms of Veer and Howard in the foot of each. The gold cup with splayed eagles is more fully described as 'a cup of gold with a cover pounsed with eagles with angels' faces and molets with a balas in the top'. The garnish of silver vessels is stated to be marked 'with brikettes', which raises an interesting question as to their provenance. Among the bequests to Colne priory were two copes of crimson velvet powdered with 'ffire yrongs', but in the inventory the powdering device is called 'iron to stryke fire', and now we come to plate marked with the same instrument under the name of *brikettes*. This is apparently the well-known badge of the dukes of Burgundy, and since it is not known that the earl of Oxford was a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, it is possible that this plate was of Burgundian make.

But to continue our collation.

The best cross is described in the inventory as of silver and gilt with a fleur-de-lis at every end, and standing upon a base with twelve pinnacles. The pair of covered basons gilt accustomed to be in the earl's chapel agree in weight with 'a pair of gilt basons silver all gilt with my Lord's arms & my old Lady's set in the bottom chased about with a double rose'. The old lady here referred to seems to be the earl's first wife. The two standing pots are minutely described in the inventory as 'two great standing pots silver all gilt chased, one chase plain, another pounsed, and in the top of the lids my Lord's arms and the Howards' arms quartered, and an angel with wings behind the lids'. What fine things they must have been! The vestments which are so shortly described in the testament seem to be identical with a suit valued at £20 of white bawdekyn

with crimson velvet orfreys. The altar-cloths 'wrought by my lady my moder' appear in the inventory as 'two altar cloths, one of white sarcenet, and another of white damask, embroidered and wrought by needle work with my Lord's arms, and a frontlet of the same'.

The five sets of bed-hangings bequeathed under the testament call for some notice. First comes the 'bedde of Roottes' which the earl says he had by reason of his office of great chamberlain at King Henry's coronation. This hereditary office was granted to Aubrey de Veer under King Henry I, and, as we have seen, a copy of the grant was written in the end of a portos bequeathed to Colne priory. It was anciently the great chamberlain's chief duty to dress the king on the morning of his coronation, and for this and other services he received forty yards of crimson velvet, the king's bed, bedding, apparel, and all the furniture of the room in which he slept the night before his coronation; he seems also to have had as his perquisite the pair of basons in which he brought water for the king to wash his hands in at the coronation banquet.

The 'bedde of Roottes' which the earl had from King Henry's coronation is more fully described in the inventory as a celer and a tester of crimson, blue, and white satin, embroidered with letters and roots[1] of gold, with a counterpoint of the same, valued at £26 13*s.* 4*d.*

The earl also leaves another bed which he says he had at the coronation of 'the Queene that dede is', apparently the Lady Elizabeth of York, consort of King Henry VII. It included a celer and a tester, the former, according to the inventory, having in it a pavilion and the latter a tourney of knights.

The other three beds were all of crimson satin or damask, and full of Veer heraldry. One apparently had the arms of the earl and of 'my lady that dead is' ensigned with the earl's helm and crest, and encircled by the garter. Another was embroidered with a park, and powdered with blue boars, molets, and caly- greyhounds. The third was embroidered with two gentlewomen standing on a mount and feeding a popinjay in a cage, and powdered with crankets, molets, blue boars, and water-flowers. All these devices will be dealt with presently.

There remains one more item to be noticed, the silver-gilt image of the Trinity and the gold cross mentioned first in the list. The inventory describes these more fully as an image of the Trinity of silver and gilt with a crown upon his head garnished with stones, with two little angels, weighing 120½ ounces and valued at £22 9*s.* 9*d.*, and a cross of gold garnished with two sapphires, and

[1] A root of a tree was the badge of John duke of Bedford. His seal as regent of France (1422–35) has an eagle standing with one leg upon the root or stock of a tree and holding in the other claw a shield of the duke's arms. Possibly this 'bedde of Roottes' had once been his.

two pieces of the Holy Cross therein, accustomed to be in the lap of an image of the Trinity, weighing 15¼ ounces and valued at £30 and 10*d*.

All the ornaments just rehearsed were to be put by the executors in the monastery of Bury or such other place as the earl shall direct, and to be delivered to his heir when he shall come to his full age of twenty-one years 'and not afore'. Failing direct heirs, male or female, to whom the said stuff, jewels, and plate could descend, the earl leaves them to his nephew John Veer, son of his brother Sir George Veer knight, who actually succeeded him in the earldom.

There are a few more personal bequests.

To his two nieces Dorothy and Ursula the earl leaves three hundred marks each, to be delivered to them at their ages of twenty-four years or before if they be married. Towards payment of this six hundred marks the earl directs that his 'Cheyne with the Whistell having sixe Score & oon linkes' and weighing four score and eighteen ounces and a half be sold, and the residue that shall lack to be made up by his executors. He also leaves to John Broughton a pair of silver flagons 'like to bottles'[1] weighing eight score and thirteen ounces, and to Robert Broughton his brother £10 in money. To his cousin John Veer he bequeaths of his plate and other stuff to the value of £100, and he also gives him his collar of garters and red roses of gold.

Finally, the earl directs that his executors in as goodly haste as they reasonably may after his decease shall convey or cause to be conveyed such of his jewels, plate, stuff, and goods movable, and such evidences as shall be thought most convenient to be put in sure coffers and well locked with divers locks and keys being within his castle of Hedingham, at London, at Wivenhoe, or any other place, unto the abbey of Bury or to the house of St. John's at Colchester, or else to such places as they or the majority of them shall think most convenient for dealing with the things to be disposed of under his present testament and codicil, and of the ordering of his lands and tenements specified and contained in his last will. Until his debts be paid, and then not until a year has expired, no part of the legacies bequeathed were to be delivered except those to Sir Thomas Lovel and to his wife. For further legal matters the text of the testament may be referred to.

Three minor bequests are inserted towards the end of the testament: that of his best antiphoner to the church of Stoke by Nayland (in Suffolk); 'towardes the making of the Iles of the churche of Lavenham xx li. over and besides xx li.

[1] Described in the inventory as 'Item ij Botelles silver parcell gilt w^{t} cheynes to bere them with
xx
poz̄ viij oz̄ di le oz̄ iijs. ij*d*. Summa xxvij *li*. xijs. ij*d*.'

whiche I tofore have geven to the same'; and towards 'the bielding and making of the churche of Harwich xx li.'

Lastly, the earl leaves to every one of his executors being of the degree of a knight who shall take upon him the charge of the execution of this his testament and of his last will and codicil £10 in money for his pains, and to every other executor taking upon him the like charge ten marks in money. He ordains as his executors, first Elizabeth 'my moost derest wif', Sir Thomas Lovel knt., Sir James Hobart knt., Sir Robert Drury knt., Sir William Waldegrave knt., Sir Robert Lovel knt., doctor William Cook, John Veer the elder esq., Humphrey Wingfield esq., John Danyell esq., John Josselin esq., and William Okeley gentleman.

A codicil is appended containing a list of persons to whom the earl leaves annuities; and a further list of household servants and others to whom rewards were to be paid.

The earl's testament and codicil are followed in the register by his last will, dated 1st September, 1512 (4 Henry VIII). By it he renounces and revokes all other previous wills made by him 'saving and except always my testament concernyng my bequeste and other thinges comprised and declared in the same bering date the tenthe day of Aprill The yere of our lord god M^{l}v^{c} and ix. the xxiiij. yere of the Reigne of King Henry the vijth Sealed w^{t} my seale of armys and signed in diverse places therof w^{t} my hands: and also my Codicell to the same annexed. Whiche testament and Codicell and all and ev'y thing expressid and declared in the same and either of theym / I woll shall stond still in full strenght and that they be executed according to the true meanyng and extent therof'.

The will then proceeds with directions as to the disposal of the earl's vast landed estates, which were distributed in eleven counties, but as the consideration of these does not fall within the scope of this present paper I have neither transcribed the will nor attempted any analysis of it.

The inventory, now in the Public Record Office, of all and singular the earl's goods, debts, chattels, and sums of money is entered in a paper book of thirty-four single leaves, measuring 11 inches by 7½ inches, and written very clearly, with few corrections or interlineations. The document seems to be complete in itself, a fact necessary of mention since the headings of some of the subdivisions are somewhat perplexing.

The list opens, for instance, with a long list of bed-hangings, tapets, etc. described as being 'at Colne within the Priory in the White Chamber', apparently one of the depositories referred to in the testament. As there are no remains of the priory now standing it is useless to speculate where the white chamber was.

Next follow the contents of a number of chambers, including Mr. Veer's chamber, the Armery house, Mr. Voyelly's chamber, Mr. Veer's servant's chamber, Mr. Burton's chamber, the clerk of the kitchen's chamber, the armory chamber, the parlour, the ewery, my Lord's great chamber, the inner chamber of my Lady, the gentlewomen's chamber, the revestry within the priory of Colne, the parlour under Mr. Veer's chamber, Mr. Walgrove's (Waldegrave's) chamber, and the chamber over the porch.

Despite the mention of the revestry, there seems to be little doubt that these chambers were not in Colne priory, but in the earl's own house at Hedingham castle. Not in the stately great tower of the twelfth century which is all that is now standing there, but in a fine and large house to the north-west of it, with hall, kitchen, chapel, great chamber, garderobe towers, etc. which had lately been rebuilt by the earl himself and wherein he died. It is now utterly swept away.

The inventory continues with a list of 'stuff given to my yong Lorde of Oxenforde', of horses and geldings, a valuation of the contents of the kitchen, a note of the wine in store, and a short list of 'Stuff at Henyngham'.

Next we are again reminded of the earl's direction as to the removal of his goods in strong coffers to such places as they could be easily dealt with by long lists of

'Plate and Jewelles in a greate standarde[1] w^t^in the colege of Sudbery';
'Plate and Juelles in another strong Coofer all of Iron w^t^ vj. lokkes upon the same';
'In another standarde bounde with barres of Irone';
'Plate in another cofer of woode barred with barris of Iron'; and
'Plate at Coolne in diverse offices'.

An interpolated statement as to the 'Redy mony at the houre of his death' which is given as £2,100, is followed by other long lists of

'In another standarde Chapell stuff att Sudbury';
'My Lordis apparell';
'Wardrop Stuff at Sudbury in the Friers'; and
'Stuffe at Colchester w^t^in Saint John is Abbey'.

The concluding item is a note of the 'Debtis owing to the testatour at the houre of his deth', which were £1,333 6*s.* 8*d.*

The sum-total of the value of everything included in the inventory is entered as £8,206 17*s.* 8¾*d.*; a truly colossal amount, probably represented to-day by close upon £200,000!

[1] Any large chest was called a standard.

It is impossible within the limits of any paper to discuss otherwise than quite briefly the contents of so rich an inventory. Such of the items as are dealt with under the earl's testament have already been noticed, but there remains a great mass of magnificent plate and jewels and splendid stuffs that were not specifically willed away.

The parcels deposited in Colne priory were none of them of great value, but many must have been pleasing to the eye. Such were no doubt the counterpoints of tapestry or verdure with the picture of Solomon, with a man and woman hawking and hunting, with a man in one corner bearing a hawk, with a man in the foot bearing 'an herensewe by the necke', or with the story of Alexander; while a pair of red say were embroidered with the letters H and M 'knett w^{t} a napkyn' and with a man and woman on horseback. From the dimensions given the counterpoints had an average size of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards by $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. Two sparvers are respectively described as (1) of changeable sarcenet embroidered with crankets, with crane-coloured[1] curtains lined with blue buckram and a counterpoint to match, and (2) of blue and crimson velvet paled (or striped vertically) with a pale of cloth of gold of baudekyn, and eight panes (or panels) of violet and red sarcenet. A dozen or more tapets, or carpets, are included in the list. Several were of large size, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and half as wide, but the average size was $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards by $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. All were either of tapestry or arras, and woven with various devices, such as a gentlewoman bearing a cup, a man on horseback with H and E upon his back knit by a lace, a man in harness fighting with a lion, a woman bearing a basket of grapes, with clouds of white and purple in the upper borders, with a castle of brick in the upper part, a man with a crossbow shooting at a wild beast with a castle in the corner, a man with hose striped red and white leading a hound and bearing a hawk on his fist, a man riding on an ass with a whip in his hand, etc. etc. Two tapets had stones and pearls in the borders, probably counterfeit or imitation, since they are only valued respectively at 15*s.* and 5*s.* Three coverlets described as of 'bery making' were probably of some special fabric woven at Bury St. Edmunds: two of them were adorned with Bourchier knots. A cushion is also noted as being 'of Jewys worke'. The last item is a sparver and a counterpoint of diaper embroidered with whistles and chairs, two of the earl's badges.

The contents of the various chambers at Hedingham castle are somewhat awkward to deal with. In about a dozen cases the chambers were evidently bedrooms. The bedsteads themselves are not mentioned, save a trussing or travelling bed made of iron in one chamber, and in another a trussing bed of old blue and crimson velvet paly, with paned curtains of blue and crimson damask.

[1] Crane-coloured, of ashy grey like a crane's feathers.

Some of the bedsteads had a sparver, a mattress, featherbed, bolster, one or two pillows, a pair of blankets, a pair of fustians for sheets, and a counterpoint for a quilt. Others had a celer and tester only, instead of a sparver. In a few cases, as in my lord's chamber, and my lady's, and that of her gentlewomen, the beds had curtains as well. An andiron or firedog in my lady's chamber, and two great andirons and a chafer[1] in the chamber next to Mr. Veer's, are the only suggestions as to fires. The clerk of the kitchen had two chests in his chamber, as well as a mortar with a pestle, and 9 lb. of saffron; while the contents of the gentlewomen's chamber incongruously include a vestment of black tinsel with two altar-cloths to match, the gold jewel for the image of Our Lady of Walsingham, and 'an horne of unykhorn[2] harnesed and garnishid with gold' valued at £4. No chairs, stools, or seats of any kind are mentioned, though cushions in some of the rooms suggest their existence. My lord's chamber had four carpets, and my lady's nine old carpets sore worn. There is no direct mention of the hall or its furniture, and of the kitchen reference is made only to the old brass and pewter, which were valued at £18 odd. The 'armory chamber' seems to have been a storeplace for cloth, and the chamber over the porch that wherein the linen sheets, etc. were kept. The parlour was apparently the temporary repository of a quantity of hangings and carpets. The contents of the ewery include the store of wax, in cakes, tapers, and torch ends, also of rosin, 'torche weke', and 'taper weke'; likewise 110 'tortes of broche', probably twisted candles,[3] with a chafer, a wax board, three chests, and two leaden weights. In the ewery too, were eight diaper table-cloths, each 7 yards long and 1½ yard wide, which must have been for a long table in the hall, four 'breakfast cloths' of diaper each 3 yards long, thirty-eight table-cloths 'of household', twelve towels with eight others of diaper, and sixteen diaper napkins.

The store of wine is set down as two tuns of Gascony worth £8.

The objects in 'the Armery house' consisted wholly of armour and weapons. The greater part consisted of armour for foot-soldiers and included a hundred and seventy-five salets, or head-pieces; one hundred and one brigandines or body defences; nine new coats; seventy-seven pairs of splints; five pair of old gauntlets; sixteen corsets; eighty-four pairs of gusset (of mail); eighteen gorgets; and twenty-five aprons of mail. There was also 'a pair of olde Ryvettes', probably a disused suit including the head and body armour and a pair of splints.

Of weapons there were six score and four halberts; seven score old bills;

[1] Or vessel for heating water.

[2] The long spirally-twisted tusk of a narwhal.

[3] 'Pro factura 10 Torgez et 12 Tortettes ac 14 Brochez.' Bursar's Roll, 1507–8, *Durham Account Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), 659.

six score bows; sixty-four sheaves of arrows without cases, and four sheaves with cases; and four bundles of bowstaves, each containing sixteen staves, and eight old staves; also a 'boore spere'.

For 'my lordes body' there were two pair of brigandines; also his 'vambraces' and 'polvornes', two salets with 'bavours' and 'a hat of stele', two gauntlets, and 'his legharnes'.[1]

In the list further on of my lord's apparel are 'a Jackett of gold lyned with grene sarcenet to were uppoñ harneis' and 'a nother Jakett of grene and white velvett'; also 'a horse harnes wrought corsewise with bokylles'. Among the chapel stuff at Sudbury were also eleven arrows for a cross-bow and two cross-bows.

The things in the revestry at Colne priory were miscellaneous enough in character: pieces of tawny fustian, remnants of satin and damask, five dog-collars, eight purses, a pair of ivory beads, twenty-one ells of canvas, an ouche of gold and sundry rings and brooches, a tablet with an image of Our Lady worth £4, two garters, and seven chests and standards.

The 'stuffe given to my yong Lorde of Oxenforde' enumerates the six rich sets of bed-hangings already noticed under the testament. Their united value is given as £203.

Under the head of horses and geldings are entered: a cart and four horses with their harness, worth £4; sixteen horses, geldings, and little nags, sold for £15 5*s.* 8*d.* the lot; and two old sackcloth saddles valued at 6*s.* 8*d.*

The final note of the stuff at Hedingham includes a pair of organs worth £5, a pair of portatives, or portable organs, valued at 20*s.*, and a small pair of organs at Wyvenhoe valued at 26*s.* 8*d.*; also three celers and testers, with a sparver, a tapet, and a counterpoint 'w[t] a condyt'.

The 'plate and jewels' that lay in the great standard within the college of Sudbury must have been a rich lot. The list contains sixty-three items, all of silver, silver-gilt, or parcel-gilt, and ranging in value from a few shillings to £70. Their total value is entered as £846 and 2¼*d.*

Of the sixty-three items, thirty-seven, or more than half, were church stuff.

Most noteworthy of them were a number of silver-gilt images of saints and apostles. Besides an image of Our Lady weighing 64 ounces for the high altar of the earl's chapel, and a greater one still of 108 ounces that stood in his oratory and was left to the cathedral church of Amiens, there were images of St. John Baptist, of nine out of twelve apostles,[2] and five lesser images. The

[1] Most of the objects described in this list are referred to in Lord Dillon's paper on 'Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich, 1547', in *Archaeologia*, li, 219-80.

[2] The missing apostles are Matthew, Matthias, and James Minor. Similar series of 'images

figure of the Baptist weighed only 43 ounces, but those of the apostles averaged 64½ ounces. St. Peter was evidently represented as pope, since he had upon his head a diadem garnished with stones and pearls. Four of the apostles have their emblems described: St. Simon, 'with a crosse (with) rounde knoppes on thendes'; St. Jude, with a ship; St. Philip 'with a grene clobbe', and St. Thomas of Inde 'wt a spere in oon hand and boke in thother'. The lesser images were St. Margaret 'wt a cros in a dragon's mouth', St. Barbara, St. Anne, and a St. George 'wt a bone of saint george under the burall in his shilde'. There was likewise a little image of Our Lady.

Another unusual thing is 'a greate bason of sylver wt bollions parcell gilte for a founte' weighing 137 oz. and valued at £22 16*s.* 8*d.* There can be little doubt that this was a silver parcel-gilt font in which members of the earl's family had been or could be baptized. The monastery of Christchurch at Canterbury formerly had one which was sent for on occasion of royal christenings, and £4 were paid to the prior's servants in February 1515–16 for the carrying and re-carrying of the font between Canterbury and Greenwich for the christening of the princess Mary.[1] It was again sent for at the close of 1518. In an inventory of jewels, plate, etc. belonging to King Henry VIII, taken in 1521 there may be found among the 'Hollywater stollys gilt' this entry:

> Item Receved of the Quenes grace for a founte callid in hir indenture A wyder or a \\ disshe chased wt bestis men and fowlis di gilte wtoute a cover waiying in the said indenture clxxiiij oz di to the whiche founte oon William Hollande hath made a Cover gilte chase wt men bestis and foulis waiyng C oz di and wayith now to gidders in all cclxxv oz.[2]

In the inventory of King Henry VIII's jewels taken in January 1548–9, now in the Society's Library, the first item in the list of 'Holiwater Stockes of Silver gilte parcell gilte and white wt a fonte parcell gilte' is:

> Item a fonte chased with men beastes and Fowls half gilte with a cover gilte poiz togcther cciiij xx j. oz.[3]

This is no doubt the same font as that entered in 1521, and it may even have been the one formerly at Canterbury, acquired by the king when he was in that city at Whitsuntide 1520. In any case it may be borne in mind that a

gilt', but in greater number, and with like descriptions of the emblems, occur in the inventories of King Henry VIII.

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic,* Henry VIII, vol. ii, part 2, p. 1470.

[2] From 'King Henry VIII's Jewel Book', edited by the Rt. Rev. Edward bishop suffragan of Nottingham, in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers* for 1891, vol. xvii, 181.

[3] MS. cxxix, fo. 42.

large silver-gilt font still forms part of the royal plate kept in the Tower of London with the regalia.

Other church stuff in the earl's inventory included the great alms-dish with swages left to the heir; the rich cross bequeathed to Lady Oxford, and another to Colne priory; the two monstrances for Colne priory; another with Our Lady in the top; and a fourth with a crucifix in the top, and a cross flory. There was also a fifth 'monstrant silver and gilt callid a *porte dieu* w^{t} iiij pillers and an angell wanting a wyng w^{t} a cuppe of burall to put in the Sacrament the foote garnisshid w^{t} .x. counterfet stones and a cover w^{t} a crosse lacking a bullion of silver'. The weight of this fine piece was six score and seven ounces and its value £20 2*s.* 2*d.* There were also two cruets of 'burall' or crystal, with lids and feet of silver gilt; two other cruets without lids; and a third pair of larger size. Of censers there were two pairs,[1] both 'with lieberdes hedes' to which perhaps the chains were fixed. The incense ship that supplied them was of 'sylver all gilt w^{t} a braunche of corall in the toppe afore & an acorn of burial standing behynde'. There were two chalices, of silver all gilt: one had 'my lordes woord *En dieu est tout* written in the fote and the trinitie in the paten' and weighed 38½ ounces; the other is described as a great chalice and weighed 32 ounces with its paten, and had the unusual 'scripture about the bool' *Laudemus et superexaltemus eum in secula:* it was one of the bequests to Colne priory. The last item in the church stuff was 'an holy water stoppe silver parcel gilt w^{t} this scripture aboute *vidi aquam egredientem* w^{t} the sprynkell to the same': it weighed 89 oz. and was valued at £14 and 22*d.*

Another notable object in the great standard must have been

> a new spice plate silver parcel gilt w^{t} a cover and in the toppe of the cover a fane having my Lordes armes and my olde Ladies armes on thone syde and saint John baptist on thother syde the foote pounced w^{t} molettes the shanke pounced and enamilid & aboute the mydde shanke set w^{t} molettes.

It weighed 154 ounces and was valued at £25 13*s.* 4*d.*

Other objects that may be noticed are: a number of platters, dishes, and saucers, all of silver and of considerable weight, 'marked w^{t} colombynes'; a chafing-dish of silver parcel-gilt with three gilt angels on the side and on every angel a molet; six goblets made at Bruges, with a cover having on top my lord's arms within the garter; six other new goblets chased with fleurs-de-lis, with a cover having on top my lord's arms and the Howards (a pair of salts with one cover were similarly ornamented); a number of Paris bowls of silver 'pounced lyke penys with a cover w^{t} a colombyne in the bothom'; six small

[1] One of these censers was left to Lady Oxford, and another to Colne priory.

bowls of silver parcel-gilt 'wt a cover wt vj signes of the monithes in the yere in the bottom'; and 'ij flagons wt cheynes silver parcel-gilt wt colomebynes on the side': these last weighed eight score and 5 ounces and were valued at £27 10*s.*

The last item to be noticed was the greatest in value:

> A girdell full of barres of golde every seconde barr lyke a cheire set wt stonys and two small barres at thone ende and a powche of blake velvet garnisshid wt perles set in gold and a stone in the middes set in gold.

Though it weighed only 43 ounces, the value of this precious thing is set down at £71 13*s.* 4*d.* The jewelled chairs upon it, as will be shown later, were allusive of the earl's office of great chamberlain.

The plate and jewels stowed 'in another strong Coofer all of Iron wt vj. lokkes upon the same', also apparently at Sudbury college, were the most precious things of all. There are only twenty-two items in the list, but their united value was £884 16*s.* 9*d.* This is not to be wondered at seeing that fifteen of them were of gold, and the rest of silver-gilt.

The jewelled cross and the image of the Trinity to which it belonged have already been noted among the bequests to the earl's heir. There was also a gold image of St. George weighing 12 ounces. The other gold objects include a spoon with my lord's armes on the end, five cups, three salts, and four chains and collars.

The first cup was valued at £81 11*s.* 8*d.* It had 'a cover pouncid wt eagles wt angelles faces and molettes' and the foot and cover were 'set wt perle and stone'. The second cup was covered, but not jewelled, and was pounced 'ful of Roundes like pellettes' and had 'a redde rose in the Bothom'. The third cup was like the first in being pounced with angel-faced eagles and molets, but its only jewel was a balas in the top; yet it was valued at £77 9*s.* 2*d.* Of the other two cups, one was 'a litle flat cup of gold wt a cover garnisshid wt molettes and crankettes having my Lordes armes and my Ladies in the top of the covere and the bothom pouncid wt sonnes'; the other was 'a goblet of gold wt a cover havyng my Lordes armes and my Ladies in the toppe'.

The three gold salts must have been beautiful things. The first was 'set wt bedes and perles in the toppe / a diamound a Rubie and vj perles'. The second had 'the hed and foote enamelid wt blue & set with perle and litle knoppes enamelid wt red standing upon a dissers (or jester's) hed'. The third was 'a litle salt of gold, the hedde and the fote wt Rubies & perles wt a safre in the toppe wt a Rose wtin the bothom of the salt'.

The four collars and chains were most noteworthy and beautitul objects.

The first is described as 'a greate cheyne of gold of xxij lynkes enamilid w^t white and blue columbines', weighing $30\frac{3}{4}$ ounces and valued at £50 12*s.* 6*d.* From the many objects already noted as ornamented with columbines, this collar must be looked upon as heraldic in character.

The second was the earl's collar of the Order of the Garter which he bequeathed to John Veer, and is described as 'a Collar of gold made in garters w^t redde Roses in the garters and a george w^t a dyamount and iij greate perles hanging in the dragons foote'. It weighed 21 ounces and was valued at £42.

According to Ashmole the gold collar of the Order of the Garter was introduced by King Henry VII, and is first recorded to have been worn in 1504; the earl of Oxford's collar, since he was then already K.G., must therefore have been one of the earliest made. It will be noticed that the roses are all red, but in the Statutes of King Henry VIII the collar was ordered to be of the weight of 30 ounces or thereabouts and to have the roses alternately white upon red, and red upon white. King Henry VIII's own collar weighed $28\frac{3}{4}$ ounces, and the jewelled St. George $3\frac{3}{4}$ ounces more, or $32\frac{1}{2}$ ounces in all.

The earl's third collar was 'of fyne gold of xxvij S and ij Porteculeisse w^t a grete diamount in a red Rose and a Lyon hanging uppon the same Rose w^t ij Rubies and a diamount uppon the said Lyon and ij greate Rubies / and iiij diamountes & ix greate perles uppon the .S.' Though its weight was only 42 ounces, it was valued at £98 and must surely have been one of the most splendid collars of SS on record.[1] How the two rubies, four diamonds, and nine great pearls were disposed among twenty-seven SS is uncertain. The collar was no doubt a gift to the earl from King Henry VII.

The fourth chain, though not jewelled, was the most valuable of all the items in this extraordinarily rich inventory. It is described quite truly as 'a great cheyne of gold w^t a maryner's whistell & of viij^xx and oon Lynkes', and its weight was 146 ounces or over 12 lb. Troy! It was also valued at the huge sum (for the time) of £243 6*s.* 8*d.* The earl wore this chain and whistle by reason of his office of admiral of England,[2] but it is curious to note that it does not correspond either in links or in weight with the chain and whistle directed to be sold under the earl's testament towards his nieces' portions. That one is said to have six score and one links and to weigh four

[1] It was, of course, exceeded greatly in value by the wonderful jewelled collar of SS made for King Henry IV in 1407 at a cost of £385 6*s.* 8*d.*

[2] At the reception outside Calais of the Lady Anne of Cleves in December 1539, it is noted of William earl of Southampton, who was then high admiral of England and Wales, etc. that 'baudrick-wise he ware a chayne, at the whych did hange a whistle of golde set with ryche stones of a great value'. Edward Hall, *The Union etc.* p. 832.

score and $18\frac{1}{2}$ (or $98\frac{1}{2}$) ounces. This in the inventory had 161 links and weighed 48 ounces more. Now if forty more links represent 48 ounces, 120 links should weigh 144 ounces. Yet the chain and whistle of the testament weigh together only $98\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. So too 160 links should weigh 192 ounces; yet the chain and whistle in the inventory only weigh 146 ounces. It seems therefore that the earl had in turn two chains: an old one of 121 links when he made his testament in 1509, and a new one of 161 links which he had made to replace the other some time before his death four years later. The fact that he forbids in his testament anything to be sold or handed over until his affairs are settled, shows that he could not have died possessed of two chains with whistles, and there is only one described in the inventory.

The few silver-gilt pieces laid in the strong coffer were almost as beautiful as the gold vessels, and consisted of five standing cups and a set of six great bowls. Three of the cups seem to have been royal gifts. One is described as having a border of roses, portcullises, and fleurs-de-lis, with portcullises on the cover; another as being set with roses and portcullises, with a rose upon the cover; and the third as having quarters or sides, 'oon quarter playne tothir chasid w^{t} Roses portculius and pomegarnettes' with a rose on top of the cover. The other two cups seem to have been equal in weight and value to the three just mentioned, but are only described as having a rose upon the cover.

The last item in the list is

> vj greate bollys all gilt w^{t} a cover sett ful of molettes and crankettes in the toppe of the same cover w^{t} perles and stones w^{t} my Lordes armes upon the same.

Their united weight was 13 score and $18\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, and their value £50 17*s.* 6*d.*

The next lot of vessels, etc. are simply noted as being 'in another standarde bounde with barres of Iroñ', presumably also at Sudbury college. The contents form a long list of eighty-four items, consisting chiefly of dishes, platters, pots, standing and other cups, basons, spoons, candlesticks, etc. all of silver-gilt, silver, or parcel-gilt, and valued at £1,198 9*s.* 9*d.*

The list is headed by the great garnish of silver vessels marked with 'brikettes' left to the earl's heir, which is followed by a number of other items that were apparently included: amongst them being twelve silver platters weighing nearly 30 ounces each, and valued at £55 odd. Four succeeding items specify a platter, a dish, a saucer, and three chargers, all 'newe made ayenst Whitsontyde' and marked with my lord's and the Howards' arms. Further down the list is a bason of silver parcel-gilt also new made 'ayenst Whitsontyde'. Some of the more valuable items were bequeathed to Lady

Oxford, the earl's heir, or to Colne priory, and have already been noted, but there remain a great many other notable things.

Foremost must be mentioned two silver basons all gilt with the king's arms in the bottom, and a gilt cup of [as]say 'wiche my lorde had at the coronacion of King Henry the eight by reason of his office', that is, of great chamberlain. Another interesting item is 'a pott all of silver for the barbour to warm in water for my lordes berd'. This must have been either large or massive, since it weighed 81 ounces and was valued at £12 16*s.* 6*d.*!

A few unusual things also occur in the list, e. g.:

A Cupp made of a grippes Egge[1] covered the foot silver & gilt & in the toppe of the cover a blue floure;

A Callak[2] of silver all gilt w[t] a crowne in the toppe of the cover w[t] a lyon in the middle;

a pott of Ivery garnisshid w[t] silver all gilt & in the top of the cover a saint Johns hed;

vj Bolles silver all gilt w[t] a cover w[t] the monithes[3] in the Bothom of every of them sett in gold the top of [the] cover garnisshid w[t] small Perle and stones set in gold;

the holy gost in a clowde silver hanging in a steon silver and gilt w[t] a molet in the myddes;

A litle Cupp of Masour the foote and cover silver and gilt;

a nother pott of tree w[t] the cover and lyppes of silver and gilt.

Other interesting objects are:

ij Basens silver all gilt and chasid w[t] sonnes and wrethes of colombynes in the Bothom and my Lordes armes;

a bason of sylver all playn the swages gilt and an eagle w[t] an angell's face in bothom; and

an Ewer to the same facioned like a tankard w[t] iiij hoopis gilt;

ij greate gilt pottes silver chasid one chase playn another pouncid w[t] a Ringe aboute the Bely departing the chaces w[t] my Lordes and the Howardes armes;

a pott of silver parcell gilt w[t] an angell w[t] winges on the lydde and armes in the same;

a greate Standing Cupp silver all gilt w[t] mylle pykes in the bothom chasid;

ij standing Cuppes silver all gilt bell shapen w[t] ij covers every of them w[t] colombynes floures in the botom;

ij leyers[4] sylver all gilt like unto perys eche w[t] spowtes w[t] a gilt spone;

[1] The egg was, of course, that of an ostrich and not of a griffin.

[2] A callack or collock was apparently a tub-shaped vessel. 'Unam peciam coopertam vocatam le collok' occurs in a will of 1437 (*Test. Ebor.* ii, 61).

[3] Representations of the signs of the months were very popular; see *Archaeologia*, xliv, 137–224.

[4] A leyer was a laver or jug.

a Snoff[1] of silver percell gilt
ij spones silver all gilt wt forkes for grene gynger.[2]

Towards the end of the list occur three separate figures of angels bearing relics; four paxbredes, one 'of the olde fasshion wt an angell in the myddes holding a vernacle', and another of silver with a 'vernacle of modir of perle'; two silver-gilt sacring bells; and 'ij Skalop shellys of silver and gilte'.[3]

The next list, of 'Plate in another cofer of woode barred wt barris of Iron', also includes a lot of church plate: that is to say, out of sixty items, fourteen certainly were so. The rest of the things were pots, basons, ewers, goblets, salts, bowls, cups, spoons, etc. and the total value of the whole £514 8*s.* 6*d.*

The more noteworthy items are:

a bason of silver wt blue water floures in the bothom;
a bason of silver callid the trussing bason;
vj goblettes made of a tooth of an Olyfaunt garnisshed wt silver and gilt;[4]
a litle gilt salt covered & chasid wt a bordour of flour delices in the bottom;
iiij Small bolles parcell gilt wt the signes of the monithes in the bottom swages gilt;
ij small bollys of sylver all whyte pouncid wt greate Roundes in the bottom;
ij Parys Cuppes of silver parcell gilt wt blue anuelettes in the bothom;
iij newe candilstikes wt noosys on thone syde and prikettes on thother syde;
A Sensour of silver wt the mollettes in the coveryng;
A pair of kervyng knyves wt serpentynes haftes;
a pair of knyves thaftes gilt wt molettes uppon thaftes;
A Cupp of Ivery wt a cover;
A chayne of gold wt a george.

This last item only weighed $9\frac{1}{4}$ ounces, but was valued at £16 15*s.* 10*d.*

The list of 'Plate at Coolne in diverse offices' contains only seventeen items, valued at £105 15*s.* 7*d.*

Among them were:

A Cuppe of Assaye silver parcell gilt oon of the signes of the monith of November in the botom;
ij playn pottes of silver all white like to Ravonsbillis;
A standing Cupp gilt wt a cover wt a white molett in the bottom enamilid;
ij lowe Rounde Saltes all white every of them having a hole in their sides;
A Matteyns Boke wt a clapse of silver wich my lorde was wont to use hymself; and
xxxvj Counters of silver thone syde wt a facon and thother wt a Calygreyhounde.

[1] A pair of snuffers.

[2] The use of forks 'to eate grene gynger with all' was a common one according to English inventories; see *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 361, note a.

[3] It is uncertain what these were for.

[4] A set of ivory goblets such as these is unusual.

It may be of interest to note that in the foregoing lists the various pieces of plate are valued at 3*s.* 2*d.* the ounce for white or plain silver, at 3*s.* 4*d.* the ounce when parcel-gilt, and from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* when wholly gilt. But the more ornate silver-gilt vessels are valued at 3*s.* 8*d.* the ounce.

The gold objects are valued at 33*s.* 4*d.* the ounce, but if also jewelled at 36*s.* 8*d.*, and occasionally, as in the case of the earl's collar of the Garter, at 40*s.* His splendid jewelled collar of SS is valued at 46*s.* 8*d.* the ounce.[1]

After these great collections of plate and jewels comes an astonishing list of 'Chapel-stuff'.

It is described as 'in a nother standard . . . att Sudbury', but this must apply to part only, since the hundred and twenty-seven items include more than twenty pairs of altar-cloths, nearly fifty copes, and a dozen complete suits of vestments, besides a score of single vestments and a variety of books and other things, which could hardly have been kept or contained in any one chest or press, however large.

As a matter of fact, the list will be found to consist of two lots: firstly, the best altar-cloths and suits, the copes, and a few other items; and secondly, other vestments, more altar-cloths and frontlets, and a miscellaneous collection. At the close of the first lot are entered, 'A Chest of Iroñ,' and 'ix. standardes', which possibly were the receptacles for most of the items that follow.

The list does not seem to have been made in any definite order, and in four or five cases only are the ornaments that formed a suit or set grouped together. There is also an absence of details. Thus the vestment and pair of tunicles for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon must also, as was usual, have included the amices and albes with their apparels, the girdles, and the stoles and fanons, none of which is otherwise noted. Most of the suits had one or more copes belonging, in several cases three, and in one case four, and a few had altar-cloths to match. They were mostly of rich materials: cloth of gold or tissue, bawdekyn, damasks, and velvet. The chief colours were white, blue, and crimson; but red, purple, black, and russet occur, and a single vestment of green. There is nothing to show how the colours were used, but 'ij aulter clothes of white sarcenet w^{t} bloode dropys' were evidently Lenten stuff, as were probably 'a Curteyn of whyte cloth' and a cloth or veil 'afore the crosse of diaper'. A 'Canapy of crymsyn tynsell satteyn w^{t} the Dome and chalessis' may have been for carrying over the Blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christi day, and there was another canopy of uncertain use 'of course white tulle w^{t} garters'.

[1] Standard silver at the present time averages from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce: standard gold from about £3 18*s.* or 78*s.* per ounce. Pure gold is £4 5*s.* per ounce.

Besides the vestments and altar-cloths the list contains other chapel-stuff:

vj. Corporas; ij super altares; v Images steynid in lynen clothe; an Image of saint Margarett all gilt; a lytle Image w^{t} a coffyñ; a foote clothe full of clowdes w^{t} molettes in the same for the chapell; a stole of lether; an Image of o^{r} Lady w^{t} the trinitie in hir wombe;[1] ij clothes for lectur̄ clothis of sylke bawdekyn; ij candelstickes of white booñ; *and* iij pair of cruettes.

Divers books are also included:

ij Portuous an older and a newer, an olde masse boke written, and a masse boke in prynte; ij Psalter bokes on Reed and the lesser blake lymnid; a nother psalter coverid w^{t} blake and silver clapsys; *also* a litle masse boke; *and* A Chest full of frenshe and englisshe bokes;

also a further lot consisting of

a masse boke w^{t} clapsys of silver; iiij masse bokes written in veloñ; a greate Antiphoner, a legend complete, ij grayles, and iij processionales; vij antiphoners; vj grales and xx processionales; ij half Legendes; ij printid masse bokis; vij Pricke song bokis bounde in leder; *and* xij Prick song bokis.

There is also as a final item:

A Gospell boke w^{t} thone syde covered w^{t} silver and a picktur of o^{r} Lorde in it trussid in a cofer w^{t}in the college of Sudbury.

It has already been noted that there was a pair of organs and a pair of portatives at Hedingham; these books are therefore further evidence that at times both the mass and the quire services were sung, and if confirmation be needed it occurs in another item:

xxx surples co^{r}se w^{t} iiij albys for childern for the chapell.

Towards the end the list includes a few things that can hardly be regarded as chapel-stuff:

a Case of Pypeis; xj Arrowes for a Crosse bowe and ij Crosse bowes; a pair of tables

[1] The very unusual 'Image of o^{r} Lady w^{t} the trinitie in hir wombe' had its parallel in the monastical church of Durham, wherein there was kept, according to *Rites*, over the middle altar in the south transept called the Lady of Bolton's altar:

> a merveylous lyvelye and bewtifull Immage of the picture of our Ladie socalled the Lady of boultone, whiche picture was maide to open with gymeres from her breaste downdward. And w^{tb}in y^{e} said immage was wrowghte and pictured the Immage of our saviour [*sic*], merveylouse fynlie gilted houldinge uppe his handes, and holding betwixt his handes a fair & large crucifix of christ all of gold, the whiche Crucifix was to be taiken fourthe every good fridaie, and every man did crepe unto it that was in y^{t} churche as that Daye. And ther after yt was houng upe againe within the said immage and every principall Daie the said immage was opened that every man might se pictured within her, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, moste curiouslye and fynely gilted. *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc., 107), 30.

of boone; a blake furre of boge; a Jakett of blake satteyñ furrid wᵗ old boge; *and* iij standers, ij wᵗ angelles, and tother wᵗ the blue bore of sarcenet.

These last were evidently the long heraldic banners called standards, having the cross of St. George next the staff and the fly powdered with the owner's badges.

Before leaving this list we may fairly wonder that any single individual, however distinguished, could possess such a collection of chapel-stuff. The chapel in Hedingham castle cannot have been a large one, and so far as we know there was not any college of priests attached to it. Yet here are enough ornaments to furnish the vestry of a very large and rich church! Moreover, although a few of them are described as old, a good many must have been new, since they bore the earl's own arms and special badges. Thus there are altar-cloths worked with my lord's arms, with garters and whistles, and with garters, molets, and calygreyhounds; a frontlet worked with whistles, white molets, and chairs; and copes and vestments embroidered with calygreyhounds and garters, with my lord's arms and the Howards' quarterly, with splayed eagles bearing my lord's arms; with molets in clouds and crankets; with crankets, molets, and garters; with calygreyhounds, molets, and clouds; with boars and garters; and so on. All these devices will be discussed presently.

The list of 'My Lordis apparell' is a very short one, and it can hardly be supposed to represent all that he died possessed of. It contains only twenty-six items, including twelve gowns (five of black, four of crimson, and one each of tawny, green, and russet) of which eight were lined with fur, three jackets (one 'of gold lyned with grene sarcenet to were uppoñ harneis', another of green and white velvet, and the third of velvet lined with sarcenet); a black satin doublet, a coat of the same stuff and colour 'furrid wᵗ blake Cony', and a tippet of black velvet 'furrid with martorns wᵗ vij lopys of gold'. The most valuable of these items was a gown of black 'tynsell satten furrid with sables' appraised at £20.

One item, 'a Whistell of Ivory garnishid wᵗ gold', can hardly be called an article of apparel, nor can a 'horse harnes wrought corsewise wᵗ bokylles'.

Four 'brode yardes of fyne Russett cloth' and 'iij shredes of crymsyn velvett and purple' were probably for mending or making things.

The list also includes what were apparently the earl's robes as a Knight of the Garter, namely, a gown of crimson velvet lined with white sarcenet, with a hood; and a mantle of blue velvet lined with white sarcenet; also 'iiij garters wᵗ bokles and pendauntes of gold'. The earl's gold collar of the Order has already been noticed, as well as two other garters in the revestry at Colne

priory. His parliament robes are also here, described as 'the Robe of estate furrid w^t^ myniver of crymsyn velvett, w^t^ mantell, tabbard, and circuitt, and a hode', worth in all £15. The earl had likewise 'ij Cappis of mayntenaunce', but of a gold coronet to wear round one or other of them there is not any mention in the inventory.

The items, one hundred and forty-two in number, of 'Wardrop stuff at Sudbury in the Friers' are of very miscellaneous character. Counterpoints and spervers, traverses and curtains, tapets and cushions, fine sheets and fustians, pillows and pillowbeers, featherbeds and mattresses, with their bolsters, quilts, and blankets, hangings of tapestry and verdure, bankers and pieces of stuff follow one another in bewildering confusion, as if the contents of room after room had been merely thrown together.

The materials are as varied: bawdekyn, sarcenet, tartarin, satin, lawn, taffeta, satin of Bruges and of Cyprus, coverlets and coverings of Norwich making and Bury work, velvet, worsted, dornyx, and say. There were also hangings, etc. of tapestry, tapestry verdure, counterfeit arras, and so on.

Since the dimensions are often given with the descriptions it is possible to realize the sizes of things. Some of them came from large rooms, such as a banker of old verdure seven yards long, and the 'pece of olde grene tapistry w^t^ my lordes worde and his armes and his late wiffes with molets & clowdes', which was six yards long and four deep. This formed part of a set with six other pieces measuring respectively $4\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{3}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 8, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ yards, that probably formed the hangings of a hall or some such chamber.[1] To this set perhaps also belonged

a lytle tappett of grene w^t^ my lordes Armes w^t^ crankettes molettes and blue bores,
a Canapy of grene say enbroderid w^t^ crankettes and molettes v yerdes long frengid, and
v bankers olde w^t^ lambes w^t^ an old grene tappett w^t^ molettes and my lordes worde in it.

The list is very sparing of both patterns and colours, and only a few items are worth noting:

a Cussheon of blue satteyn enbroderid w^t^ ij lylly pottes and a crown in the myddes;
a Counterpoint of grene w^t^ lyons;
a sperver of old saye w^t^ the sonne beames;
an old tapett of tapistry w^t^ a lyon in the neither ende eting of a best;
a tapytt of tapistry w^t^ saint george in the myddes;
a Counterpoint of unykornes and a gryffyn; and
ij tapittes of olde tapistry verdure w^t^ shepe and shepardes.

[1] If the first piece hung at the back of a dais, the $6\frac{1}{2}$ yards at the opposite end of the room, the two $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards at the ends of the dais, and the 8 yards, and the $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards with the $3\frac{3}{4}$ yards, along the sides, they would just cover the walls of a hall about 35 feet long and 20 feet wide.

Perhaps the most interesting item is 'a tapett of the dome accustumed to be over the high aulter', presumably of the earl's chapel in Hedingham castle, containing in length and breadth 28 'flemisshe stickis'.

There may also be noted:

> to litle furres of Otter to lye on a bed,
> ij panys of old Redde furrid with myniver olde, and
> a cheir coverid w^t^ old crymsyn velvet w^t^ fringes of gold and silke.

The last section in the inventory, a list of 'Stuff at Colchester w^t^in saint John is Abbey', is in marked contrast to that of the wardrobe stuff inasmuch as almost every one of the fifty-six items is more or less described. With one or two exceptions, the list is made up of tapets, bed-hangings and coverings, cushions, and carpets.

The tapets were evidently sets of hangings: seven being of counterfeit arras with 'morions' or blackamoors, six of tapestry with chairs and whistles, three were old tapets with lilypots, four had for device the nine orders of angels, and another four the story of Porsenna and Cleoda (Cloelia). A single tapet which was 'olde and sore woren' represented 'the viij valiauntes'.

The descriptions of the bed-hangings and coverings conjure to the mind many quaint and pretty things, such as a celer and a tester of red satin 'w^t^ a lyon driving a Whilebarowe', a quilt of red sarcenet with my lord's arms in it, a counterpoint of blue bawdekyn with trees of gold and white greyhounds, a celer and a tester of counterfeit arras 'after thistory of David', and another of 'thistory of Kyng Alexander', and a third of blue counterfeit arras of the passion of Our Lord and the salutation of Our Lady with a counterpoint of the assumption of our Lady. There is also another described as

> a litle Celour and a testour of white cloth of gold of bawdekyn and a counterpoint of the same / iij Curteyns of sarcenett panid white and grene that was for his ryding bed and iiij angelles gilt uppon tymber.

Quite a pretty picture is here given us of the earl's travelling bed and the angel guardians that decorated its canopy.

Of cushions there are two lots separated by an enumeration of the carpets. The first lot was of little value, but the cushions in the second group were of rich materials like cloth of gold and tissue, gold bawdekyn, and crimson and purple velvet embroidered with heraldic devices such as scallop shells, caly-greyhounds, and crankets; while a long cushion of purple velvet was embroidered 'w^t^ a target of my lordes armes and my ladies'. Six cushions of counterfeit arras bore 'Nabugodonisour is story', and three square cushions are respectively

described as 'of Rebon laces red and tawny stripid w^t^ gold', 'of Rebound laces white and grene', and of 'laces Reboun Red and youloo'.

The carpets were nearly all heraldic in decoration. The first had 'a blue bore in hit', the second was 'a greate carpit w^t^ Rosys in hit with a garter', the third was likewise 'a great carpit the grounde red with molettes garters and crankittes'. There was 'a nother carpit with thise wordes therein *In domino confido*', and a fifth that had the same words and 'diverse knottes'. A new carpet also had 'diverse knottes and redde Rosys therin' and an old carpet belonging to the closet 'Redde Rosys and Whyte'. Yet another carpet had a ground of carnation and red with little knots in it, while another was of yellow

Fig. 1. Seal of John de Veer earl of Oxford, 1464.

with red and white roses, and the last in the list had 'a trayle of grene and the grounde of Purple'.

Reference has constantly been made all through the foregoing analysis of the earl of Oxford's testament and inventory to the decorative use of his arms and badges. These throw such light on many of the ornaments and articles described that it will be well to discuss them in detail.

First as to the earl's arms. These were primarily those of Veer, *quarterly gules and gold with a silver molet in the quarter*, as shown on the seal (fig. 1), which he had made probably on his accession to the earldom, since it appears on a deed of 1466.[1] The Veer arms apparently were displayed by themselves on many of the objects noted in the inventory.

[1] Brit. Mus., Harley charter 57. c. ix. This has for counterseal a signet of the earl bearing his badge of the calygreyhound. Another impression of this signet is used to seal another deed of the same year (1466), Addl. Charter 30,421.

But the earl also quartered with his own arms those of his mother, Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Howard and *suo jure* baroness Plaiz, *gules a bend and six crosslets fitchy silver*, as appears by a seal (fig. 2) that must have been made for him shortly after his mother's death,[1] and a much later and coarser seal which probably dates from the restoration of the earldom in 1485 (fig. 3). Mention of 'my Lord's arms and the Howards'', generally quartered, likewise occur frequently throughout the inventory.

There are also constant references to the earl's arms in conjunction with those of 'his late wiffes', or 'my old ladies', or 'my Ladyes that dede is', as she is variously described. This was his first wife, Margaret daughter and heir of

Fig. 2. Seal of John de Veer earl of Oxford, made after his mother's death.

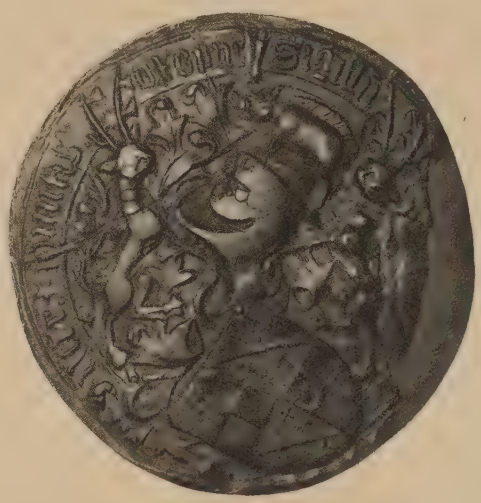


Fig. 3. Seal of John de Veer earl of Oxford, made probably in 1485.

Richard Nevill earl of Salisbury, who was married to him about 1465 and died in 1489. Her arms were those of Montagu and Monthermer quarterly, quartered with Nevill (*gules a saltire silver with a label of Beaufort*). These arms, impaled or departed by the earl with his own, are described several times in the inventory as being within the garter and surmounted by his helm. Now the earl was not elected Knight of the Garter until 1486, consequently all the numerous ornaments and pieces of plate ornamented with garters or with arms within the garter must have been made after that year; or in other words, directly the earl had once more become a wealthy man through the restoration of all his honours and estates after his attainder.

[1] A fine and perfect impression is appended to Brit. Mus. Addl. Charter 989 of the year 1496, while Addl. Chr. 16,572 of the year 1509 has a fragment of the same seal.

There are also a few things that may have been made shortly before his death, since apparently they bore the arms, *azure a gold bend*, quartering *silver a saltire engrailed gules* (for Tiptoft), of his second wife Elizabeth Scrope, whom

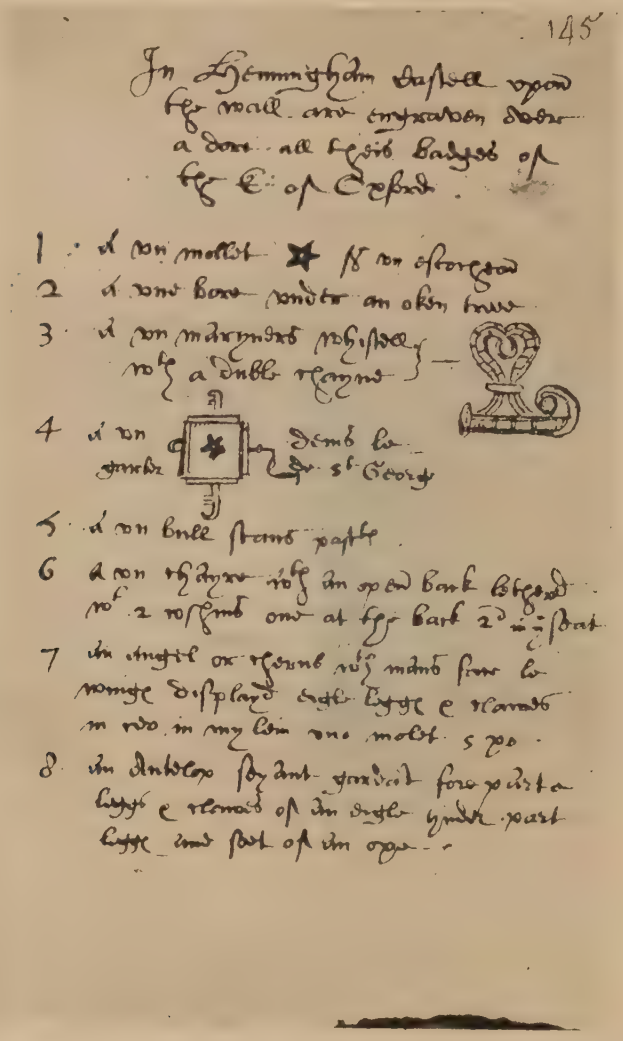


Fig. 4. List of the badges of John de Veer earl of Oxford (fromTillotson's MS.).

he wedded after 1507. For example, a cushion with a target of my lord's arms and my lady's, and a little flat cup of gold having 'my Lordes armes and my Ladies in the toppe of the cover'; but possibly, after all, the arms were those of 'my Lady that dede is'.

The evidence of the making of things new afforded by the arms is likewise confirmed by the numerous badges used by the earl.

Of these an interesting list is given by William Tillotson in his little manuscript volume of Heraldic Collections, with the date 1594, now in the Society's Library[1] (fig. 4).

The first seven of these badges, perhaps those actually seen and described by Tillotson and removed from the ruinous buildings of the castle, are also to be seen over the west window of Castle Hedingham church, where they may have been put during a repair of the tower in 1616. They are, however, in different order: (1) whistle and chain, (2) screw-jack, (3) molet, (4) boar under oak-tree, (5) ox in a ford, (6) chair of estate, (7) eagle with a man's face (one-half lost).

Of these the first in Tillotson's list, the molet or five-pointed star, here displayed upon a scutcheon, is the well-known device in the Veer arms, and is to be met with all over Essex and Suffolk, wherever the earls of Oxford had influence. It is described many times in the inventory as accompanied by clouds, but no pictorial representation of this is known to me.

With the molet is often associated the next badge on the list, the blue boar-pig, here 'under an oken tree', that figures from an early date as the punning-device or crest of the Veers, from its Latin name of *verres* and the Old-French form *ver*.

The 'maryner's whistell wth a duble chayne' has already been noted in connexion with the gold badge of the earl's office of high admiral of England which figures in the list of his effects.

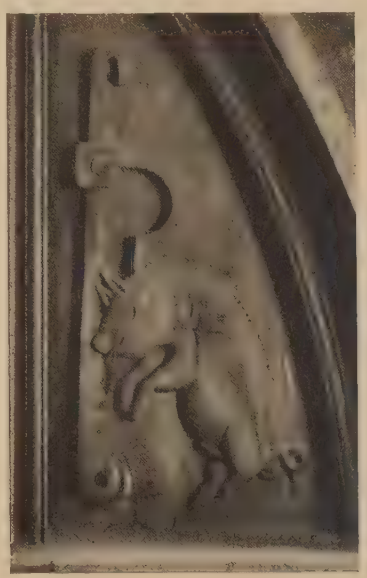


Fig. 5. Cranket and boar-pig badge of the Veers, from the south door of Lavenham church in Suffolk.

The fourth badge in the list is a winding-machine of some kind, encircled by the garter and charged with a molet; Tillotson gives a rough drawing and merely calls it *un devis*. This is almost certainly the object so often described in the inventory as a cranket, or *cranequin* as it was called in France, defined by Littré as an instrument which soldiers used to stretch crossbows (*instrument dont les soldats se servaient pour tendre les arbalètes*). On the Castle Hedingham church tower the cranket is not unlike a coffee-mill, but on the south door of Lavenham church (fig. 5) it takes the form of a long rod with a hook for suspension at the top and a double hook for the crossbow at the foot, and having the inner edge serrated throughout with a ratcheted handle that could

[1] MS. iv, f. 124.

be moved up or down. In front is a boar-pig charged on the shoulder with a molet.

The bull, as Tillotson calls it, appears on the church tower as an *ox* crossing a *ford* with a scroll above lettered apparently ꝛn. In other words, it is a rebus on the earl's title, but does not occur either in the testament or the inventory.

The chair of estate, which comes next, is symbolical of the earl's hereditary office of great chamberlain. It is many times represented in the clerestory windows of Lavenham church, and is repeatedly noted as an ornamental device on objects enumerated in the inventory.

The next badge is described in the inventory as a splayed eagle with an angel's face, and by Tillotson as 'an angel or cherub wᵗ mans face le winge displayd eigle legge & clawes in ceo in my lieu une molet 5 ps'. It may have been, therefore, the fabulous creature known as the siren or the harpy. If so, it was possibly adopted as a badge by the earl by reason of its reputed association with mariners. But it has been suggested to me by the Rev. E. E. Dorling that an eagle with a man's face may actually be the emblem of St. John Evangelist in a form occasionally found, as for instance in a chancel window in Nettlestead church, Kent. In that case the badge would allude to the earl's name.[1]

The last badge in Tillotson's list is described by him as 'an antelop seyant gardant fore parte legge & clawes of an eigle hinder part legge and feet of an oxe'. This is obviously the same beast as the pair that are shown upon all three of the earl's seals as supporters of his boar-crested helm; it is also the device of one of his signets as early as 1466. But the beast is not an antelope, and can be more accurately described as having the head of a wild cat with an upright pair of horns curiously tufted or sprouting; a tufted body with the hind limbs and tufted tail of a lion or poodle; and fore limbs ending in bird's or dragon's claws. On all the seals, but not on the signet, the beast has around the neck a jewelled collar from which hangs a chain ending in a ring.

This strange creature is quite unknown in the heraldic menagerie, and Mr. G. C. Druce tells me that nothing like it is to be found in the bestiaries. What then is it to be called?

By a simple process of exhaustion all the earl's known badges have been accounted for save one, namely the calygreyhound which is so frequently mentioned in both testament and inventory. This beast is as elusive as the other creature's name, and he is not to be found in any dictionary, glossary, or other source of information known to me. On the other hand, there is no mention in testament or inventory of any beast answering to the description of that shown

[1] It was used by the fifteenth earl as one of his supporters, and is finely shown on his monumental slab of black marble in Castle Hedingham church (*Archaeological Journal*, xviii, facing p. 89).

on the earl's seals. I venture therefore to submit that this is the calygreyhound we are in search of.[1] It is true that he in no way resembles a greyhound, but perhaps the unknown prefix *caly* when interpreted will explain this. There is no hint in the inventory as to his colour, but as he is described as appearing indiscriminately on grounds of blue, crimson, purple, and green, he was perchance a white or silvery creature, maybe with golden horns.

From its frequent mention in the inventory the ever beautiful and popular flower called the columbine seems to have been another device used by the earl as a mark for some of his silver, as an ornament of many pieces of plate, and the subject of a magnificent livery collar. Basons chased with suns and wreaths of columbines, and bowls with suns in the bottom and my lord's arms on the cover, are items from the inventory that suggest another device, but neither the columbine nor the sun is otherwise known to be associated with the Veers.

[1] The same beast appears again on the monument at Castle Hedingham of the fifteenth earl as his sinister supporter.

APPENDIX

THE LAST TESTAMENT OF JOHN DE VEER, THIRTEENTH EARL OF OXFORD, 10TH APRIL, 1509.[1]

In Dei Nomine Amen. I John de Veer Erle of Oxinford beyng in goode helthe and pfeyt mynde not grevid vexed troubled nor diseasid with any bodily syknes knowyng and consideryng well thuncerteyntie and vnstables of this wretchid lyfe And that there is nothing so certeyne to any creature in this worlde lyving as is the deptuꝺ from the same And natheless nothing soo vncertayñ as the tyme and howre therof Ordeyne and make this my present Testament the x^th^ day of Aprill the yere of our Lord God m^l^ v^c^ and nyne and in the xxiiij^th^ yere of the Reigne of King Henry the vij^th^ in maner and foꝛme ensuyng videl̃t First I geve and bequethe my Soule to thinfynitie m̃cy of Almighty Gode Maker and Redemer therof / to the moost blessid and glorious Virgyn oure Lady Seynt Mary Seynt John Baptist Seynt John thevⁿngelist Seynt Antony Seynt George and to all the holy Company of Heven And my body to be buried tofore the Highe Aulter of our Lady Chapell in the Priory of Colne in the Countie of Essex in a tombe whiche I have made and ordeyned for me and Margaret my late wif where she nowe lieth buried My body thider to be brought according to my degre And I renounce and revoke by this my Testamẽt all other former Testaments bequestꝭ and legacies by me made tofore the date forsaid Furtherly I woll that all my dettꝭ sufficiently proved to be due by any writting or otherwise and by me owyng to any psone be truely and duely contentid and paid. And in likewise I woll that vnto all psones duely and sufficiently proving that I have injuried or wronged theym̃ or taken any goodꝭ of theym agaynst reason and goode Conscience be made recompense and restitucon as fare as my goodꝭ may extend or stretche oreꝫꝭ as myn Executours may entreat theym for the discharge of my Cõsciẽce Itm̃ I bequeth to the figure at Walsinghm̃ of ouꝺ goode and blissed Lady myñ eagle of golde displaied and garnysshid Itm̃ I bequeth in thonour of the Holy and blissed Kyng Maiden and Martyr Seynt Edmond to his Monastery at Bury my best hole sute of Vestmentꝭ of clothe off golde of tissue videlz for preeste Decõn and Subdecõn Itm̃ I woll and requyre myn Executoꝛs that they as hastly aftir my depture as they can or may provide shall cause M^l^ M^l^. massez of Requiem to be saide and song for my Soule by Preestꝭ in maꝺ and foꝛme folowing videlicet. Eu̅y Freeꝺ beyng a Preest and abiding in any of the houses of the Blacke Freerꝭ in Cambridge / the blake Freerꝭ of Oxford / and the Whit Freerꝭ of Lyne whiche houses of freerꝭ be of the foundacioñ of myn Auncesters And also the Brethe̅n of the Charterhouse at London Shene and Syon beyng Preestꝭ And also eu̅y Monke chanoꝺ and eu̅y other religious psone beyng a Preest and abiding wᵗin any house of Religion of the foundacion of any of myn Auncesters shall syng and say Placebo Dirige & Comendacõns And v. of the said M^l^ M^l^ Massez And haue of my goodꝭ by thandꝭ of myn Executoꝛs iij^s^ iiij^d^ for his labour And also eu̅y other freer Monke Chanoꝺ Anchorite and eu̅y other man of Religion beyng a Preeste wᵗin any house of Religion whatsoeu̅ it be in any of the Shires off Norffolke Suffolke and Essex shall syng and say Placebo Dirige and Cõmendacõns and three Massez pcell of the

[1] Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 11 Fettiplace.

Residewe of the said M¹ M¹ Massez assone as it may be done And to haue for his labour xviij^{d}. And if all thesaide massez in fo^{r}me above written to be saide and songe extend not to the full nombr̃ of M¹ M¹ massez. Than I woll that suche discrete and well disposid Preest̃ as myn Executo^{r}s shall seme moost expedient aswell Regulars as Seculars shall syng and saye the Residue of the same massis to the full nomber of M¹ M¹ massis And to have for their labour viij^{d} ffor e̅y Masse Placebo Dirige and Cõmendacõns Also I woll that the Monk̃ of the Priory of Colne forsaide whiche house ys of y^{e} foundacõn of me and my̅n Auncesters shall e̅y day during the space of oon monethe nexte aftir my depture syng dirige solemply by note for my Soule in the said Priory And also syng oon masse of Requiē daiely by Note and e̅y Monke there being a Prest and so doing by all the saide space shalhave for his laboure and reward in that behalue x^{s}. And e̅y Nouice of the said house for the same tyme v^{s}. Itm̃ I woll that myn Executo^{r}s cause to be said for me three Trentall̃ of Seynt Gregory accordinge to thordre of Seynt Gregories trentall̃ in ma̅ and fo^{r}me folowing videlz thoo̅ of the iij. assone as it may be aftir my said burying. The Secunde assone as it may be done and said aftir my xxx^{ti} daye And the thirde as sone as it may be aftir my yeris daye. And that myn Executours in anywise cause the saide iij. Trentall̃ to be said by the moost vertuous preest̃ that they can prouyde aswell Anchoritt̃ as other And for e̅y of the saide trentall̃ I bequeth xij^{li}. Also I woll that myn Executo^{r}s assone as they may aftir my departure doo fynde iij. Secular Preest̃ to sing and pray for my Soule / the Soules of my late wif / my wif that nowe is whañ God shall call hir / my childern my Lord my fader & my lady my moder / my bretherñ and my susterñ all myn Auncestris Soules / all my friend̃ and good doers Soules and all X^{p}en soules in the Priory of Colne forsaid by the space of iij. hole yeris taking yerely for their wag̃ e̅y of them x mrke. Also I geve and bequeth to the Prio^{r} and Covent of Colne Priory and to their Successours to thonour of Almighty God And to the entent that Divine s'vice hereafter shalbe the more re̅ently mynestrid there of thornament̃ and Jewell̃ pteynyng to my Chapell thies ꝑcell̃ folowing videlz. oon hole sute of Vestment̃ for Preest̃ Deacon and Subdeacon of blake Velwet powderid with garter̃ flowrys and mollett̃. and orfraid w^{t} rede velwet And iij. Copis of blake sateñ figury vpon tawny grounde / and oon Cope of blake velwet purled Itm̃ ij. Aulter clothes of Whit damaske embrowderid and myn Armes in di̅se part̃ of the same w^{t} a frontlett of the same wrought in the stole paly w^{t} many Werk̃ And a pece of rede clothe of golde of tissue at e̅y ende therof. Itm̃ a Cope of Clothe of Bawdkȳn White orfreid w^{t} blewe clothe of gold Itm̃ ij. Copis of Crymsen Velwett powdrid w^{t} ffire yrong̃ thorfreis powdrid w^{t} aungell̃ and molett̃. Itm̃ ij Copis of crymsen clothe of golde w^{t} a Monke on the hede It̃ my Secund portues in the whiche the g^{a}untt of thoffice of the Great Chamberleynship of England made in tyme passid vnto Awbry de Veer Erle of Oxinford myn auncester is written in thende It̃ ij. great Candilstick̃ of sil̅ ꝑcell gilte chased weying ciiij vnc̃. It̃ a Senso^{r} of sil̅ w^{t} liepard̃ fac̃ weying xxvij vnc̃. di: It̃ a Booke callid a Cowcher. It̃m A Crosse w^{t}out Mary and John of sil̅ anneled on bothe sid̃ w^{t} theu^{a}ngelist̃ weying lxiij. vnc̃. It̃m a paxbrede sil̅ and gilte w^{t} an Aungell in the mydd̃ vnder a glas holding a Vernacle weying xvj vnc̃ iij q^{u}rters. It̃m a chalice written aboute the boll Laudemus et supexaltemus eum in sc̃a. weying xxij vnc̃. Itm̃ A Monstraunce of Bura̅ll for Reliquys the fote and the co̅yng therof sil̅ and gilt w^{t} Seynt Anne hauyng o^{r} Lady in hir Armys weying xix vnc̃. It̃m another lower Monstraunce w^{t} a bura̅ll in the tope of y^{e} co̅yng and Seynt Margaret in the Botom Weying ix. vnc̃ iij q^{u}rters It̃m An Aungell sil̅ and gilt bering Reliquys Weying xvj vnc̃ Itm̃ I geve and bequeth vnto thapparellyng of the Chapell of oure lady in the said Priory of Colne where my tombe and the tombes of myn Auncestres and frend̃ tofore rehersid be nowe and herafter shalbe made of the ornament̃ and ꝑcell̃ now vsed belonging to my Chapell in my clossett viz. A Chalice of sil̅ and gilte w^{t} the Trinitie in the Patent And in the foot of the Crucifixe w^{t} Mary & John And this Scripture folowing aboute the boll Calicem salutaris accipiã weying xvij vnc̃ iij q̃ters It̃m ij. small Candilstick̃ of sil̅ the borders gilt weying xxvj vnc̃

iij qr̃ts Iĩm ij. small basons of silū and well gilt enbosed w^t a Scriptur̄ aboute the borders weying xxij. vnc̃ iij qr̃ts Iĩm A paxbrede of Silū gilt and enamelid w^t a Crucifixe Mary and John sett theryn weying vj vnc̃ j qr̃tr Iĩm ij. Cruett̃ Silū and gilt the borders with molett̃ graven on the liddez of theym weying v vnc̃ Iĩm A Masse booke w^t thies word̃ in the begynnyng of the Secunde leff / post aspsionẽ aque dicat sacerdos Iĩm ij aulter clothes of Whit Sarcynet sett w^t flowris garters and molett̃ on theym and a pane in the uppare clothe of Chekred sateñ figury w^t a Crucifix Mary and John sett theruppon / and on the nether clothe an Image of our lady. Itm̃ a payre of Vestment̃ of Whit clothe of gold of Tissue. Iĩm a payre of vestment̃ of crymsen sateñ w^t orfreis of blew velwett garnesshid Iĩm a payre of vestment̃ of crymsen Clothe of Bawdekyn w^t a orfrey of nedu͞ll warke / and on the bake of the offrey a pellicane & an Image of ou͞r Lady. Itm̃ ij. frontlett̃ of di͞se sort̃ Iĩm iij. Corporasis w^t the Cassis therunto. Iĩm iiij. aulter clothes of lynnen to ley upon thaulters Iĩm ij aulters clothes of blake clothe of golde Itm̃ I geve and bequethe to the Highe Aulter of the Churche and Priory of Colne forsaid ij aulter clothes of Russett Sarcynett powdred w^t garter̃ and molett̃ and a pane in the mydd̃ of crymsen clothe of Bawdekyn Item I geve and bequeth to the said Highe Aulter of the Churc̄h & Priory of Colne forsaid my Crosse w^t the foot silū and gilte / the whiche is accustomed to stande vpon the aulter in my Closset weying lxix vnc̃ Itm̃ I geve and bequeth to the Priory and Covent of Colne forsaid and to their Successours tothuse and profite of the same place and to thentent they shall the more hertely and more devoutly pray for me a stonding cupe silū and gilte w^t a flowre in the botom whiche is my daiely cupe weying xx vnc̃ di. Iĩm a great standing salt sixe square silū and gilt w^t a co͞ue pounced w^t Vynes weying xxxix vnc̃ di. Iĩm I woll that they have the basson and ewre Silū and pc̃ell̃ gilt that is accustomed to be caried w^t me weying iiij^xx viij vnc̃. And that theis goodes for͞mly by me to the said Prio^r and Covent yeven / be vnto theym deli͞ued by endenture triptite / thoon part w^t theym to remayn / the secund w^t myn Executo͞rs / and the iij^de to be deli͞ued by myn Executo^rs vnto myn heire at his full age / And that vpon the deli͞ue of the said stuff Juell̃ and plate. The Prior for the tyme beyng shall make a solempne othe that he during the tyme that he shalbe Prio^r there shall not enbesell sell nor putt away any of the said stuffe juell̃ or plate but the same alwayes to remayne and contynue in the saide house to thuse above expressid. And that e͞uy prio^r that hereaft^r shalbe electe and chosen to be Prio^r there shall vpon his Stallac̃on view and see the said stuffe. Jewell̃ and plate and to make a like solempne othe for the goode keping and orderyng of the same according to thentent tofore specified. Itm̃ I geve and bequeth to the Belfray of the Church and Priory of Colne forsaid xx li toward̃ the bielding of the same Itm̃ I geve and bequeth to the Monastery of Seynt John at Coilchester my ij. copis of crymsen clothe of gold of Luk̃. Itm̃ I geve and bequeth to the Cathedrall Churche of Seynt John of Amyas in Picardy my best Image of ou͞r Lady beyng in my clossett And myn Image of Seynt John Baptiste silū and gilt weying bothe togider Cl vnc̃ Iĩm I geve and bequeth to the Abbey of Woburn in the Countie of Bukk.[1] wherof I am Founder myn Image of Seynt Andrew silū and gilt accustomed to stonde in my Chapell weying lxvj vnc̃. Iĩm I geve and bequeth to the Blake Freer̃ of Cambridge myn Image of Seynt Peter Silū and gilt accustomed to stonde in my said Chapell weying lviij vnc̃ di. Iĩm I geve and bequeth to the Priory of Hatfeld Broodooke myñ Image of Seynt James silū and gilt accustomed to stonde in my forsaid Chapell weying lxiiij vnc̃ Iĩm I geve and bequeth to the Nunry of Brosyerde in y^e Coũtie of Suff. toward̃ the amendement and repac̃ons of the saide house xx^ti mr̃k̃ Itm̃ I woll that e͞uy house of Religion[2] hereafter

[1] Woburn is actually in Bedfordshire.

[2] The houses of religion referred to by the earl, with their reputed founders and dates of foundation, were: Woburn Abbey (Beds.), Hugh Bolebec, 1145; Stratford Langthorne (Middlesex), William de Montfitchet, 1135 (or the nunnery at Stratford-at-Bow, also in Middlesex); Hatfield

ensuyng beyng of the Foundacon of myn Auncestres aswell men as women viz. the houses of Wobourne Stratford Hatfeld Broodooke The Blake Freers of Oxford and Cambridge the House of Seynt Osithe/the Nuñes of Swaffeh^{a}m Hedingh^{a}m Ikeltoñ The houses of Threnmall Blakebourghe and Bromhill the Whit freer^{e} of Lyne and the Houses of Blakamore Roiston Mendh^{a}m and Hempton And also suche ꝑsshe churches where I have Manos land^{e} and teñt^{e}: Shalhave a reward of the stuff of my Chapell by the discrecion of myn Executo^{rs} And if suche stuffe as remayneth in my saide Chapell will not suffise therunto I than will that suche of the said houses for whom it shall lake shalbe provided by my saide Executo^{rs} and deliu̅ed to thentent they shall the more hertly and devoutly praye for the Soules of me/my wiff^{e} and my childern my lorde my fader my lady my moder/my brethern and sustern and all myñ Auncestres Soules and the Soules of all suche ꝑsones that in any wise I am bounden and have cause to praye for And that e^{r}y house of my foundacion forseid at suche tyme as they shall doo Exequyes for me my wiff^{e} my childern my Lord my fader my lady my moder and other as is tofore rehersid shall fynde. v. tapers about^{e} myn herse to breñ there during the tyme of the same exequyes And all those that shall have busynes about^{e} my same Exequies to haue for their labours by the discrecion of myn Executo^{rs} Itm̃ I bequeth unto myñ olde frende S^{r} Thomas Lovell Knyght a Salt of Silu̅ and gilt w^{t} a perle in the tope weying xxv. vnc^{e}. Itm̃ I geve and bequeth vnto my moost loving wif of thornaments and Juell^{e} ꝑteynyng to my Chapell thies ꝑcell^{e} folowing viz .ij. aulter clothes of blew clothe of golde lyned w^{t} blew bokeram̃ Itm̃ a hole sute of Vestment^{e} of the same stuffe thoon of theym orfraid with Crymsen velwet sett w^{t} fyne flowris of gold enbrodred w^{t} a Ragge Staffe in the fote of e^{r}y flowre And thoder orfraid w^{t} crymsen sateñ figury w^{t} flowres of gold woven in the same Itm̃ iij. Copis of like stuffe and according w^{t} the said vestment^{e} Itm̃ a vestment of crymsen velwett vpon velwet orfraid w^{t} Whit damaske w^{t} flowres of gold woven theryn. Itm̃ a vestment of White damaske orfraid w^{t} purpill velwett sett w^{t} garters. Itm̃ A Vestment of crymsen clothe of Bawdekyn. Itm̃ ij. aulter clothes Crymsen velwett vpon velwet sett w^{t} water flowres Itm̃ vj. aulter clothes of lynnen halowed to ley vpon aulters Itm̃ ij. curteyns of Rede Sarcynett Itm̃ A crosse w^{t} a playn fote garneshid with vij stones w^{t} a vice to open and to put in a pece of the holy crosse weyng xxxvj vnc^{e} iij qr̃ters Itm̃ A payre of Candilstikk^{e} of silu̅ and gilt w^{t} Shank^{e} pounced weying lviij vnc^{e} Itm̃ a Sensour of silu̅ and ꝑcell gilt w^{t} libard^{e} face weying xxvij vnc^{e}. Itm̃ A greate Chalice w^{t} a patible Mary and John in the fote and written aboute the boll Hic est enim Calix novi testamenti weying xxxj vnc^{e} Itm̃ another Chalice parcell gilt in the patent wherof J^{h}us is made in a knott weying xij vnc^{e} di. Itm̃ A holywater stocke of silu̅ w^{t} a sprynkell which is accustomed to hang in my closett weying xxiiij vnc^{e} iij qr̃ters Itm̃ ij Imag^{e} of silu̅ & gilte thoon of o^{r} Lady and thoder of Seynt John Eu^{a}ngelist that be accustomed to stande upon the Highe aulter weying togider vj^{xx} & xviij vnc^{e} Itm̃ ij. Salt^{e} of Silu̅ and gilt w^{t} a cou̅e daiely accustomed at my borde weying togider xxvj vnc^{e} Itm̃ my

---

Broadoak Priory (Essex), Aubrey de Veer, *c.* 1135; Oxford Blackfriars, Isabel Bolebec, widow of Robert earl of Oxford, 1221; Cambridge Blackfriars, Alice widow of Robert earl of Oxford, before 1275; St. Osithe's Abbey (Essex), Richard bishop of London, temp. Hen. I; Swaffham Bulbeck Nunnery (Cambs.), a Bolebec, late twelfth century; Hedingham Nunnery (Essex), Aubrey de Veer, late twelfth century; Ickleton Nunnery (Cambs.), ? Aubrey de Veer, 1190; Thremhale Priory (Essex), Gilbert de Montfitchet, mid twelfth century; Blackborough Nunnery (Norfolk), Roger de Scales, *c.* 1150; Bromehill Priory (Norfolk), Hugh de Plaiz, *c.* 1224; Lynn Whitefriars (Norfolk), Lord Bardolf, temp. Hen. III; Blackmore Priory (Essex), John de Sandford, late twelfth century; Royston Priory (Herts.), Ralph of Rochester, *c.* 1184; Medmenham Abbey (Bucks.), Hugh Bolebec, *c.* 1200; Hempton Priory (Norfolk), Roger de Sancto Martino, temp. Hen. I.

Colne Priory (Essex) was founded by Godfrey de Veer about 1100; and St. John's Abbey at Colchester by Eudo called *Dapifer*, temp. Hen. I.

best ij. cruettℓ with spowttℓ like dragons silu̅ and gilt weying togider xxviij vncℓ di. Item my Secunde Antiphon̅ Iẗm ij grayles oon of the best another of the worst Itm̃ iij processioners Iẗm A legend complett Iẗm I geve and bequeth vnto hir of my plate ꝑteynyng to my household thies ꝑcellℓ folowing viz. A Spice plate stonding gilt and wᵗout a cou̅e weyng lxvj vncℓ Iẗ a stonding cupe wᵗout a cou̅ silu̅ and gilt wᵗ cheverons having myn armys in the botom̃ weying xxxv vncℓ Iẗm another stonding cuꝑ gilt and enameled wᵗ blew Trulovys in the botom weying xxvj vnceℓ. Itm̃ a stonding cuꝑ gilt wᵗ a broken flowre in the botom enameled wᵗ blew weying xxxj vnceℓ. Itm̃ ij. potell pottℓ gilt and chasid weying viij^{xx}. iij. vncℓ di. Iẗm. ij. playn White pottℓ of Silu̅ wᵗ molettℓ in the cou̅ryng weying vij^{xx} & xiij vncℓ Itm̃ .vj. bollℓ wᵗ a cou̅ ꝑcell gilt wᵗ myñ armys in the botom̃ weyng iiij^{xx}iij uncℓ di. Iẗm a Salt of berall stonding wᵗ an ymage of a Morioñ vnder the Berall bering up the Salt wᵗ a cou̅e Silu̅ and gilt weying xxxv uncℓ j qᵘrter. Itm̃ a playñ stonding salt wᵗoute a cou̅ the Swagℓ gilt weyng ix vncℓ di. Itm̃ another lyke Salt weying ix vncℓ j qr̃t Itm̃ a payre of basons couered gilt wᵗ a Scochion of myn Armys and my late wifℓ armys deptid in the botom of the same weying Cxvj vncℓ Iẗm ij. basons of silu̅ chasid and eche other chace gilt wᵗ baynes weying Cxj vncℓ Itm̃ ij ewers wᵗ brode botoms weying togider liiij vncℓ. Iẗm ij playn Candilstikkℓ of silu̅ ꝑcell gilt wᵗ brochis for wax weyng xxviij uncℓ. Itm̃ a greate candelsticke wᵗ a nose and broche ꝑcell gilt weying xviij vncℓ j qr̃t Iẗm vj gilt sponys wᵗ Rounde knoppis vpon thendℓ weying vij vncℓ. Iẗm xij sponys not gilt weying .xvij. vncℓ di. Iẗm I geve and bequth to my said wif wᵗout dymynuc̃on or restraynt all maner appareill to her ꝑsone aswell clothe as sylkℓ and alman̅ of cheynes ryngℓ girdellℓ devicℓ bedℓ broochis owchis precious stones and all other thingℓ beyng ꝑcell of hir appareill what soeu̅ they be Itm̃ I give and bequeth vnto hir of thapparell and stuff of my household & chambres thies ꝑcells folowing viz. A celoʳ A testoʳ and a Counterpoynt of clothe of Bawdekyn crymsen and grene wᵗ lyons of golde wᵗ iij curteyns and a travers of sarcynett and a Counterpoynt of grene tapestrie wᵗ an Aungell in the middℓ The hangyng of grene tapestrie of my devicℓ which ꝑueth for the Hall Also a cupbordeclothe a tapet vnder the wyndow and a carpet Iẗm a spervoʳ off grene clothe of gold of Bawdekyn the curteyñs therof of greene tartron Iẗ a Coñtpoynt of grene verdure A carpet and a cupbordclothe accoustumed to be in my lodgyng chamber at Hedinghm̃ wᵗ the grene hanging of tapestrie of my devicℓ acoustumed in my said lodging chambr̃ at Hedinghm̃ Iẗm ij. pecℓ of Rede Say a travars of silke accustomed to be in the gentill womenys chamb̅ at Hedinghm̃ .v. pecℓ of Rede Say and a carpet pteynyng to my said wifℓ closset theb̅. Iẗm ij pecℓ of Rede Worstede vsed to be in the Wydraught of my Chambr̃ there Iẗ a celoʳ and a testoʳ of Bawdekyn wᵗ burdℓ of gold iij curteyns of grene The Counterpoynt and all the tappettℓ of the History of Grissell a cupbordclothe and a carpett vsid to lye in my Chambr̃ callid the Kyngℓ Chambr at Hedinghm̃ wᵗ all materassys and pailettℓ for to lye vnder beddℓ lying in any of the said Chambres there Iẗm a celoʳ a testoʳ and a counterpoynt of White and rede verdure paly wᵗ tapettℓ of the same for all the Chambr̃ Iẗm a great Carpet to lye vnd̅ A borde and a carpet for a cupbordeclothe Iẗ a Sparvoʳ of blew clothe of gold of Bawdekyn wᵗ iij. curteyns White and blew tartron Iẗm I geve and bequeth to hir besidℓ all the p̃missez iij payre of fyne shetℓ and x payre of cours shettℓ .xij. paire of shettℓ for sᵛᵃntℓ iij paire of fustians viij paire of blankettℓ viij cou̅lettℓ xij federbeddℓ wᵗ the Transom̃s and xij pilowes Iẗm in Stuffe of the Kechyn besidℓ the p̃missez a newe garnyshe of pewter vessell and iij garnyshe of household pewter vessell ou̅ and besidℓ hir owne. Iẗm a brasse pott called a Standard another brasse pott of v galons / another pott of iij galons and a halff ij. posenettℓ .iiij. pañes ij. brochis Square ij Rounde and ij brochis for birdℓ .ij. Rackℓ of yron a gredyron & a cawdron Iẗm I woll that if I haue yssue male of my body laufully begoten that than my same yssue male shalhaue the goodℓ and Juellℓ hereaftir ensuyng viz First myn Image of the Trinitie Silu̅ and gilt / and my Crosse of gold wheryn lyeth ij. pecℓ of the Holy Crosse wᵗ the garnyshing of the same which weyeth vj^{xx} & vij vncℓ and the Crosse of gold

waieth xv vnc̄ Iĩm my bedde of Roott̄ whiche I hade by reason of myn Office of the Great Chamberleynship of England at the Kyng̈ Coronacĩon Also my hanging of Tulius Itm̃ a celor & a testor of Riche Arrais wt a torney therin whiche I had at the Coronac̃on of the Quene / that dede is / by reason of my said Office / Iĩ a celor a testor and a Counterpoynt of Crymsen saten wt my helmet and device / and a hanging for the great Chamber at Hedinghm̃ of tapestry paly crymsen and tawny / Iĩm a celor a testor and a Counterpoynt of Crymsen saten of Bridges enbrawdred wt blew borys molett̄ and a parc Iĩm a celor a testor and a Counterpoynt of Crymsen damaske enbrawdred wt flowres borys and crankett̄ / and ij Women fedyng a Popyngay in a Cadge / the celor and a testor lyned wt Canvas and the Counterpoynt lyned wt bokeram Iĩm ij. stonding pott̄ silū and gilt chacid wt myn Armys and the Howard̄ Armys in the toppis weying viij^{xx} iij vnc̄ Iĩm a payre of coūed bassons gilt accustomed to be in my Chapell Weying Cxlij vnc̄ Iĩm ij aulterclothes of White made and wrought by my lady my moder wt a frontlett of the same wrought wt myn armys. Iĩm a sute of vestment̄ of White for preest Deacon and Subdeacon Iĩm iij. Copes of the same colr Iĩm ij. Censors of silū wt the Caligreyhound̄ weyng vj^{xx} xiij vnc̄ & j qr̃t Iĩm my best crosse silū and gilt weyng Clxiiij vnc̄ Iĩm my beste garnyshe of silū vessell marked wt Brikkett̄ wt iiij chargeors all weying M^{l} CCCiiij^{xx} vnces / myn almes dishe with Swag̈ gilt weying Cxlvij vnc̄ j qr̃t. My cupe of gold wt splaide Eagles and a balace in the tope weying xlij vnc̄ j qr̃t And my greatest Candilstick̄ weying Cxxxj vnc̄ i qr̃t And all this same tofore rehersid and to myn yssue male bequethed to be putt in the Monastery of Bury or in suche other place as I shall name oretts there as myn Executors or the more part off theym in nombre shall thinke most convenyent vnder sure and saulf keping by theire discrecions All whiche stuffe juell̄ and plate I woll shalbe delīed vnto my saide heyre male whan he cõmyth to his full age of xxj yeres / and not afore / And that it shalbe delīed vnto hym in this mañ and forme shewing vnto hym that my veray will & mynde is that he shal haue thuse of the same stuffe juell̄ and plate during his lieff And after his decesse all the same to remayn to theyres males of his body laufully begoten. And if it fortune me to haue no issue male but yssue female or ffemales that then all the saide parcell̄ shall go to the saide heyre ffemale or heyres ffemales of my body laufully begoten And if there be moo doughters than oon to be devided evenly among̈ theym And if it shall happeñ me to dye wtout any suche saide yssue of my body laufully begoten or having but oonly oon heyre male and he to dye tofore the saide age or ell̄ wtout yssue male off his body laufully begoten Than I woll that the saide stuffe juell̄ and plate to hym assigned as is aboue shall immediatly remayn to my Nevew John Veer sonne of my broder Sir George Veer Knyght if he than be on lyve and not vnder the said age off xxj yeres And my mynde to be expressid vnto him conc̄nyng the remaynder therof for theyres males of his body laufully begoten And for defawte of suche yssue male all the same to be delīed vnto my Cousyn John Veer cousin and heyre vnto myn vncle Sir Robert Veer Knyght if he than be on lyve And after his deth to remayn to theyres males of his body laufully begoten And for defawte of suche yssue male All the same pcell̄ to be disposed by myñ Executors for the well of my Soule and the Soules abouesaid. And on God̄ bihalue desire my saide heyre male whiche shall fortune to be of my body laufully begoten And also my saide nevew and Cousyn if it shall happen the stuffe juell̄ and plate to come to his or their hand̄ by reason of my bequest forsaid that they will in nowyse attempte for to breke this my Will in asmoche as I of my goode mynde haue thus bequethed the sam̄ vnto hym or theym that shall succede me as heyre male in the Erledome for their honor and encrease Prouyded alwey that vpon the delīe of the said stuffe juell̄ and plate vnto any myn heyre or heyres whiche shalhaue right therunto by reason of this my saide bequest I will that he or they shall make a sufficient discharge of the same vnto myn Executors and that they promyse and afferme to obs'ue my saide Will in eūy bihalf And if my saide issue male nevew cousyn or he vnto whom first delīey shalbe made of the saide pcell̄ doo enterrupt or breke this my p̃sent Will Than I woll that

my saide Executours shall make no deliu̅ey of the saide goodℓ juellℓ and plate but convert the same to suche vse for the wele of my Soule and the Soules tofore expressed as they shall thinke moost convenyent Iẗm I geve and bequeth vnto my Necℓ Dorathe and Vrsula vj^{c} mrkℓ. that is to sey to either of theym CCC mrkℓ. the same to be deliu̅ed vnto either of theym at their agis of xxiiij^{ti} yeres / or bifore if they be maried. And if it fortune ooñ of theym or bothe to decesse tofore the saide age or mariage than that money to be disposid by myn executo͂s for thexecucion of this my testament and of my last Will and Codicell And towardℓ the payment of the saide sixe hundreth m^{a}rkℓ. I woll that my Cheyne with the Whistell having sixe Score and oon linkℓ weying iiij^{xx} xviij vncℓ di͂ be solde And the Residue that shall lake to be made vp by myn Executours of y^{e} full of the same so͂me Item I geve and bequeth to John Broughton a payre of flagons of silu̅ like to botellℓ weying viij^{xx} xiij vncℓ di. Iẗm I geve to Robert Broughton his brother xli in money Item I bequeth to my said Cousyn John Veer of my plate and other stuffe the value of Cli Iẗ I geve vnto the same John Veer my coler of garters and rede roses of gold Iẗm I will that myn Executo͂s in as goodely hast as they reasonably may aftir my decesse shall convay and cause to be convayd suche of my juellℓ plate stuffe and goodℓ moevable and suche evidencℓ of myn as shalbe thought most convenyent by myn Executo͂s or the more parte of theym to be putt in sure coffers and well lokked w^{t} diu̅se lokkℓ & keyes beyng w^{t}in my Castell of Hedinghm̃ at London at Wyuenhoo or any other place / vnto the Abbey of Bury or to the House of Seynt Johns at Coilchestre orellys to suche places as my saide Executo͂s or the more parte of theym in nombre shall thinke most convenyent to the entent they may have their meatyngℓ there ffor thorderyng and disposicō͂ of the same for thexecucō͂ aswell of eu̅y Article conteyned in this my testament and in my Codicell as of eu̅y article and clause conteyned and especified in my last Will ffor the declaracion of the same towching the demeanyng and orderyng of my londℓ and tenẗℓ beyng recou̅ed or to be recou̅ed beyng or to be in feoffez handℓ And the profittℓ of the same for the ꝑfo^{r}mance of my said Will Testament and Codicell Iẗm I woll that noo part of the legacies by me bequethed (except those that I have willed vnto S^{r} Thomas Lovell Knyght and to my wif) be deliuered till my dettℓ be paid And ooñ yere aftir my depture exspired Oonles it be thought by ꝑ^{e} more ꝑt of myn Executo͂s that it is behouefull and conuenyent to deliu̅e any part of the same w^{t}in the said yere for som cause reasonable And if any ꝑsone or ꝑsones to whom I haue geven or bequethed any thing do inẗrupte lett breke or cause any part of my Testament Codicell or last Will to be enterrupted or broken that than the same ꝑsone or ꝑsones that soo doo shalhaue no ꝑfitt by my said testament Codicell nor last Will but that eu̅y ꝑcell vnto suche ꝑsone or to the childern of such ꝑsonnes bequethed be solde by myn Executours and emploied for the well of my Soule Also I woll that eu̅y man beyng my s'u^{a}nte and all other ꝑsones of what degre or condicion they be of having any office fee or Annuytie by my mouthe or by my Writting during my pleasu͂ or otherwise goyng owte of any honno͂s Mano͂s londℓ and tenẗℓ of myn enheritaunce in fee symple or of my purchase shalhaue contynue and enioye the same aftir my decesse w^{t} lyke fees wagℓ and ꝑfitts during theire lyves as they hadde of me by my lif for thexecucion and occupacon of the same Iẗm I woll that all Knyghtℓ Esquyers gentilmen and other to whom I haue appoynted certeyne Annuyties during their liffℓ for suche true and faithful s'vice as they haue done vnto me whose names & the so͂mes of their Annuyties are especified in a Codicell herunto annexed as by the title of the same Codicell it doeth appere shalbe truly contentid and paid of their said Annuyties during their liffℓ of thissues and profittℓ of my said Mano͂s landℓ and tenẗℓ put in feoffam̃ẽt for thexecucion of this my testam̃ẽt and of my Codicell and last Will. And that all other my ꝺuntℓ to whom I have yeven certeyn so͂mes of money by way of Reward whose names and their so͂mes annexid to their names doo also appere in my said Codicell as by the title written aboue their names there it doeth appere Shall truely be paid and contentid of their said Rewardℓ by myn Executo͂s of my goodℓ and profittℓ of my landℓ put in feoffa-

ment as is forsaid in suche convenyẽt tyme as by my same Executo͛s shalbe thought reasonable. Iẽm I woll that if it fortune any soñe or soñes of money to be demaunded of myn Executo͛s by any ꝑsone or ꝑsones for any mañ of cause. Which by myn Executo͛s cannot be advoided but that they shalbe compelled to paye or to compounde for the same And that my goodꝫ about my bequestꝫ suffice not to the contentacõn therof and thissuez and profittꝫ of my londꝫ recou̅ed or to bee recou̅ed or putt in feoffament must goo for the tyme to the saide paymentꝫ so demaunded by reason wherof thexecucõn of my testamẽt codicell and will for the paymentꝫ of the same must in many thinges be putt in delay till suche tyme as the said paymentꝫ soo demaunded be paied. That than and immediatley aftir the said paymentꝫ so demaunded be made and paid All suche ꝑsones and eu̅y of theym which haue forbourn any ꝓfitt in the meane tyme of any fee Annuytie or reward or other profitt to theym or any of theym belonging by reason of my said testament Codicell or Will shalbe aunswered contentid and paid of their said feez Annuyties rewardꝫ and profittꝫ and all tharrerag̃ of the same in as hasty and reasonable tyme as the profittꝫ of my said londꝫ may be receyved and gadred aftir the said demaunde be paid by the discrecion of myn Executo͛s Iẽm I woll that my cousyn S͛ Henry Marney Knyght shalhaue xl li in money in full recompense of suche goodꝫ as the same S͛ Henry claymeth or may clayme in the right of his late wif the doughter of Wifold if the same Sir Henry can make myn Executo͛s a laufull discharge for it ayenst allmañ ꝑsones orellys not Iẽm I woll that my best Antiphoner aftir my decesse be deliu̅ed to the Churche of Stoknailond Iẽm I woll that if my kynnesman Thomas Veer haue noo promocion by mariage or otherwise in my lif tyme by my meanes that than the same Thomas shalhaue yerely during his lif xx^ti m̃kꝫ of ffee going out of my said londꝫ and tenẽꝫ whiche are put in feoffament during xx^ti yeres next aftir my deth Also I woll that myn Executo͛s w^tin a qr̃ter of a yere next aftir my decesse if it may be convenyently done Shall pay and content my household s̃untꝫ suche householde wagꝫ as to theym at that tyme shalbe due And also w^tin the said qr̃ter doo cõtent and pay vnto eu̅y of my said s'u^antꝫ all suche legacies and rewardꝫ as to my same s'u^antꝫ by this my testament or by my Codicell by way of yeste[1] or rewarde ys bequethed vnto hym And bicause I wolde that my household s'u^antꝫ shold haue reasonable tyme in providing of them new Maisters I woll that my same s'u^antꝫ or asmany of theym as liste to contynue in my household shalhaue meate and drynke there for oon hole yere next ensuying my deth w^toute takyng of any wagꝫ or other reward or yeste[1] Saving suche as is by me form̃ly appoynted And for that my said s'u^antꝫ shuld cõtynue and kepe togidre if they so lyke I woll that my household be kepte at the Priory of Colne by the space of oon hole yere next my dethe Iẽm I woll that myn Executo͛s geve towardꝫ the making of the Iles of the Churche of Lavenhm̃ xx^li o͡u and besidꝫ xx^li whiche I tofore have geven to the same Iẽm I wõll that my said Executo͛s geve towardꝫ the bielding and making of the Churche of Harwich xx^li Iẽm I woll that if any matier comprised w^tin this my testament Codicell or last Will be ambiguous or doutfull or if my said Executo͛s for any matier or cause con̅nyng my said testamẽt Codicell or laste Will or for any thinge by theym to be done w^t my goodꝫ for the wele of my soule hereaftir be in diu̅se opynions That than thenterpretacõn ordering and doyng therof be hadde and made by the more part of my said Executo͛s And if the͛ be thing by me omytted out of my testamẽt or thyng theryn to be chaungid or thought necessary soo for to bee by the more part of myn Executours Than I woll that the more part of theym shall doo and be ordred theryn as they shall seme most convenyent and necessary And that suche doyng alteracion and ordre by theym soo taken and made be as ꝑcell of my said testament and of as goode effecte and as vailable as thoughe it ware by me doon and here expressid Iẽm I woll that all myn Executo͛s beyng on lyve or asmany of theym as convenyently may shall oõnys in the yere haue a gen̅all assemble in the Citie of London so that they be the

[1] *Sic*; but query for yefte = gift.

more part in nombre tofore the Chief Justice of the Kynge benche the Chief Judge of the Comoñ place and the Maister of the Rolle of the Kynge Chauncery for the tyme beyng or ij. of theym to thentent if any matier of weight happen to fall emonge theym for the defence of myn heyre or his londe or for any thing for thexecucion of my last Will testament and Codicell/or any of the same/or for any matier or thing theryn by theym to be doon/that they shall shewe the same to the said Judges and Maister taking their advice and counsaill for thordre thereof/and their advice or advice of suche of theym as at suche assemblies can or wolbe present had that than my said Executors or the more part of theym in nombr to execute suche thinge as by theym or the more part of theym shalbe thought reasonable And as often as suche Metinge shalbe that repeating be hadde by my said Executors aswell off suche thinge as they tofore that day haue doon as of suche other thinge as by theym shalbe than after their suche meting necessary to be done And the said Judge and Maister at my coste and charge haue their dyner and for euy theire payne and labor there being psent xs Also I woll that for all suche charge and coste as shalbe susteyned by any of myn Execut aswell for the saide Meting at London as for any other Meting in any other place or for any other matier or cause labour or cost by theym or any of theym done to their charge for & aboute the execucion of my Testament Codicell or last Will allowaunce shalbe hadde and made to euy of theym by the more part of my same Executors in nombre soo that noon off myn Executors in any suche allouance shalbe his owne oonly Judge nor yet take his reward or allowance hymself but by thassent of the more part of his company in nombre as is forsaid And ou that I woll that noon of my said Executors make any man guante nor make releas nor other discharge for any matier touching my said testament Codicell or last Will nor make any Officez nor take any recepte nor make any payment nor any other thinge do by auctoritie of my testament Codicell or last Will wtout thassent of the more part of myne Executors in nombre Whiche if any of theym wilfully or obstynatly doo wtout suche saide assent and woll not be reformable by the more part of my said Executors That than he or they so doyng be clerely dismyssid from all further medeling wt thexecucion of my testamẽt will and Codicell and not to haue nor take any advauntage or profitt by any graunte bequest or reward to hym lymytted by this my testament by my Will or Codicell bicause of his obstynacy and misdemeanor but the residue of myn Executors to refuse his or theire company. Itm I geue and bequeth vnto euy oon of myn Executors beyng of the degre of a Knyght and taking upon hym the charge of thexecucon of this my testament and of my last Will and Codicell ten poundes in money for his payne in and aboute the same and lykewise to euy other of myn Executors taking vpon hym the lyke charge ten mks in money And ffor the pformance of my last Will and also of this my psent last testament wt my Codicell herunto annexed. I ordeyne and make myn Executors videlit First Elizabeth my moost derest wif. Sir Thomas Lovell Knyght. Sir James Hobert Knyght. Sir Robert Drury Knyght. Sir William Waldegrave. Knyght. sir Robert Lovell Knyght. Willm Cooke doctor Jõhn Veer thelder esquyer Humfrey Wingfeld Esquyre John Danyell Esquier John Josselyn Esquyer and William Okeley gentilman In wittnes wherof to this my present last testament I have setto my signe manuell And also to the same and my last Will and Codicell annexed togider haue sett the seale of myn armys the day and yere aboue written.

OXYNFORD.

This is the Codicell of me John de Veer Erle of Oxinford videlz I woll that all thies psones whose namys be especified here vnder this clause shall receyve and haue euy oon of theym an yerely Annuytie for terme of their lyvys according to the some annexid vnto eche of their namys. the same to goo owt and be paid of suche my lands and tente as myn Executors or the more part of theym shall therunto appoynt. Sir Thomas Tyrell Knyght vjli xiijs iiijd. Sir Robert Drury Knyght vjli xiijs iiijd. Sir Robert Louell Knyght vjli xiijs iiijd. Sir William

Waldegᵃue Knight vjˡⁱ xiijˢ iiijᵈ. S Roger Wentworth Knight Cˢ. S William Fyndern Knight Cˢ. S Henry Tey Knight Cˢ. S Robert Payton Knight iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ. S John Grene Knyght iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ. S William Clopton Knyght iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ S Robert Cotton Knyght iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ S Gilis Alington Knyght iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ My Cousyn John Veer oū and beside myn other bequestis in my testament and last Will xxˡⁱ John Josselyn xˡⁱ John Danyell xˡⁱ William Okeley xˡⁱ Robert Brews liijˢ iiijᵈ John Goldingham liijˢ iiijᵈ William Ayloff liijˢ iiijᵈ John Aspelon liijˢ iiijᵈ Humfrey Wingfeld liijˢ iiijᵈ William Pyrton thelder liijˢ iiijᵈ John Fowhell liijˢ iiijᵈ Geffrey Gate liijˢ iiijᵈ George Waldegᵃue liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Tyrell the sonne of Sir Thomas iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ Richard Appulton liijˢ iiijᵈ William Sondᵉ. iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ John Barners iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ Antony Danvers liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Veer liijˢ iiijᵈ Henry Radclif liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Brews liijˢ iiijᵈ Robert Tyrell liijˢ iiijᵈ William Waldegᵃue liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Tey Sen̄ liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Tey Jun̄ liijˢ iiijᵈ William Pirton Jun̄ liijˢ iiijᵈ Ric' Wryght iiijˡⁱ Thomas Lathbury liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Rotheman liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Radclif liijˢ iiijᵈ Robert Skern liijˢ iiijᵈ Robert Dedyk' xlˢ Lewes Blodwell for keping of Campis Mewse oū and besidᵉ his fee for keping of the parc there lxˢ xᵈ Laurence Younge xlˢ Roger Neve xlˢ Griffith Gough xlˢ George Reynew xlˢ George Traas xlˢ John Swayn lxˢ xᵈ Henry Watson xlˢ John Hewet xlˢ William Dickson xlˢ Robert Broughton liijˢ iiijᵈ Laurans Forster liijˢ iiijᵈ Francᵉ Burton Cˢ Robert Goldinghm̄ liijˢ iiijᵈ

OXINFORD.

And I woll That thies psones whose names be herunder written shall haue by thhandis of myn Executoꝛs Acording to the Sōmys annexid to their namys and no fee nor Annuytie but oonly eche oon his soṁe for oon tyme in reward Margaret Ryder liijˢ iiijᵈ Elizabeth Wingfeld liijˢ iiijᵈ Margaret Harleston liijˢ iiijᵈ William Towneley liijˢ iiijᵈ Thoṁs Eyre liijˢ iiijᵈ Thomas Hogen xlˢ Wiłłm Barton xlˢ William Holbroke xlˢ Ric' Jewellar xlˢ John Brond xlˢ George Hesketh xlˢ Anthny Freman xlˢ John Williams xlˢ Peter Barnehm̄ liijˢ iiijᵈ John Legge xlˢ John Holme xlˢ. Robert Rowse xlˢ Thomas Mñnyng xlˢ Richard Wilton xlˢ William Woderofe xlˢ Thomas Hogen xlˢ William Millᵉ xlˢ George Turnoꝛ xlˢ Nicholas Jeve xlˢ Thomas George xlˢ Symon Breyn xlˢ John Parker xlˢ John a Kent xlˢ Symon Dyestar xlˢ Thomas Estay xlˢ Olyver Hunt xlˢ Laurens Houghton xlˢ Thōs Garling xlˢ John Greeneleef xlˢ Water Symond xlˢ Thomas Mayhew xlˢ Jamys Baldwyn xlˢ Robert Baldwyn xlˢ Thomas Jackeson xlˢ John Pigge xlˢ Laurens Skynn̄ xlˢ William Dallog xlˢ John Lewes xlˢ John Tolton xlˢ Rauff Goldern xlˢ Willm̄ Estay xlˢ Thomas Rively xlˢ Lewes William xlˢ Hugh Pigge xlˢ Dauid Roderford xlˢ Peers Sowth xlˢ Thomas Brett xlˢ Peers Barnard xlˢ Robert Bell xlˢ Richard Cook xlˢ William Cratherode xlˢ John Cratherode xlˢ Robert Fenne xlˢ Robert Manche xlˢ John Nashe xlˢ Thomas May xlˢ Robert Bryan xlˢ Thomas Porter xlˢ Thomas Bridgᵉ xlˢ John Wode xlˢ Richard Dalton xlˢ Richard Pygot xlˢ Cornelius Thomson xlˢ William the Yoman baker xlˢ John Doye xlˢ olde Jegon the Parker xlˢ Richard Baker xlˢ Richard Barker xlˢ Richard Hardkyn xlˢ Nicholas Benbury xlˢ Symon Gateward xlˢ William Elistoon xlˢ Iyan Aleyne xlˢ William Ring' xlˢ The Millar xlˢ John Harison xlˢ Robert Bucketon xlˢ John Davison xlˢ Thomas the grōme baker xlˢ Randoll Lyell xlˢ Andrew Flecchcr xlˢ John Jegon the Gardyn̄ xlˢ Kemp the Gardyner xlˢ. ij. other Gromes of the Stable liijˢ iiijᵈ The grome Chariotman xxvjˢ viijᵈ The Grome Brewer xxvjˢ viijᵈ The Grome Catoꝛ xxvjˢ viijᵈ John Browne lutoꝛ xlˢ Stephyn taborett xxvjˢ viijᵈ Guyllam Fidellar xxvjˢ viijᵈ The Grome Slaughterman xxvjˢ viijᵈ The Grome of the Squyllery xxvjˢ viijᵈ William Walker xxvjˢ viijᵈ Richard Pipar xxvjˢ viijᵈ John Boye xxvjˢ viijᵈ

OXINFORD.

Probatum fuit testamentum supradicti defuncti hēntis dum vixit et mortis sue tempe dim̄sa bona & debita in diversis dioc' prouincie cant̄ vnacum Codicello et vltima voluntate eiusdem

eidem testo annex' ac manu propria ipius Comitt defuncti subscript et signat sigilloq3 suo armor4 sigillat et roborat &c. Administracioq3 om̄ et singulo4 bonorum et debitorum dcm comitem defunctum et eius testamentū et ultimā voluntatem sive Codicellum quatircunq3 concernen Roberto Drury Willmo Walgrave Militibz ac Johanni Veer Johanni Josselyn et Johanni Danyell Armigeris et Willmo Okely generoso Executoribz in hmoi testamento noiatt decimo die mensis Maij Anno Dni millimo quingentesimo xiij° comissa extitit prestito primitus per dcos executores tactt scripturis sacrosanctt evngelijs juramento corporali De bene et fidelir admistrand eadem ac de perimplendo contenta in dcis testamento ultima voluntate & codicello eidem testo annex Deq3 fideli Inventario conficiend et exhibend Juraruntq3 insuper dci executores tactt per eosdem sacroscis evangelijs ut prefertur q3 si et quatenus imposter sufficienter et ltime probat fuerit dcm defunctum aliud legatum sive aliqua legata per viam Codicellorum vel alir alicui persone sive psonis reliquisse aut disposuisse preter et ultra legata in dictt testo ultima voluntate et Codicello contenta per eū relict q^d extunc hmō legat sufficienter et ltime probat dicti Executores hmōi legatū sive legata et eo4 quodlit perimplebunt seu pimpleri facient et procurent / prout et quemadmodū hmōi legatum sive legata in dcis testamento ultima voluntate aut Codicello ins't aut inscript fuissent Eciam comissa fuit similis ad° Humfrido Wingfeld exec. in psona M^r Xpofero Midd procu sui &c. silo Jurament prestañ &c. Res'vata ptate alijs Executoribz &c. xiiij° die menst Maij predict comissa fuit consimilis ad° &c. Dñe Elīz Vere Comitisse Oxoñ in pso M^r Willi Falke &c. xx° Junij an° predco comissa fuit ad° &^c Roberto Lovell & Jacobo Hubberd militibz & Willo Cooke deinde xxviij° Junij predict comissa fuit ad° Thome Lovell militi in psona Tho. Mercer &^c executor juratt.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS AND CHATTELS OF JOHN DE VEER, 13TH EARL OF OXFORD, 1513.[1]

f. 71 Inuentariū oim̄ et singlo4 bonorū debitorū catallo4 ac šumarū Pecunia4 nobilis ac ppotentis viri dñi Johannis de Veere comitis Oxōn magni cam̄arii ac admiralli anglie vicecomitis Bulbek et dñi de Scalis fact et appreciat p me Thomam Mercer apparitorem generalem Reuerendissimi dñi Willi Cant Archiepi vicesimo die Maii Anno dñi millimo quīgentesimo xiij°.

At Coolne w^tin the Priory in the White Chamber

In Primis w^tin the wardropp a pece & a Reñaunt of course blake clothe conteynyng xxvj yerdes qr̄t di le yerde / xij sm̄	xxvj^s viij^d
Itm viij yerdes of blake Cotton	ij^s
Itm a nother pece of xiiij yerdes price	xiiij^s
Itm a pece and Remnaunte cont xxxij yerdes price	xxxij^s
Itm v small pect cont xxij yerdes	xxij^s
Itm xxvj yerdes of narow broken coutton	v^s
Itm an hanging of Redde Saye	vj^s viij^d
Itm a sperver of old tartorn	iij^s iiij^d
Itm vij fetherbeddes w^t bolsters pce le bed x^s sm̄	iij^li x^s
f. 71 *b* Itm iiij large fetherbeddes with bolsters price le bedde xv^s sm	iij^li
Itm v matteres with their bolsters	x^s
Itm fyve large pair of blankett	x^s
Itm v olde pair of blankett	v^s

[1] Public Record Office, Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, vol. iv, ff. 70–103.

Itm iij pair of fustians[1] of v breades iij yerdes di long sore worn price le pair iiij^{s} sm — xij^{s}

Itm a pair of bustians[2] of the same lenght & brede — iiij^{s}

Itm iij pair and oon fustians of iiij bredes iiij yerdes di long price ij^{s} viij^{d} le pair — ix^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm a white quylte w^{t} small branches conť xx flemysshe ellę — xv^{s}

Itm a nother quylte of the same lenght & brede — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm a nother quylt w^{t} floure de licę and birdes — vj^{s} viij^{d}

Itm a Counterpoynt[3] of tapistry w^{t} the picture of Salamon lined sore worne cont in lenght v yerdes & iiij brede — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm a Counterpoynt of counterfett arrais w^{t} a man and a woman hawkyng and hunting worn cont in lenght v yerdes on qr̃ť / and iiij di brode — xx^{s}

Itm a Counterpoynt of tappistry cont in lenght iiij yerdes di in brede iij yerdes di price — viij^{s}

Itm a Counterpoynte of olde verdure lyned w^{t} a gripe[4] in hit iiij yerdes di long / and iiij yerdes di brode — viij^{s}

Itm an olde counterpoynt of tapistry w^{t} a man in the oon corner bering a hawke / cont iij yerdes di long ij yerdes di brode — xx^{d}

f. 72 Itm an olde counterpoynt of tapistry w^{t} ma in the fote of hit beryng an herensewe[5] by the necke v yerdes long / iiij brode qr̃ť — x^{s}

Itm an old Counterpoynt of grene verdo̅ iiij yerdes long and iij brode — vi^{s} viij^{d}

Itm a counterpoynt of olde tapistry lined iiij yerdes qr̃ť long / and iij yerdes qrť brode — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm an olde counterpoint of palid white & Redde verdo^{r} conť iij yerdes qr̃ť long / ij yerdes iij qr̃ť brode — ij^{s}

Itm ij Counterpoyntę of old Redde saye broderid w^{t} H and M knett w^{t} a napkyn and a man and a woman on horsebake / conť v yerdes long a pece and iiij yerdes brode — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm A counterpoint of Red sarcenett in quylt worke lyned w^{t} blue bokeram conť v yerdes long / iiij brode — xx^{s}

Itm A Sperver of chaungeable sarcenett embrodrid w^{t} crankettę with curteins of crane colo^{r} sarcenet lined w^{t} blue bokeram and a counterpoint of the same chaungeable sarcenet enbroderid w^{t} an hundred di crankettę conť / iiij yerdes iij qr̃ť long and iiij yerdes brode lined w^{t} blue bokeram p̄ce — vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm A Sperver of blue and crymsyn velvett palid and w^{t} oõn pale of cloth of gold of baudekyn w^{t} viij panys of violett and Redde sarcenet p̄ce — vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm A tapet of tapestry, w^{t} a gentilwoman bering a Cupp of gold in the myddes cont iiij yerdes long iij yerdes di brode — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

f. 72 *b* Itm A tapet of olde tapestry a man on horse bak in the myddes w^{t} H and E vppon his brest knyt with a lace iiij yerdes long and iiij brode — v^{s}

Itm an olde tapett of tapestry w^{t} a man in harnes fightyng w^{t} a lyon iij yerdes iij qr̃ť long iij yerdes qr̃ť di brode — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm an olde tapett of tapestry and a woman beryng a baskett w^{t} grapes conť in brede / iiij yerdes qr̃ť and iiij yerdes depe — vj^{s} viij^{d}

[1] Fustians, sheets made of coarse linen.
[2] Bustians, sheets of cotton twill.
[3] Counterpoint, a quilted cover for a bed.
[4] Gripe, a griffin.
[5] Herensewe, a young heron or hernshaw.

Itm an old tapett of old toren arais[1] w^{t} clowdes of whyte and purple in upper borders con$\tilde{t}$ / iiij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ long and iiij yerdes brode — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm an olde tapett of old toren arais w^{t} a castell of brike in the middes on the upper part con$\tilde{t}$ vij yerdes di long iij yerdes depe and iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ — xx^{s}

Itm an olde tappitt of counterfet areis / a man w^{t} a crossebowe shoting at a wilde best and in a nother corner a castell. vij yerdes qr$\tilde{t}$ di long iij yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe — xxxi^{s} viij^{d}

Itm A Counterpoynt of tapistry w^{t} the story of Alexand$\tilde{\text{r}}$ con$\tilde{t}$ in brede iiij yerdes in lenght iiij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ p̄ce — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Itm a tapet of olde arais w^{t} scripture in the upper border in frenshe w^{t} clowdes white and Purple vij yerdes di long iij yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe — xxx^{s}

Itm an olde toren tapett of areis iiij yerdes di long iij yerdes di depe w^{t} treis rounde in the borders — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm A tapet of tapestry iij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ brode iiij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe w^{t} stones and ꝑles in the borders — xv^{s}

f. 73 Itm a tapett of tapistry con$\tilde{t}$ v yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ long and iij yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe lined w^{t} canvas[2] and a man leding a hounde and beryng a hawke uppon his fist w^{t} hosys stripid white and red price — xxxiij^{s} iij^{d}

Itm A tapet of tapestry in verdure lined w^{t} canvas v yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ long iij yerdes iij yerdes [*sic*] brode w^{t} a man Ryding on an asse w^{t} an whip in his hand — xxx^{s}

Itm iij pec$\mathfrak{e}$ for hanging of conterfet bawdekyn con$\tilde{t}$ all in lenght xj yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ and iij yerdes depe — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm an olde tapet of tapestry / iij yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ brode iiij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe w^{t} stones and ꝑles in the borders — v^{s}

Itm a tapet of olde tapistry w^{t} the grounde v̄do^{r} lyned w^{t} canvas / iiij yerdes long / iij yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe w^{t} a man bering the capꝑ of his hawke in his mowth by a string / an hawke on his fist — x^{s}

Itm A Seler and a tester of Red say and therein a wilde man Ryding on a horse — v^{s}

Itm a couerlett of bery[3] makyng / iij yerdes a q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ brode and iij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ depe palid w^{t} whyte and Redde w^{t} bourghcher knott$\mathfrak{e}$[4] — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm A couerlett of bery makyng ij yerdes brode ij yerdes iij q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ long — xx^{d}

Itm a couerlett of bery makyng / iij yerdes q$\tilde{\text{r}}\tilde{\text{t}}$ brode et iij yerdes qr$\tilde{t}$ depe w^{t} bourgchers knott$\mathfrak{e}$[4] — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

f. 73 *b* Itm iij olde broken carpett$\mathfrak{e}$ — ij^{s}

Itm A litle carpet ij yerde long and oon eln depe — v^{s}

Itm v Cussheons of half a yerde brode euȳ way ij of grene bawdekyn ij of satten and oon of velvett sore worn — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm ij long Cussheons oon of tawny sateyn and a nother of Jewys werke worn — ij^{s} viij^{d}

Itm A sperver and counterpoynt of diap embrowderid with whistell$\mathfrak{e}$ and cheyers — xxx^{s}

Sm̄ l^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

[1] Arais, arras, tapestry made at Arras in Artois. Counterfeit arras was an imitation.

[2] Canvas, coarse unbleached hempen or linen cloth. [3] Bery = Bury St. Edmunds.

[4] On the stall-plate of John Bourchier lord Berners, K.G., 1459–74, the mantling is of red with gold billets and of white with black water-bougets and Bourchier knots. White and red were apparently the Bourchier colours.

In m Veere chamber

Itm a hanging of Dornix [1]	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A sperver of sarcenet olde broken and sore ꝛoren	v^{s}
Itm A fetherbed and a bolster w^{t} a matreis	x^{s}
Itm a counterpoint of tapistry	xx^{s}
Itm a pair of fustians	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm ij Pylowes	xx^{d}
It iij Cusshins oon long and ij short of olde sylke	v^{s}
Itm in the next chambr to hit v pec^{t} of old dornex	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Fetherbed with a bolster a matreis and a pair of fustians sore worn	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm ij olde carpett^{t} for cupbourdes	v^{s}
Itm ij greate Aundirons [2]	iiij^{s}
Itm an old hale [3] and pavylion	v^{li}
Itm A Chafer [4]	v^{s}
Itm A trussing bed [5] made w^{t} Iron	xl^{s}
Sm̃ xj^{li} v^{s} viij^{d}	

f. 74 In the Armery house

Itm vi̊i̊j xv salett^{t} le salett xvj^{d} sm̃	xj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm Cj Brigandynes oon w^{t} another ij^{s}	x^{li} ij^{s}
Itm v̊j̊iiij halbert^{t} price le halberde xij^{d} sm̃	vj^{li} iiij^{s}
Itm ix newe Cootes price le cote vj^{s} viij^{d}	iij^{li}
Itm lxxvij peyer of splyntes price le peir oñ with a nother xij^{d} ob̃ sm̃	iiij^{li}
Itm v pair of old gauntlett^{t}	iij^{s}
Itm xvj corsett^{t} price le corset [6] oon w^{t} another vj^{s} viij^{d} sm̃	v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a pair of old Ryvett^{t}	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm v̊i̊j olde bylles	xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij pair of brigandynes for my lordes body	xl^{s}
Itm his vambrac^{t} polvornes [7] / ij Salett^{t} w^{t} bavo̊s & a hat of stele [8] ij gauntlett^{t} and his legharnes	iij^{li}
It v̊j bowes price oñ w^{t} another / xvj^{d} sm̃	viij^{li}
Itm lxiiij shefe Arowes w^{t}out casys old	liij^{s} iiij^{d}
It iiij Sheff w^{t} casys	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm iiij boundell^{t} of bowe staves and in e᷑y boundell xvj stavys and viij olde stavys	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A boore spere [9]	xvj^{d}
Itm lxxxiiij pair of gussett^{t} le peir xij^{d} sm̃	iiij^{li} iiij^{s}
Itm xviij gorgett^{t}	xx^{s}
Itm xxv aporns of mayle	xxv^{s}
Sm̃ lxvj^{li} xvj^{s}	

[1] A fabric of silk, worsted, or wool, originally made at Dornick, otherwise Tournay, in Flanders.
[2] Andirons, fire-dogs. [3] A hale was a long tent used in the field.
[4] A chafer was a vessel for heating water, or a saucepan.
[5] A portable or travelling bed.
[6] Corset, corslet, defensive body armour.
[7] Defences for the arms and shoulders; see *Archaeologia*, li, 259.
[8] *Ibid.* 260. [9] *Ibid.* 237, 238.

f. 74 *b*

In m Voyellys chamber

Itm A hanging of Red saye olde w^{t} my lordes Armes in hit	ij^{s}
Itm A Seler a tester w^{t} curteyns of blue bokeram	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a Counterpoynt of paly verdure	x^{s}
Itm a pair of fustians	vj^{s}
Itm ij pylowes and the beres	ij^{s}
Itm ij Carpett Cussheons	iij^{s}
It a fetherbed a bolster w^{t} a matres. a pair of blankett	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Sm̃ xliij^{s}	

In m Veerys S'unt chamb̃r

Itm A fetherbed a bolster and ij matreis	viij^{s}
Itm a pair of blankett and an old counterpoint of Redde verdures and an olde tapett of tapestry & a broken couerlett of bery werke price	v^{s} iiij^{d}
Sm̃ xiij^{s} iiij^{d}	

In m Burtons chamb̃r

Itm v pec of olde saye price	v^{s}
Itm A sperver of white lynen clothe olde and sore woren	ij^{s}
Itm A fetherbed w^{t} a bolster	viij^{s}
Itm a pair of fustians olde and sore worn	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
It an olde quylt all broken	ij^{s}
Itm a pylowe with a bere	xij^{d}
f. 75 Itm A Matreis a bolster / ij olde blankett and an old counterpoint of verdure iij cussheons ij of bourde alisaunder[1] and oon of olde tapistry	v^{s}
Sm̃ xxvj^{s} iiij^{d}	

In the clerke of the kecheoñ chamb̃r

Itm A sperver of white lynen cloth	ij^{s}
Itm A fetherbed old / a bolster / an olde pair of blankett / and a coueryng of old Red saye	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a pylowe	xij^{d}
Itm a matreis w^{t} a bolster and an olde coueryng of bury makyng	iij^{s}
Itm ij chest	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A morter w^{t} a pestell	v^{s}
Itm ix ℔ of saffron le ℔ x^{s} Sm̃	iiij^{li} x^{s}
Sm̃ v^{li} xiiij^{s} iiij^{d}	

In the armory chamb̃r

Itm xv yerdes of blake clothe le yerde / iiij^{s}	iij^{li}
Itm xv yerdes in Remnaunt and pec le yerde iij^{s} Sm̃	xlv^{s}
Itm lxxij yerdes of course grene le yerde vj^{d}	xxxvj^{s}
Sm̃ vij^{li} xij^{d}	

[1] Bourde alisaunder, bord-Alexander, a kind of striped silk made at Alexandria.

f. 75*b*

In the plour

Itm iiij tapettℓ of olde verdure paly	xl^{s}
Itm a tester and a seler of the same	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm v tapettℓ of grene olde tapistry w^{t} my Lordes worde [1]	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm a grene tester	x^{s}
Itm x broken tapettℓ of olde tapistry	xx^{s}
Itm iiij tapettℓ of grysell [2] olde and sore worn and ij tapettℓ of ij tapyttℓ of tapestry w^{t} men of warr in them	iii^{li}
Itm iij olde tapettℓ sore worn	xv^{s}
Itm ij tapettℓ of old counterfett aries	iij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm a nother tapet of the same con$\tilde{t}$ in lenght and brede / xl flemisshe stickes	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm viij pecℓ of olde Red saye	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A foote carpett	v^{s}
Itm ij pecℓ of Dornix for an hanging	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A fetherbed w^{t} a bolster / a pair of blankettℓ a pylowe a coueryng of bery makyng an olde quylt	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm iiij tapettℓ of tapistry lined a yerde depe w^{t} canvas full of molettℓ in clowdes and crankettℓ con$\tilde{t}$ in lenght and brede euy pece / lx flemysshe stickℓ	x^{li}
Itm iij pecℓ of the same con$\tilde{t}$ euy pece xxxvj stickℓ	iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Sm̃ xxix^{li}	

f. 76

In the Ewery

Itm in Cakℓ and tapers of wax CCCCj q^{r}t̃ and xxiiij ℔ price le C xliij^{s} iiij^{d} Sm̃	ix^{li} xiiij^{s} ij^{d}
Itm in torches endes ^{c}ix xl ℔ le C viij^{s} iiij^{d}	iij^{li} xviij^{s}
Itm in Rosen Ciĩj ℔ le C iij^{s} iiij^{d} Sm̃	v^{s} x^{d}
Itm in torche weke and taper weke iĩij v ℔	iiij^{s}
Itm a chafer [3]	x^{s}
Itm viij diap table clothes of vij yerdes long oon yerde di depe	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm iiij brekefast clothes of diaper / iij yerdes long	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm xxxviij table clothes of household	xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm xij towellℓ	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm viij towellℓ of diap	x^{s}
Itm ij weightℓ of leede	ij^{s}
Itm xvj napkyns of diaper	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm iij Chestℓ and a waxe bourde	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a Cx tortes of broche	x^{s}
Sm̃ xx^{li} xvij^{s} iiij^{d}	

In my Lordes greate chamb̃r

Itm v litle tapettℓ of tapestry w^{t} a celer and a tester of tapestry verdure	vij^{li}
Itm A fetherbed and a bolster	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

[1] My lord's word or motto was *En dieu est tout.*

[2] Probably the story of the meek and patient Grissell or Griselda immortalized by Boccaccio and Petrarch, and by Dan Geoffrey Chaucer in 'The Clerk's Tale'.

[3] Chafer, a vessel for heating water.

Itm a counterpoint of tapestry sore worn	xvj^{s}
Itm ij Cusshins of satten of brugis and a Cussheon of tawny veluet olde & sore worn	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm iiij carpyttꝭ	x^{s}
f. 76 *b* Itm a Fetherbed a bolster and a counterpoint	xv^{s}
Sm̃ x^{li} xij^{d}	

In the Inner chamb̃r of my Ladies

Itm v tapettꝭ of tapistry verdure olde and sore worn	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A sp̃u of satteyn of Briggeis paly	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Fetherbed and a bolster	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm a pair of fustians of v bredes	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm a counterpoynt of verdure	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a [Counterpoynt of *struck out*] Spuer of Satteyn of Brugeis w^{t} curteyns of yowlowe sarcenet and a counterpoynt of the same	vj^{li}
Itm A Seler and a tester of crymsen sateyn embroderid	v^{li}
Itm ix olde carpetꝭ sore worn	xxx^{s}
Itm vij olde Cussheons of veluet / iiij purple & iij grene	xx^{s}
Itm iij Cusshins of satteyn of Brugis sore worn	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm an olde travers of sarcenet	viij^{s}
Itm an olde sperver of blue and tawny Damaske	xx^{s}
Itm an Aundiron	xx^{d}
Itm a trussing bed of olde blue and crymsyn veluet paly and the curteynes paned blue and crymsyn damaske price	v^{li}
Sm̃ xxvj^{li} xvj^{s} iiij^{d}	

f. 77 In the gentilwomen chamb̃r

Itm ij fetherbeddes ij bolsters iij matreis	xxx^{s}
Itm ij pair of blankettꝭ and ij coueringꝭ	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a nother fyne bedde of Downe w^{t} a bolster for my Lady	xl^{s}
Itm A sp̃u and a counterpoint of golde Bawdekyn sore worn	iiij^{li}
Itm A Seler and a tester a counterpoint of grene bawdekyn	iij^{li}
Itm vj Curteyns of sarcenet for the saide ij beddes	xl^{s}
Itm an olde toren travers of sarcenet	viij^{s}
Itm a spuer of blue and white bawdekyn worē	liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm an olde speruer of grene bawdekyn with curteyns of tartorñ	xl^{s}
Itm a counterpoint of verdure sore woren	xvj^{s}
Itm A vestiment of blake tynsell w^{t} orfrayes of white saten of brigeis enbrowderid w^{t} ij aulter clothes of the same	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm iij Cussheons wrought in Rebonde	xl^{s}
Itm A splayde Egle of gold w^{t} an angell face w^{t} vj dyamoundes and xj perles w^{t} iiij Rubies gyven to our Lady of Walsinghm̃	xxx^{li}
Itm an horne of vnykhorn [1] harnesed and garnisshid w^{t} gold	iiij^{li}
Sm̃ lvj^{li} vij^{s} iiij^{d}	

[1] The twisted tusk of a narwhal was looked upon as the horn of an unicorn

In the Reuestry w^t^in the priory of Coolne

	Itm ij pec℄ and a half of tawny fustian	xvj^s^ viij^d^
f. 77 *b*	Itm xj yerdes of Remnaunt℄ of crymsen satten blake satten and tawny damaske price	lv^s^
	Itm v dogg℄ colers	x^s^
	Itm viij purses	ij^s^ viij^d^
	Itm A pair of Ivory beedes [1]	iij^s^ iiij^d^
	Itm xxj ell℄ of canvas	v^s^
	Itm an once of gold Ring℄ and Broches	xxx^s^
	Itm A tablet w^t^ an Image of our Lady	iiij^li^
	Itm ij garters	xx^s^
	Itm vij Chest℄ and standerdes	xlvj^s^ viij^d^
	Sm̄ xiij^li^ ix^s^ iiij^d^	

In the Perlour vndr̃ ⓜ Veeris chamb̄r

	Itm an hanging staynid w^t^ Calygreyhaunds and Scalys & a pece of steynid verdure	vj^s^ viij^d^
	Itm A Fetherbed and a bolster	xiij^s^ iiij^d^
	Itm a pair of olde fustians and a counterpoint of verdure sore worn̄	viij^s^
	Itm a nother fetherbed w^t^ a bolster a pair of blankett℄ and an olde counterpoint w^t^ crownes and sterrys w^t^ a pylowe and a mattreis	xv^s^
	Sm̄ xliij^s^	

In ⓜ Walgroue is chamb̄r

	Itm A Sperver of Dornix, olde and sore woren	x^s^
f. 78	Itm a fetherbed and a bolster	xiij^s^ iiij^d^
	Itm [*blank*] pair of fustians and v breedes	x^s^
	Itm an old counterpoint of verdure w^t^ Rokk℄ in hit	vj^s^ viij^d^
	Itm ij Cussheons of chaungeable sarcenet	ij^s^
	It in his s'un̄t℄ chamb̄r a fetherbed a bolster A pair of blankett℄ and a couering of verdure sore woren w^t^ conys in hit	xviij^s^
	Sm̄ iij^li^	

In the chamb̄r ouer the Porche

	Itm ij fetherbeddes w^t^ ij bolsters and a co℧ing of bury werke	xx^s^
	Itm A Cofer	vj^s^ viij^d^
	Itm x pair of shet℄ of iij bredes and iij hedde shetis	xl^s^
	Itm xiij pair of shetis of ij bredes d℧	xxxix^s^
	Itm xij pair of ij bredes / ij long pilowes w^t^ beres and vj short pylowes w^t^out beres	xxxij^s^
	Itm iij pair of fyne shetis gyven to my Lady of iiij bredes and vj yerdes long	iiij^li^
	Sm̄ x^li^ xvij^s^ vij^d^	

[1] Pair of beads, a rosary, or pair of paternosters.

Stuffe giuen to my yong Lorde of Oxenforde

	Itm [v *altered to*] iiij tapettꝫ of counterfet Areis of thistorie of Tulius and Mesius cont all in Lenght and dept xiij & xvj flemishe stickkꝫ	xxx^{li}
f. 78 *b*	Itm v tapettꝫ of tapistry damaske werke paly Redde and yelowe w^{t} cheyres of estate blue bores and molettꝫ in clowdes w^{t} a skochion of my lordes armes and my olde Ladies in gartures and thelmet aboue cont all to gither in lenght and dept CCCxxxvij stikkꝫ	liij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A Celer and a tester of crymsyñ blue and white satteyñ embrodrid w^{t} ffres and Rootꝫ of gold w^{t} a counterpoint of the same	xxvj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A Seler and a tester of crymsyñ satteyn of briggeis enbrowderid w^{t} a parke powdrid w^{t} boores molettꝫ and Calygreyhondes w^{t} a counterpoint of the same	xv^{li}
	Itm A Celer and a tester w^{t} a counterpoint of crymsyn satteyn of Brigeis enbrodrid w^{t} a garter and my Lordes helme and his armes and my Ladyes that dede is in hit / w^{t} his worde in hit	x^{li}
	Itm A newe Celer and a tester w^{t} a counterpoint of crymsyn damaske enbroderid w^{t} ij gentilwomen standing on a mountain feding a popyniay in a cage full of crankettꝫ molettꝫ blue boores & water floꝛes	lx^{li}
	Itm A Celer and a tester of old fyne areis in the celer a pavylion & in the tester a toꝛnay of Knyghtꝫ conꝫ all in lenght and dept lx flemisshe stikkꝫ	viij^{li}
	Sm̄ cciij^{li}	

f. 79 Horsis and geldingꝫ

Itm A Carte and iiij horses w^{t} their harnes	iiij^{li}
Itm xvj horses geldingꝫ and litle naggꝫ price all togither as they were sold	xv^{li} v^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij olde cloth sakke sadellꝫ	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Sm̄ xix^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d}	

In the Kechyn

It in olde Brasse and peauter as it apperith euꝰ ꝑcell after the weight	xviij^{li} x^{s} viij^{d} ob̄
Sm paꝫz	

In Wyne

It in wyne ij tonne of Gascoigne	viij^{li}
Sm patz	

Stuff at Henynghm̄

Item a pair of Organs	v^{li}
Itm a peir of Portatyvys [1]	xx^{s}
Itm A peyir of Orgayns small at Weuynghowe	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm an olde celer and a testar of white verdure	x^{s}
Itm a celer and a tester of olde tapistry w^{t} a gentilwoman	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm a celer & a tester of boꝛde alisaundꝛ and a spū of blue diap a litle tapet of tapistry & a counterpoint w^{t} a condyt	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Sm viij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}	

[1] Portatives were small portable organs.

f. 79 *b* Plate and Jewellꝭ in a greate standarde wᵗin the colege of Sudbery as hereafter folowith

Itm an Image of oʳ lady siluer & gilt poz lxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ sm̃ Sm̃	xjˡⁱ iiijˢ
Itm a nother Image of oʳ Lady of siluer and all well gilt wᵗ her childe in her armes / a crowne on her hed a septer in hir hande poiz̃ C viij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm	xviijˡⁱ xviijˢ
Itm an Image of saint John Baptist standing upon a base siluer and the camell skynne all gilt and his mantell white poz xliij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	vijˡⁱ xˢ vjᵈ
Itm an Image of saint John Eum̃gelist silm̃ & gilt poz lxxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ	xijˡⁱ xixˢ
Itm an Image of saint Petur siluer & gilt standing apoñ a base / & diademe vppon his hede garnisshid wᵗ stones and ꝑles poiz̃ lviij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ sm̃	xˡⁱ xjˢ
Itm an Image of saint Andrewe siluer and gilt poiz̃ lxvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ	xjˡⁱ xjˢ
Itm an Image of Saint James siluer & gilt poz lxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xjˡⁱ iiijˢ
Itm an Image of saint Barthilmewe siluer & gilt poz lx oz̃ iij qr̃t̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xˡⁱ xijˢ vijᵈ ob̃
Itm an Almes disshe wᵗ swagꝭ gilt poiz̃ C xlvij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ sm̃	xxvˡⁱ xiiijˢ vjᵈ
Itm A spice plate standing gilt wᵗout a couer poiz̃ lxvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm	xjˡⁱ xjˢ
f. 80 Itm A Crosse wᵗ a foote siluer and gilt wᵗ a vice in the bothom̃ and Imagꝭ enamilid in the tabernacles undr̃ the sokett poiz̃ xxxvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	vjˡⁱ vjˢ
Itm A Salt of Berall standing wᵗ a morion vndr the berall wᵗ a com̃ silm̃ and gilt poz xxxv oz̃ i qr̃t̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm	vjˡⁱ iijˢ iiijᵈ ob̃
Itm A Monstrant of Berall for Reliques the foote and the couering siluer and gilt wᵗ saint Anne having oʳ Lady in hir armes poz xix oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̃	iijˡⁱ iijˢ iiijᵈ
Itm a nother Lower monstrant wᵗ a berall in the topp of the couering poz ix oz̃ iij qr̃t̃ le oz̃ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̃	xxxˢ xᵈ ob̃
Itm saint Symond siluer and gilt wᵗ a crosse rounde knoppes on thendes poiz̃ lxviij oz̃ le oz iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xjˡⁱ xviijˢ
Itm Saint Juyd syluer and gilt wᵗ a shiꝑ poiz̃ lxiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm	xjˡⁱ vjᵈ
Itm Saint Philip wᵗ a grene clob̃b̃ silm̃ and gilt poiz̃ lxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ	xjˡⁱ iiijˢ
Itm Saint Thomas of Jnde siluer & gilt wᵗ a spere in oon hand and boke in thother hand poiz̃ lxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xjˡⁱ iiijˢ
Itm Saint Margaret siluer and gilt wᵗ a cros in a dragons mouth poiz̃ xxxij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	vˡⁱ xiijˢ ixᵈ
Itm saint Barbara siluer and gilt poiz xij oz̃ qr̃t̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xlijˢ xᵈ ob̃
f. 80 *b* Itm Saint George siluer and gilt wᵗ a bone of saint george vnder the burall in his shilde poiz̃ xlij oz̃ qr̃t̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	vijˡⁱ vijˢ xᵈ ob̃
Itm Saint Anne syluer & gilt poiz̃ xxiiij oz̃ dꝺ dꝺ qr̃t̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	iiijˡⁱ vjˢ ijᵈ qᵃ
Itm a Litle Image of oʳ Lady poz vij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xxvjˢ iijᵈ
Itm A Litle Monstrant wᵗ oʳ Lady in the topꝑ silm̃ and gilt poiz̃ vij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ	xxiiijˢ vjᵈ
Itm A Litle Monstrant wᵗ the crucifixe in the topꝑ wᵗ a crosse floury poz̃ iiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̃	xiiijˢ
Itm A greate bason of syluer wᵗ bollions [1] ꝓcell gilt for a founte poz̃ Cxxxvij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̃	xxijˡⁱ xvjˢ viijᵈ
Itm xj platters of syluer m̃kid wᵗ colombines poz̃ CCCxlij oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̃	liiijˡⁱ iijˢ
Itm xij Disshes of syluer m̃kid with colombynes poz̃ CClxxxj oz̃ le oz̃ iijˢ ijᵈ sm̃	xliiijˡⁱ ixˢ xᵈ

[1] Bollions, bullions (*N. E. D.*), knobs or bosses of metal.

	Itm xij Sawcers of syluer w^{t} colombynes poz̄ Clxxxvj oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} ij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xxix^{li} ix^{s}
	Itm ij chargeos of syluer ꝑteynyng to the same garnisshe poiz̄ Cxxiij oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} ij^{d}	xix^{li} ix^{s} vj^{d}
	Itm A newe spice plate siluer ꝑcel gilt w^{t} a couer and in the topp̄ of the couer a fane[1] having my Lordes armes and my olde Ladies armes on thone syde and saint John baptist on thother syde the foote pounced w^{t} molettꝫ the shanke pounced & enamilid & aboute the mydde shanke set w^{t} molettꝫ poz̄ Cliiij oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xxv^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
f. 81	Itm A spice plate siluer ꝑcell gilt w^{t} a blue floure in the topp̄ poz̄ xxxiiij vnc̄es le oz iij^{s} ij^{d}	v^{li} vij^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A spyce plate siluer [ꝑcell *altered to*] all gilt w^{t} a colomebyne in the bothom poz̄ lv oz̄ j q$\overline{rt}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} S$\overline{m}$	ix^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} o$\overline{b}$
	Itm A crosse siluer and gilt w^{t} Mary and John w^{t} xiij counterfet stonys & xvj ꝑles poiz̄ lxix oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xij^{li} xviij^{d}
	Itm a chafyng disshe[2] siluer ꝑcell gilt poz̄ lxij oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d} s$\overline{m}$	x^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm a nother chafing disshe siluer ꝑcell gilt w^{t} iij angellꝫ gilt on the syde/on euy̅ angell a molett poz̄ xxxj oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	v^{li} v^{s}
	Itm vj goblettꝫ siluer all gilt w^{t} a co$\overline{u}$ made at brigeis[3] w^{t} my Lordes armes in a garter in the topp̄ of the co$\overline{u}$e poiz̄ lxxxvj oz̄ iij q$\overline{rt}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xv^{li} iij^{s} vij^{d} o$\overline{b}$
	Itm vj newe goblettꝫ all gilt with a couer chasid w^{t} floures de lyces/my Lordes armes and the howardes in the top of the co$\overline{u}$ poiz̄ Cxlj oz̄ q$\overline{rt}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xxiiij^{li} x^{s} x^{d} o$\overline{b}$
	Itm A standing gilt salt w^{t} a co$\overline{u}$ vj square w^{t} a castell in the topp̄ of the couer poz̄ lij oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} S$\overline{m}$	ix^{li} iiij^{s} j^{d}
	Itm A standing salt gilt w^{t}out a couer felowe to the same poz̄ xxxij oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} Sm	v^{li} xiij^{s} ix^{d}
	Itm A salt siluer and gilt vj square the co$\overline{u}$ therof borderid w^{t} floure de licis poz̄ xlix oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d}	viij^{li} xiij^{s} iij^{d}
	Itm a salt siluer & gilt w^{t} chacꝫ oñ chace[4] pousid[5] another plaine poiz̄ xlij oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	vij^{li}
f. 81 *b*	Itm A pair of saltꝫ of siluer and gilt w^{t} oon couer graued w^{t} floure de lices w^{t} my Lordes Armes and the Howardes in the topp̄ poiz̄ lxxxvj oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} vj^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xv^{li} ij^{s} ix^{d}
	Itm A monstrant siluer and gilt callid a porte dieu w^{t} iiij pillers and an angell wanting a wyng w^{t} a cupp̄ of burall to put in the sacrament the foote garnisshid w^{t} .x. counterfet stones and a couer w^{t} a crosse lakking a bullion of silu̅ poiz̄ v̈j vij oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} ij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xx^{li} ij^{s} ij^{d}
	It [*blank*] parys bolles of siluer pounced like penys with a couer w^{t} a colombyne in the bothom poz̄ CCxx oz le oz iij^{s} iiij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xxxvj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm vj small bolles of syluer ꝑcell w^{t} a couer w^{t} vj signes of the monithes in the yere in the bottom poz̄ lxj oz le oz iij^{s} ij^{d}	ix^{li} xiij^{s} ij^{d}
	Itm vj white bolles of siluer ꝑcell gilt w^{t}out a couer euy̅ of them w^{t} vij Roundes in the Bothom poz̄ i$\overset{xx}{x}$ iij oz̄ d$\overline{o}$ le oz̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xxx^{li} xj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm ij flagons w^{t} bayles[6] chasid & pounced ꝑcell gilt w^{t} the Lyon in the topp̄ poz̄ v$\overset{xx}{ij}$ iij oz̄ le oz̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d} S$\overline{m}$	xxiij^{li} xvj^{s} viii^{d}

[1] Fane, a banner-shaped vane.
[2] Chafing-dish, a vessel for holding live charcoal.
[3] Bruges.
[4] Chace, a groove or hollow.
[5] Pounced.
[6] Bayles, hoop handles.

Itm ij flagons wt cheynes siluer ꝑcell gilt wt colomebynes on the side poz̃ viiȷ̃ v oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — xxvijli xs

Itm ij cruettℓ of burall the lyddes and fete of them syluer and gilt poz̃ xvj oz le oz̃ ijs Sm̃ — xxxijs

It A shiꝑ syluer all gilt wt a braunche of corall in the toꝑ afore & an acorn of burial standing behynde poz̃ xxiiij oz̃ qr̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs vjd Sm̃ — iiijli iiijs xd ob̃

f. 82 Itm ij Cruettℓ wtout lyddes poz̃ iij oz̃ iij qr̃ le oz̃ iijs Sm̃ — ixs ixd

Itm A Sensor wt lieberdes hedes poz̃ xxvij oz̃ iij qr̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — iiijli vijs xd ob̃

Itm A nother Sensor wt like hedes poz̃ xxvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — iiijli ijs iiijd

Itm A chaleis siluer all gilt my lordes woorde En dieu est tout written in the fote and the trinitie in the paten poz̃ xxxviij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — vjli viijs iiijd

Itm an holy water stoꝑ siluer ꝑcell gilt wt this scripture aboute vidi aquam egredientℯ wt the sprynkell to the same poiz̃ lxxxix oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — xiiijli xxijd

Itm A girdell full of barres of gold euỹ seconde barr like a cheire set wt stonys and ij small barres at thone ende and a powche of blake velvet garnisshid wt perles set in gold and a stone in the middes set in gold poz̃ xliij oz̃ le oz̃ xxxiijs iiijd Sm̃ — lxxjli xiijs iiijd

Itm A greate chaleis siluer all gilt wt a patent and this scripture about the booll Laudemus et supexaltemus eum in secꝛa poz̃ xxxij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs vjd Sm̃ — vli xijs

Itm A Sensor with lieberdes hedℓ poz̃ xxvij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — iiijli vijs jd

Itm a nother sensor wt like hedℓ poz̃ xxvij oz̃ iij qr̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — iiijli vs vjd

Itm ij cruettℓ siluer and gilt poz̃ vj oz̃ qr̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm — xxs xd

Itm ij Botellℓ siluer ꝑcell gilt wt cheynes to bere thℯ wt poz̃ viiȷ̃ xiij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm — xxvijli xijs ijd

f. 82 *b* Itm A Standing salt siluer and gilt vj square wt the coũe pounced wt vynes poz̃ xxxix oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs vjd — vjli xviijs iijd

Sm viij[c] xlvjli ijd qa

Plate and Juellℓ in another strong Coofer all of Iron wt vj. lokkℓ vpon the same

Itm furst a cupp of gold wt a couer pouncid wt eagles wt angellℓ faces and molettℓ the foote and couer set wt perle and stone poz̃ togithers xliiij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ xxxvjs viijd Sm̃ — lxxxjli xjs viijd

Itm A Cupp of gold wt a couer pouncid ful of Roundes like pellettℓ and a redde rose in the Bothom poz̃ xviij oz̃ le oz̃ xxxiijs iiijd Sm̃ — xxxli

Itm A Cupp of gold wt a couer pouncid wt eagles wt angellℓ facℓ and molettℓ wt a balace[1] in the topꝑ poiz̃ xlij oz̃ qr̃ le oz̃ xxxvjs viijd Sm̃ — lxxvijli ixs ijd

Itm A Salt of gold set wt bedes and ples in the topꝑ / a diamound a Rubie and vj ples poz̃ xxj oz̃ dꝺ qr̃ le oz̃ xxxvjs viijd sm̃ — xxxviijli xiiijs vijd

Itm a greate cheyñ of gold of xxij lynkℓ enamilid wt white and blue colombines poz̃ xxx oz̃ qr̃ dꝺ le oz̃ xxxiijs iiijd Sm̃ — lli xijs vjd

Itm A Colar of gold made in garters wt redde Roses in the garters and a georgℯ wt a dyamount and iij greate ples hanging in the dragons foote poz̃ xxj oz̃ le oz̃ xls — xlijli

f. 83 Itm A Colar of fyne gold of xxvij S and ij Porteculeisse wt a greate diamount in a red Rose and a Lyon hanging vppoñ the same Rose wt ij Rubies and a diamount vppon the said Lion and ij greate Rubies / and iiij diamountℓ & ix greate perles vppon the .S. poz̃ xlij oz̃ le oz̃ xlvjs viijd Sm̃ — lxxxxviijli

[1] Balace, balas, a balas-ruby.

Itm A greate cheyne of gold w^t a maryners whistell & of viij and ooñ Lynkℓ poz Cxlvj oz le oz xxxiij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — CCxliij^li vj^s viij^d

Itm a spone of gold w^t my Lordes armes vpon thende poz ij oz dℚ qr̄t le oz xxx^s Sm̄ — iij^li iij^s ix^d

Itm A litle flat cup of gold w^t a couer garnisshid w^t molettℓ and crankettℓ having my Lordes armes and my Ladies in the top̄ of the cou̅e and the bothom pouncid w^t sonnes poz xiij oz le oz xxxiij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — xxj^li xiij^s iiij^d

Itm A goblet of gold w^t a couer havyng my Lordes armes and my Ladies in the topp̄ of the couer poz xj oz dℚ le oz xxxiij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — xix^li iij^s iiij^d

Itm a crosse of gold garnisshid w^t ij safres[1] and ij pecℓ of the holy crosse therein accustumed to be in the lap̄ of an Image of the Trinitie poz xv oz qr̄t le oz xl^s Sm̄ — xxx^li x^s

Itm an Image of saint George of gold poz xij oz le oz xxx^s sm̄ — xviij^li

Itm A salt of gold the hed and foote enamelid w^t blue & set w^t perle & litle knoppes enamelid w^t red standing vpon a dissers hed[2] poz xj oz dℚ le oz xxxiij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — xix^li iij^s iiij^d

f. 83 *b* Itm An Image of the trinitie of siluer and gilt w^t a crowne vppon his hed garnisshid w^t stones w^t ij litle angelℓ poiz v̈j oz dℚ le oz iij^s vj^d Sm̄ — xxij^li ix^s ix^d

Itm A litle salt of gold. the hedde and the fote w^t Rubies & ples w^t a safre in the topp̄ w^t a Rose w^tin the bothom of the salt poz vj oz le oz xxx^s Sm̄ — ix^li

Itm A standing Cupp of siluer all gilt w^t portculyous in the top̄ of the couer & a bordr̄ about the same of Roses and portculyows and floure delicℓ poz xxxij oz qr̄t le oz iij^s viij^d Sm̄ — v^li xviij^s iij^d

Itm A standing cup̄ of siluer all gilt set w^t Roses and porculious in the top̄ of the portculius[3] a Rose poz xxxiij oz dℚ le oz iij^s viij^d Sm̄ — vj^li ij^s x^d

Itm a Cup̄ w^t a couer all gilt w^t viij. qr̄ters having in the top̄ of the cou̅ a rose oon qr̄ter playñ thother chasid w^t Roses portculius & pomegarnettℓ poz xxx oz le oz iij^s viij^d — v^li x^s

Itm A standing Cup̄ with a couer of siluer all gilt having in the top̄ of the couer a rose which &c. poz xxxi oz qr̄t le oz iij^s iiij^d sm — v^li xiiij^s vij^d

Itm A standing cup̄ gilt with a Rose in the toppe of the couer poz xxxj oz dℚ le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — v^li xv^s vj^d

f. 84 Itm vj greate bollys all gilt w^t a couer sett ful of molettℓ and crankettℓ in the topp̄ of the same couer w^t perles and stones w^t my Lordes armes vpon the same poz xij xviij oz dℚ le oz iij^s viij^d Sm̄ — L^li xvij^s vj^d

Sm̄ vij lxxxiiij^li xvj^s ix^d

In another standarde bounde with barres of Iroñ

Itm a hole garnisshe of siluer vessell w^t iiij chargeos merkid w^t brikettℓ poz MCCClxxxij oz dℚ le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — CCxviij^li xvij^s xj^d

Itm xij disshes of siluer now bicause of iij newe disshes poz CCxxvj oz le oz iij^s ij^d — xxxv^li xv^s viij^d

Itm xij platters of siluer poz CCCliij oz qr̄t le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — lv^li xviij^s vij^d ob

Itm xij Sawcers of syluer now bicause of v newe sawcers newe made poz Cviij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — xvij^li ij^s

[1] Safres, sapphires.

[2] Disser, desour, disard, a jester or fool.

[3] *Sic*, but query for 'cover'.

Itm ij chargers of siluer ꝑteynyng to the garnisshe aforesaid poz Cxlvij oz dꝺ le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} — xxiij^{li} vij^{s} j^{d}

Itm ij disshes of siluer poz xlviij oz le oz ij^{s} ij^{d} Sm̄ — vij^{li} xij^{s}

Itm ij olde platters of silꝺ poz lxix oz le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} — x^{li} xviij^{s} vj^{d}

Itm A platter of siluer newe made ayenst Whitsontyde m̄kid w^{t} my Lordes armes and the Howardes armes poz xxviij oz le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} — iiij^{li} viij^{s} viij^{d}

Itm A Disshe of siluer newe made the same tyme w^{t} the same m̄ke poz xvj oz dꝺ le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} Sm̄ — lij^{s} iij^{d}

f. 84 *b* Itm A newe Sawcer of syluer newe made ayenst the same tyme w^{t} the saide m̄ke poz ix oz dꝺ le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} Sm̄ — xxx^{s} j^{d}

Itm iij chargers siluer newe made the said tyme w^{t} the same m̄ke poz viij^{xx} oz dꝺ le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} Sm̄ — xxv^{li} viij^{s} iij^{d}

Itm A Pot of siluer all gilt w^{t} a bayle chasid and pounsid poz CCxj oz iij qr̄t le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm̄ — xxxviij^{li} xvj^{s} v^{d}

Itm A nother pott felowe to the same of syluer all gilt poz CCxj oz le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} — xxxviij^{li} xiij^{s} viij^{d}

Itm ij greate standing pottꝫ siluer all gilt chasid one chase playñ another pouncid and in the topp̄ of the Lyddes my Lordes armes and the Howardes armes quarterly & an angell w^{t} wyngꝫ behynde the lydde poz viij^{xx} iij oz le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm̄ — xxix^{li} xvij^{s} vij^{d}

Itm A pair of gilt Basons siluer al gilt w^{t} my Lordes armes and my olde Ladies sett in the bothom chasid aboute w^{t} a doble Rose poz Cxlij oz le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm̄ — xxvj^{li} viij^{d}

Itm A pair of Small basons siluer all gilt pounced and embosid w^{t} scripture the bordure poz xxij oz qr̄t le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm̄ — iiij^{li} iij^{s} v^{d}

Itm A pair of newe basons siluer all gilt w^{t} my Lordes armes and my old Ladies in the Bothom chasid aboute the armes w^{t} the sonne poz Cxvj oz le oz iij^{s} iiij^{d} Sm̄ — xxi^{li} v^{s} iiij^{d}

f. 85 Itm A pair of Basons syluer al gilt pounced & enbocid poz ix̄x vj oz le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm̄ — xxxiiij^{li} ij^{s}

Itm ij Basons siluer all gilt and chasid w^{t} sonnes and wrethis of colombynes in the Bothom and my lordes armes poz (*no weight given*) le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} sm̄ — xxxiij^{li} vij^{s} vj^{d}

Itm ij Basons siluer all gilt w^{t} the Kingꝫ armes in the Bothom wiche my lorde had at the coronacioñ of King Henry the eight by reason of his office poiz vij^{xx} xvj oz le oz iij^{s} vj^{d} Sm̄ — xxvij^{li} vj^{s}

Itm a bason of syluer all playñ the swagꝫ gilt and an eagle w^{t} an angellꝫ face in the botom̄ poz lxx oz iij^{s} Sm̄ — x^{li} x^{s}

Itm an Ewer to the same facioned like a tankard w^{t} iiij hoopis gilt poz xxviij oz le oz iij^{s} Sm̄ — iiij^{li} iiij^{s}

Itm A bason of sylꝺ ꝑcell gilt new made ayenst whitsontyde all playñ in the Bottom poz lv oz le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} Sm̄ — viij^{li} xiiij^{s} ij^{d}

Itm ij siluer Ewers w^{t} colombynes poz lxj oz le oz iij^{s} ij^{d} Sm̄ — ix^{li} xiij^{s} ij^{d}

Itm ij greate gilt pottꝫ siluer chasid one chase playñ another pouncid w^{t} a Ring aboute the Bely depting the chaces w^{t} my lordes and the Howardes armes poz xij^{xx} oz le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm̄ — xlvij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm ij pottꝫ syluer and gilt w^{t} treyfoyles poz C oz le oz iij^{s} vj^{d} Sm̄ — xvij^{li} x^{s}

f. 85 *b* Itm ij Pottꝫ of siluer all gilt euy of them w^{t} berys in the topp̄ pond vj^{xx} xv oz le oz iij^{s} viij^{d} Sm — xxiiij^{li} xv^{s}

Itm ij greate pott̃ siluer all gilt chasid w^t^ boutons at the clapsys of the lyddes poz̃ Clxxv oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — xxxij^li^ xx^d^

Itm A greate pot of Syluer all gilt playñ w^t^ ij bottons ouer the lydde poz̃ v̋j le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — xxij^li^

Itm A pott of siluer pcell gilt w^t^ an angell w^t^ wing̃ on the lydde and armes in the same poz̃ liij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iij^s^ ij^d^ Sm̃ — viij^li^ ix^s^ v^d^

Itm A nother pott percell gilt felowe to the same poz̃ liij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iij^s^ ij^d^ Sm̃ — viij^li^ ix^s^ v^d^

Itm ij playñ pottis siluer the swagis gilt poz̃ Cxvj oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iij^s^ ij^d^ Sm — *Amount not given*

Itm A greate standing Cupp̃ siluer all gilt w^t^ mylle pyk̃ in the bothom chasid poz̃ lv oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — x^li^ xx^d^

Itm A standing Cupp̃ all gilt w^t^ a coū w^t^ a doble down right[1] chase poz̃ xliiij oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — viij^li^ xvj^d^

Itm A standing Cupp̃ siluer all gilt playn w^t^ a coū and having iij floures in the bothom ij blue and oon youlowe poz̃ xxv oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — iiij^li^ xj^s^ viij^d^

Itm ij standing Cuppes siluer all gilt bell shapeñ w^t^ ij couers euy̋ of them w^t^ colombynes floures in the botom poz̃ liiij oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ iiij^d^ — ix^li^ xviij^s^

f. 86 Itm A Cupp̃ siluer all gilt w^t^ a couer w^t^ a downe right[1] chace flatt and a purple rose w^t^ a grene garland ennamylid in the middes poz̃ xxx oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — v^li^ x^s^

Itm A standing Cupp̃ siluer all gilt w^t^ a couer w^t^ a doble right downe[1] chace and plain chasid knoppid and a molett in the botom of the coueryng poz xxix oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ — v^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^

Itm A standing Cupp̃ siluer all gilt coue̅d and pouncid w^t^ cheverns and my Lordes armes in the Botom poz̃ xxxv oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ — vj^li^ viij^s^ iiij^d^

Itm A Cupp̃ syluer all gilt w^t^ penys in the botom poz̃ xix oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — iij^li^ ix^s^ viij^d^

Itm A gilt Cupp̃ of Saye wiche my lord had at the coronacion of King Henry the viij^th^ by reason of his office poz̃ ix oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — xxxiij^s^

Itm A Cupp̃ of siluer all gilt w^t^ a couer pouncid chasid w^t^ a redde Rose w^t^in a garland in the botom poz̃ xxv oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — iiij^li^ xj^s^ viij^d^

Itm A playñ Cupp̃ of siluer all gilt w^t^ a couer and a brokeñ blue floure in the bothom poz̃ xxxj oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — v^li^ xiij^s^ viij^d^

Itm A gilt Cupp̃ of siluer playn w^t^ a coū lakking thennamyling in the bothom poz̃ xxj oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ Sm̃ — iij^li^ xvij^s^

Itm A Cupp̃ made of a gryppes Egge[2] coū̃ed the foot silū & gilt & in the topp̃ of the [floure *struck through*] coū a blue floure poz̃ xxxv oz̃ le oz̃ ij^s^ Sm̃ — iij^li^ ix^s^

f. 86 *b* Itm A Cupp̃ of silū pcell gilt all ennamylid w^t^ blue and in the topp̃ a pelycane poz̃ xlij oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ iiij^d^ Sm̃ — vij^li^

Itm a pott all of siluer for the barbour to warm in water for my lordes berd poz̃ lxxxj oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ ij^d^ Sm̃ — xij^li^ xvj^s^ vj^d^

Itm A Callak[3] of silū all gilt w^t^ a crowne in the topp̃ of the coū w^t^ a lyon in the middle poz̃ [xxxvj *altered to*] x̋ij xj oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ viij^d^ [*added*] Sm̃ — [iij^li^ xij^s^ *altered to*] xvj^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^

Itm vj gilt bolles of siluer w^t^ a couer w^t^ sonnes in the Botom and my lordes armes in the topp̃ of the couer poz̃ x̋x j oz̃ le oz̃ iij^s^ vj^d^ — xxxj^li^ xiij^s^ vj^d^

[1] Downright, right down, vertical or straight.
[2] A gryppe's, gripe's, or griffin's egg was actually the egg of an ostrich.
[3] Callak, collok, apparently a tub-shaped vessel.

Itm vj bolles of siluer all gilt w^t a couer euy of them having a sheperde and shepe in the botom poz CClij oz le oz iij^s vj^d Sm — xliiij^li ij^s
Itm A litle base boll w^tout a cou̅e poz xvj oz le oz iij^s iiij^d sm — liij^s iiij^d
Itm ij leyers[1] syluer all gilt like unto perys[2] eche w^t spowte w^t a gilt spone poz xxxvj oz le oz iij^s vj^d Sm — vj^li vj^s
Itm A leyer of siluer and gilt pouncid w^t Rosys poz xviij oz le oz iij^s vj^d Sm — iij^li iij^s
It A leyer of siluer the swage gilt with buttons on the cou̅ poz xx oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm — iij^li vj^s viij^d
Itm iiij litle siluer candelstick w^t nosys poiz xxiiij oz le oz iij^s ii^d Sm — iij^li xvj^s
Itm iij prickitte of siluer swage gilt poz lxij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm — ix^li xvj^s iiij^d
Itm a high candelstik w^t a nose and a pryk sett on w^t a vyce poz xj oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm — xxxiiij^s x^d
Itm A pott of Ivy[3] garnisshid w^t silu̅ all gilt & in the top of the couer a saint Johns hed poz xxxvj oz le oz ij^s sm — iij^li xij^s
f. 87 Itm A nother lowe candelsticke of silu̅ all whyte w^t a nose poz xj oz le oz iij^s Sm — xxx̊iij^s
Itm A Snoff of siluer percell gilt poz viij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm — xxv^s iiij^d
Itm A litle candelsticke of silu̅ / swage gilt w^t a nose poz iiij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm — xij^s viij^d
Itm vj Bolles silu̅ all gilt w^t a cou̅ w^t the monithes in the Bothom of euy of them sett in gold the top of the cou̅ garnisshid w^t small Perle and stones set in gold all to githe poz CClxj oz le oz iij^s viij^d sm Sm [*sic*] — xlvij^li xvij^s
Itm the holy gost in a clowde silu̅ hanging in a steon silver and gilt w^t a molet in the myddes poz viij oz le oz iij^s Sm — xxiiij^s
Itm A litle bottell siluer all gilt w^t my lordes armes and the Howardes on bothe the sides w^t a cheyñ poz viij oz le oz iij^s viij^d — xxix^s iiij^d
Itm vj bolles playñ w^t a couer silu̅ w^t face in the Botom poz CCx oz le oz iij^s ij^d — xxxiij^li v^s
Itm ij spones all gilt w^t Imagis on thendes poz ij oz le oz iij^s viij^d sm — vij^s iiij^d
Itm ij spones base gilt w^t flat knoppes poz iiij oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm — xiij^s iiij^d
Itm ij sponys base gilt w^t flat endes therin my lordes armes on thone side / and the Howardes on thoth̄r poz vij oz le oz iij^s iiij^d — xxiij^s iiij^d
Itm ij spones siluer all gilt w^t forke for grene gynger poz iij oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm — x^s
Itm xxiiij siluer spones w^t slippes on thendes poz xxxv oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm — v^li xvj^s viij^d
Itm an Angell w^t wynge siluer and gilt bering Reliques w^t bonis of saint ursula poz xij oz le oz iij^s vj^d Sm — xlij^s
f. 87 *b* Itm an Angell w^t winge of siluer and gilt bering Reliques poz xvij oz le oz iij^s vj^d — lix^s vj^d
Itm A nother Angell w^t winge silver and gilt bering Reliques poz xvj oz le oz iij^s vj^d — lvj^s
Itm A paxe brede gilt of tholde fasshion w^t an angell in the myddes holding a vrnacle[4] poz xvj oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm — liij^s iiij^d
Itm a pax brede silu̅ and gilt poz vij oz le oz iij^s vj^d Sm — xxiiij^s vj^d
Itm A litle paxbreade silu̅ w^t a v̄rnacle of modr̄ of perle poz j oz dꝺ le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm — v^s
Itm A Sacryng bell of siluer and gilt the clap Iroñ poiz iij oz dꝺ le oz iij^s Sm — x^s vj^d
Itm A Sacryng belle of siluer all gilt poz iij oz le oz iij^s vj^d Sm — x^s vj^d

[1] Leyer, a laver or jug. [2] Perys, query pears, pear-shaped.
[3] Ivy = ivory. [4] Vernacle, the imprint of our Lord's face on St. Veronica's handkerchief.

Itm A paxbreade silū and gilt garnisshid w^t stones poz xxiij oz le oz iij^s viij^d Sm̄ — iiij^li iiij^s iiij^d
It ij Skalop shellys of siluer and gilt poz iij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — ix^s vj^d
Itm ij lytle spones of syluer all gilt w^t molettꝫ on thendes poz one oz dī le oz iij^s vj^d sm̄ — v^s iij^d
Itm a pair of olde canstyckꝫ silū pcell gilt w^t prikkꝫ poiz v oz le oz iij^s ij^d sm̄ — xv^s x^d
Itm A litle Cupp̄ of Maso^r[1] the foote and coū silū and gilt poz vj oz le oz xx^d Sm̄ — x^s
Itm a nother pott of tree[2] w^t the coū and lyppes of syluer and gilt poz viij oz le oz ij^s sm̄ — xvj^s

Sm̄ M Clxxxxviij^li ix^s ix^d

f. 88 Plate in a nother cofer of woode barrid w^t barris of Iroñ

Itm ij greate gilt pottꝫ of oon suett and a daysy w^t a wreth in the topp̄ poz vij^xx xvij oz le oz iij^s viij^d sm̄ Sm̄ [*sic*] — xxviij^li xv^s viij^d
Itm ij greate pottell pottꝫ of siluer and gilt chasid poz vij^xx iij oz le oz iij^s viij^d sm̄ — xxix^li xvij^s viij^d
Itm . . . . greate pottꝫ siluer all white w^t molettꝫ in the topp̄ poz vij^xx iiij oz le oz iij^s ij^d — xxv^li xix^s iiij^d
Itm ij pottꝫ siluer percell gilt w^t molettꝫ in the myddes poz lxxxij oz le oz iij^s iiij^d — xiij^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm A pott of syluer all whyte poz xxx oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — iiij^li xv^s
Itm A pott of siluer whyte poz xxij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — iij^li ix^s viij^d
Itm A siluer pott pcell gilt w^t ij buttons gilt ouer the lidde poz xxv oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — iij^li xix^s ij^d
Itm A bason of siluer w^t blue water floures in the bothom poz xxxvij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — v^li xvij^s ij^d
Itm A bason siluer callid the trussing basoñ poz lvj oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — viij^li xvij^s iiij^d
Itm ij playñ basons silū all whyte like to greate chargeós poz Cxliij oz le oz iij^s ij^d — xxij^li xij^s x^d
Itm an Ewer of siluer w^t a brode bottoñ and a long spowte poz xxvij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — iiij^li v^s vj^d
Itm ij Ewers w^t brode bottons poz liiij oz le oz ij^s ij^d Sm̄ — viij^li xj^s
f. 88 *b* Itm an Ewer of silū poz xxxij oz le oz iij^s ij^d — v^li xvj^d
Itm A greate Crosse ennamylid on bothe sydes w^t the iiij Eūngelistꝫ poz all w^t the tymbr and the pyñ of Iroñ lxiij oz wherof the silū weyith by estimacion xlij oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — vij^li
Itm A greate Crosse silū and gilt w^t a floure delice at euy ende standing vppoñ a base w^t xij pynakles poz Clxiiij oz le oz iii^s iiij^d Sm̄ — xxvij^li vj^s viij^d
Itm oon goblett w^t a couer wherof the swagꝫ be gilt poz xij oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — xxxviij^s
Itm ij gobletteꝫ siluer pcell gilt poz xv oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — xlvij^s vj^d
Itm vj gobletteꝫ made of a toothe of an Olyfaunt garnisshid w^t silū and gilt poz lxviij oz le oz ij^s Sm̄ — vj^li xviij^s
Itm A goblet of siluer the swagꝫ gilt poz vj oz le oz iij^s ij^d Sm̄ — xix^s
Itm vj newe gobletteꝫ pcell gilt w^t molettꝫ and crankettꝫ w^t a coū / w^t my Lordes armes and the Howardes in the topp̄ of the coū poz Cxxxj oz le oz iij^s iiij^d Sm̄ — xxj^li xvj^s viij^d

[1] A vessel made of maple wood. See a paper on 'The English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers' in *Archaeologia*, l, 129-93. [2] A drinking bowl or pot made of wood.

	Itm ij greate Saltℓ wᵗ a coū all gilt vj square poẓ xlj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̄	vijˡⁱ iijˢ vjᵈ
	Itm A litle gilt salt coūed & chasid wᵗ a bordᵒʳ of flourdelicℓ in the bottom poẓ vij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̄	xxiiijˢ vjᵈ
	Itm ij olde saltℓ ꝑcell wᵗ a couer poẓ xviij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	lvijˢ
f. 89	Itm A salt silū percell gilt uppoñ the swagℓ wᵗout a couer poẓ ix oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ	xxviijˢ vjᵈ
	Itm vj bolles of siluer wᵗ vj greate pouncℓ on the botom wherof one is gilt poẓ Cxliij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ sm̄	xxijˡⁱ xijˢ xᵈ
	Itm vj greate flatt bolles of silū wᵗ a couer all playñ poiẓ ix̄x oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	xxviijˡⁱ xˢ
	Itm iiij Small bolles ꝑcell gilt wᵗ the signes of the monithes in the bottom swagℓ gilt poẓ xxxv oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ	vˡⁱ xˢ xᵈ
	Itm ij small bollys of syluer all whyte pouncid wᵗ greate Roundes in the bottom poẓ xlvij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	vijˡⁱ viijˢ xᵈ
	Itm ij Parys Cuppes of silū ꝑcell gilt wᵗ blue annelettℓ in the bothom xlvij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	vijˡⁱ xvjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm iij Cuppes of siluer ꝑcell gilt wᵗ Rosys in the Bothom̄ poẓ xliij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ	vijˡⁱ iijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm ij flagons of syluer wᵗ chaynes poẓ x̄x vj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ	xxixˡⁱ ixˢ
	Itm A standing Cupp̄ of siluer all gilt wᵗ a coū poẓ xxvj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̄	iiijˡⁱ xjˢ
	Itm A gilt Cupp̄ of A Saye[1] with my lordes Armes and the Howardes in the botom̄ poẓ vj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̄	xxjˢ
	Itm A spone gilt poẓ an oẓ le oẓ iiijˢ	iiijˢ
	Itm xij spones all gilt wᵗ knoppes on thendes poẓ xiiij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ vjᵈ Sm̄	xlixˢ
	Itm iiij spones all whyte poẓ iij oẓ le oẓ ijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	ixˢ vjᵈ
f. 89 *b*	Itm vj silū spones wᵗ snyppes in thendes poẓ vij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	xxijˢ ijᵈ
	Itm iij newe candilstickℓ wᵗ noosys on thone syde and prikettℓ on thother syde. poẓ lix oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	ixˡⁱ vjˢ xᵈ
	Itm iij playn candelstickℓ Swagℓ gilt wᵗ prikettℓ poẓ xxviij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	iiijˡⁱ viijˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A Chaleis siluer and gilt wᵗ a patent and this scripture aboute the booll/ hec est enim &c. poẓ xxxj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	vˡⁱ iijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm A Chaleis wᵗ a patible in the foote poẓ xij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	xlˢ
	Itm A Chaleis wᵗ a vernacle in the patent and a crucifix uppoñ the foote poẓ viij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	xxvjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A pair of Lowe candelstickℓ of silū ꝑcell gilt & chasid wᵗ prikettℓ poẓ xxvj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ Sm̄	iiijˡⁱ ijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm A pair of greate candelstickℓ chasid & ꝑcell gilt poẓ Ciiij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	xvijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A pair of greate candilstikℓ swagℓ gilt wᵗ my lordes armes and the Howardes in the foote of either of them poẓ Cxxxj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	xxjˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A Sensoʳ of silū wᵗ the molettℓ in the coueryng poẓ xxj oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	iijˡⁱ xˢ
	Itm ij newe sensȯs of silū wᵗ ij Calygreyhondes uppon the toppes of them poẓ v̄j xiij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	xxijˡⁱ iijˢ iiijᵈ
f. 90	Itm A pixe and a boxe of the sacrament of siluer all gilt poẓ xxij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ vjᵈ	iijˡⁱ xvijˢ
	Itm A ship of silū ꝑcell poẓ ix oẓ le oẓ iijˢ ijᵈ	xxviijˢ vjᵈ
	Itm A pair of kerving knyves wᵗ ꝑpentynes[2] haftℓ	xˢ
	Itm A pair of knyves thaftes gilt wᵗ molettℓ uppoñ thaftℓ	xxvjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm ij Candilstickℓ ꝑcell gilt wᵗ shankℓ poẓ lxij oẓ le oẓ iijˢ iiijᵈ Sm̄	xˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ

[1] Assay. [2] Serpentine, a dark-green ornamental spotted stone found in Cornwall.

Itm ij Cruettℓ gilt wt Ravonbilles poz̃ xxviij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — iiijli xiijs iiijd
Itm ij Chaleis wt the patentℓ poz̃ xxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — iiijli
Itm A Crosse wt vij stones poz̃ xiij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs viijd Sm̃ — xlixs vjs
Itm ij Cruettℓ wt brode bottoms poz̃ xj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd — xxxiiijs xd
Itm A holy water stop̃ wt the sprinkle poz̃ xxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd — iiijli
Itm A pott of silꝺ wt my lordes armes in the topp̃ poz̃ xxxvij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — vli xvijs ijd
Itm A Cupp̃ of Ivy[1] wt a coꝺ poz̃ xvj oz̃ le oz̃ ijs Sm̃ — xxxijs
Itm A Chayne of gold wt a george poz̃ ix oz̃ and a qr̃t̃ le oz̃ xxvjs viijd — xvjli xvs xd
Sm̃ v̊ xiiijli viijs vjd

f. 90 *b* — Plate at Coolne in diuerse offices as folowith

Itm vj Bollys wt a coꝺ ꝑcell gilt wt my Lordes Armes in the bottom poz̃ lxxxiij oz̃ dꝺ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — xiijli iiijs vd
Itm A Cupp̃ of Assaye siluer ꝑcell gilt oon of the signes of the monith of Nouembr in the botom̃ poz̃ x oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — xxxiijs iiijd
Itm ij pottℓ silꝺ ꝑcell gilt wt colombynes on the lyddes poz̃ lxxx oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd — xijli xiijs iiijd
Itm ij playñ pottℓ of siluer all white like to Ravonsbillis poz̃ iiij xv oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd — xvli xd
Itm A standing Cupp̃ gilt wt a coꝺ wt a white molett in the bottom̃ enamilid poz̃ xix oz̃ le oz̃ iijs vjd Sm̃ — iijli vjs vjd
Itm A nother standing Cupp̃ wt a coꝺ gilt poz̃ xxj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs vjd — iijli xiijs vjd
Itm iiij gobletℓ swagℓ gilt wt pounces like annelettℓ wt one couer poz̃ xxiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — iijli xvjs
Itm ij Saltℓ wt a coꝺ all gilt wt a gartir aboute the myddes poz̃ xxvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs vjd — iiijli xjs
Itm ij lowe Rounde Saltℓ all white euy̅ of them having a hole in their sides poz̃ xiiij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs Sm̃ — xlijs
Itm a spone gilt wt a knopp̃ in thende poz̃ an oz̃ — iijs vjd
f. 91 Itm a dos̄ spones wt slippes on thendes poz̃ xvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — liijs iiijd
Itm A Chafing disshe of silꝺ all white poz̃ lxij oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — ixli xvjs iiijd
Itm ij Basons of silꝺ ꝑcell gilt wt baynes in the Botom̃ poz̃ Cxj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd — xviijli xs
Itm ij Ewers of silꝺ wt brode botoms poz̃ lxvj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd sm̃ — xjli
Itm ij lowe candilstickℓ siluer ꝑcell gilt poz̃ xj oz̃ le oz̃ iijs ijd Sm̃ — xxxiiijs xd
Itm A Matteyns Boke wt a clapse of silꝺ wich my lorde was wont to vse hymself — xxs
Itm xxxvj Counters of silꝺ thone syde wt a facoñ and thother wt a Caly-greyhonde poz̃ v oz̃ le oz̃ iijs iiijd Sm̃ — xvjs viijd
Sm̃ Cvli xvs vijd

Redy mony at the howre of his deth̃

Itm in Redy mony — MlMlCli

In a nother standarde Chapell̃ stuff att Sudbury

Itm ij Aulter clothes on of white sarcenet & another of white damaske enbroderid & wrought by nedill werk wt my lordes armes & a frontlett of the same — iiijli
f. 91 *b* Itm [*sic*] Aulter clothes of blue and crymsyn velvett in the middis embroderid wt branchis vppoñ a Raggid Staff linid wt blue bokeram — iijli
Itm a vestyment wt ij Dalmatykkℓ for Deacon and subdeacon of blue cloth of gold thoffrayes of crymsyn velvett — vjli xiijs iiijd

[1] Ivy = ivory.

Itm iij Copes of the same suett — viij^{li}
Itm ij aulter clothes of crymsyn velvet embroderid w^{t} water floures and a pane of blue velvett in the myddes — iij^{li}
Itm A vestyment of white bawdekyñ [1] w^{t} ij Dalmatyk$\mathfrak{e}$ thoffrayes of crymsyn velvet w^{t} iij coopes embroderid of the same — xx^{li}
Itm A vestyment of crymsyn cloth of Bawdekyñ enbroderid w^{t} Imagery — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij Aulter clothes of diaper enbroderid w^{t} garters and thistill$\mathfrak{e}$ [2] — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Frontlett [3] of an aulter wrought in the stole — xx^{s}
Itm A vestyment of white Damaske with ij tunykles and a cope of white satteyn enbroderid w^{t} offreys of crymsyn velvett — vj^{li}
Itm A vestyment of Crymsy̅ Satteyn brugeis w^{t} ij tunykles thoffreys of grene velvett enbroderid w^{t} Calygreyhondes & garters — xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij Aulter clothe of the same price — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
f. 92 Itm A vestyment of white damaske of Bawdekyñ w^{t} ij tynukles thoffreys enbroderid w^{t} Imagery sett in gold w^{t} my lordes Armes — vj^{li}
Itm iij Coopes of the same and the offreys w^{t} Imagery — ix^{li}
Itm ij aulter clothes of the same w^{t} p^{r}ple velvet in the myddes — iiij^{li}
Itm A vestyment of crymsyn velvett w^{t} my Lordes Armes and the Howardes quarterly embroderid w^{t} Imagery with ij. tunykles and a cope of the same — x^{li}
Itm A vestyment of white gold damaske enbroderid w^{t} splayde eagles beryng my Lordes armes w^{t} ij tunykles and iiij copys thorfrayes of Imagery — xv^{li}
Itm ij aulter clothes of the same w^{t} a lylly pott in thouer part and our lady in the neyther part in cloth of gold — iiij^{li}
Itm A vestyment ij tunykles and a Coope of white right satteyn enbroderid with molett$\mathfrak{e}$ in Clowdes and crankett$\mathfrak{e}$ the orfrayes gold enbrorid [*sic*] of Imagery — xvj^{li}
Itm A vestyment of crimsyn clothe of gold w^{t} ij tunykles thorfrayes of grene veluett browderid — vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A coope of crymsyn velvett enbroderid w^{t} crankett$\mathfrak{e}$ molett$\mathfrak{e}$ & garters w^{t} orfrayes enbroderid — iiij^{li}
Itm ij coopys cloth of gold w^{t} orfrayes enbroderid w^{t} Imagery — xv^{li}
f. 92 *b* Itm A frontlett of an aulter of Damaske gold wrought in the stole — xl^{s}
Itm A vestyment of blake velvett old w^{t} orfrayes of molett$\mathfrak{e}$ floures and garters — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij clothes of clothe of gold for an aulter cont' in lenght and dept togither viij yerdes — vj^{li}
Itm an old Coope of blue bawdekyñ thorfreis enbroderid — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm iiij Coopys of white right satteyn enbroderid w^{t} the Rot$\mathfrak{e}$ of days Iys [*daisies*] thorfreis enbroderid — vij^{li}
Itm A Cope of crymsyn satten of brug$\mathfrak{e}$ thorfrayes of grene velvett w^{t} Rosys & Castell$\mathfrak{e}$ of gold — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Coope of blue velvett enbroderid w^{t} crymsyn velvett w^{t} sterris & water floures — iij^{li}
Itm iij Coopes of Redde worstid thorfreis of plonkit [4] chamblett enbroderid w^{t} blue borys and garters — xxx^{s}
Itm iij Coopys of blue worstid w^{t} white molett$\mathfrak{e}$ thorfrayes of crymsyn bawdekyn — xxxj^{s}

[1] Bawdekyn, a rich gold brocade or cloth of gold.
[2] *Sic*, probably for 'whistill$\mathfrak{e}$'.
[3] Frontlet, a narrow strip of embroidery sewn along the front edge of the linen altar-cloth.
[4] Plonkit, plunket, lead-coloured.

Itm A vestyment of blue satteyn of brugeis thorfreis of Red satteyñ of brugℓ xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm ij Coopys of white Damaskc enbroderid w^{t} floures & thorfreys white molettℓ in Red satteyn of Brigis iij^{li}
Itm ij copys of crỹsyn clothe of gold of tyssewe thorfrayes enbroderid w^{t} Imagery xiiij^{li}
f. 93 Itm an aulter clothe of olde Russett sarcenett w^{t} curteyns longing to the same iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A Cope of Purple velvett enbroderid w^{t} calygreyhondes molettℓ & clowdes and Orfrayes enbroderid w^{t} Imagery v^{li}
Itm ij Coopes of cloth of Counterfett bawdekyñ xxx^{s}
Itm A Canapy of crymsyn tynsyll satteyn w^{t} the Dome[1] & chalessis xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Canapy of course white tuke w^{t} garters v^{s}
Itm xij yerdes euỹ way of baudekyñ w^{t} porculius xx^{s}
Itm A Coope of white Damaske enbroderid w^{t} floures thorfreys of cloth of gold iij^{li}
Itm A vestyment of Prple velvett enbroderid w^{t} molettℓ. and clowdes thorfray of cloth of gold iij^{li}
Itm A vestyment of Redde worstid enbroderid w^{t} borys and garters vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Curteyn of whyte cloth iiij^{s}
Itm A vestyment brokin of crymsyn velvett xx^{s}
Itm A frontlett for an aulter wrought in the stole vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij clothes for aulters of counterfett bawdekyn grne [*sic*] & Red xx^{s}
f. 93 *b* Itm Whyte and Red Sarcenet paly ij ellℓ w^{t} fringℓ Red and white x^{s}
Itm ij vestymentℓ of bustian and bourde alisaundr and a lytle pyllowe of Bawdekyn x^{s}
Itm A vestyment of old Redde bawdekyn of gold xx^{s}
Itm A Chest of Iroñ xl^{s}
Itm ix. standardes iiij^{li}
Itm an olde vestyment of clothe of gold w^{t} orfreys of crymsyñ clothe of gold xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A vestyment of cloth of gold w^{t} thorfrayes of crymsyn cloth of gold of tissue v^{li}
Itm A vestyment of whyte Damaske w^{t} orfreys of crymsyn velvett xx^{s}
Itm a vestyment of white sarcenet thorfreys of Purple velvett xx^{s}
Itm A vestyment of crymsyn velvett w^{t} orfrey cloth of gold xl^{s}
Itm A vestyment of grene bawdekyn w^{t} orfrey grene x^{s}
Itm A vestyment crymsyn Sarcenet thorfreys blue cloth of gold enbroderid w^{t} molettℓ and Calygreyhondes xvj^{s}
Itm a vestyment of blue velvett thorfreis of crymsyn cloth of gold enbroderid w^{t} water floures[2] xl^{s}
f. 94 Itm A vestyment of blue cloth of gold of tyssewe w^{t} thorfreys on the foresyde w^{t} my lordes armes and the Howardes wrought in the stole of crymsyn colo^{r} the Bakeside of crymsyn cloth of gold of tyssewe w^{t} ij Dalmatykkℓ of the same w^{t} thorfreys of crymsyn clothe of gold of tyssewe xx^{li}
Itm ij aulter clothes of clothe of baudekyñ iij^{li}
Itm ij aulter clothes of clothe of cŏse gold enbroderid w^{t} Imagery in the myddis iij^{li}
Itm A frontlett of crymsyn velvett enbroderid with whistillℓ white molettℓ and cheyres. ij yerdes long xx^{s}

[1] Dome, the Doom or Day of the Great Judgement.
[2] Water flowers, probably the conventional lily-like flowers so common on medieval embroideries.

	Itm A Frontelett of an aulter of gold w^t iiij skochions [1] and saint Johñ Baptist in the myddes	xxx^s
	Itm A frontelet of an aulter / iij panys of gold of damaske / and ij of siluer bawdekyñ	xx^s
	Itm a frontelet of an aulter of old cloth of gold of crymsyn	iiij^s
	Itm A frontelet of crymsyn sateyñ w^t molett℄	xx^d
	Itm A frontelet of an aulter the ground of satteyn wrought in the stole w^t xxiiij skochions [1]	xxx^s
	Itm ij aulter clothes of cheker satteyn Brigeis w^t a pane of white satteyn in the myddes price	vj^s viij^d
f. 94 *b*	Itm ij aulter clothes of crymsyñ satteyñ enbroderid w^t garters and molett℄ in the myddes and calygreyhondes / and a pane of blue velvet in the myddes	xl^s
	Itm an aulter clothe of white sarcenett enbroderid w^t wa℄ flowers and garters and molett℄ in the myddes	x^s
	Itm ij aulter clothes of white sarcenet w^t bloode dropys	x^s
	It ij aulter clothes of Russet sarsenett	iij^s iiij^d
	Itm vj. Corporas	xx^s
	Itm ij old aulter clothes	xij^d
	Itm ij sup altares [2]	ij^s
	Itm v Imag℄ steynid in lynen clothe [3]	ij^s
	Itm an Image of saint Margarett all gilt	xij^d
	Itm ij Portuous an older and a newer an olde masse boke written /and a masse boke in prynte	xl^s
	Itm ij Psalter bok℄ on Reed [4] and the lesser blake lymnid	xxx^s
	Itm A lytle Image w^t a coffyñ [5]	xij^d
	It a nother psalter couerid w^t blake and silu clapsys	x^s
	Itm A Cope of white gold Damaske w^t orfreys of blue bawdekyn	xx^s
	Itm ij coopis of crymsyn gold bawdekyn w^t offrays w^t Imagery	v^li
f. 95	Itm ij coopys of crymsyn velvett enbroderid w^t Iroñ to stryke fire/and thorfreys of eagles and molett℄	vij^li
	Itm A foote clothe full of clowdes w^t molett℄ in the same for the chapell	x^s
	Itm A vestiment of white worstid enbroderid w^t garters and molett℄ in the same w^t orfrayes of purple velvett	xxvj^s viij^d
	Itm A blake furre of boge [6]	xxxiij^s iiij^d
	It a Case of Pypeis [7]	xx^s
	Itm xj Arrowes for a Crosse bowe and ij Crosse bowes	xiij^s iiij^d
	Itm A pair of tables of boone	iij^s iiij^d
	Itm iij standers / ij w^t angell℄ and thother w^t the blue bore. of sarcenet	x^s
	Itm A Jakett of blake satteyñ furrid w^t old boge	v^s

[1] Skochions, shields of arms.

[2] Superaltar, a small portable altar slab of stone or marble.

[3] Images painted or 'steynid' on linen: a cheap and popular way of adorning hangings.

[4] Bound in red leather.

[5] Cf. the alabaster image of Our Lady and Child with its painted housing, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on 27th Feb., 1913 (*Proceedings*, xxv, 80).

[6] Boge, the fur called budge, of lambskin with the wool dressed outwardly.

[7] Probably a set of shawms, or recorders.

	It a vestiment of Damaske Red and white	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A litle masse boke	x^{s}
	Itm A stole of lether	ij^{s}
	Itm an Image of o^{r} Lady with the trinitie in hir wombe [1]	ij^{s}
	Itm A Chest full of frenshe and englisshe bok$\mathfrak{e}$	iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm xxx surples cŏse w^{t} iiij albys for childern for the chapell	xx^{s}
	Itm a frontlett satteyn brig$\mathfrak{e}$ enbroderid	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A frontelet of Bustian	xij^{d}
f. 95 *b*	Itm A frontelett of crymsyn velvett enbroderid for an aulter w^{t} floures	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm ij clothes for lectuĩ clothis of sylke bawdekyn	ij^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm ij Curteyns olde Sarcenet w^{t} gold floures	xvj^{d}
	Itm an olde vestyment of blue veluet and thorfreys crymsyn	iiij^{s}
	Itm A vestyment of blue worstid w^{t} thorfreys of Bawdekyn	iiij^{s}
	Itm a crosse [2] afore the crosse of diap	xij^{d}
	Itm ij candelstick$\mathfrak{e}$ of white booñ	ij^{s}
	Itm iiij aulter clothes for ij aulters of diaper enbroderid w^{t} thistill$\mathfrak{e}$ [3]	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A vestyment of white Damaske w^{t} orfreys of old crymsyn veluett	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm ij aulter clothes of Luk$\mathfrak{e}$ gold w^{t} panys of blake veluett enbroderid	xx^{s}
	Itm iij copys bustian enbroderid w^{t} gart's	xx^{s}
	Itm iiij aulter clothes sarsenet lined	x^{s}
	Itm ij aulter clothes of diaper broderid w^{t} garters and thistill$\mathfrak{e}$ [4]	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A masse boke w^{t} clapsys of silu̅	xl^{s}
	Itm iiij masse bok$\mathfrak{e}$ written in velom̃	v^{li}
	Itm A greate Antiphon̅ a Legend complete ij grayles and iij processionall$\mathfrak{e}$	x^{li}
	Itm vij antiphoners price oon w^{t} another	x^{li}
	Itm vj grales & xx processionall$\mathfrak{e}$	vj^{li}
	Itm ij half Legendes	iij^{li}
f. 96	Itm iij printid masse bokis	iiij^{s}
	Itm vj aulter clothes of lynen clothe	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm vij Pricke song bokis bounde in leđr [5]	xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm xij Prick song bok$\mathfrak{e}$	xij^{s}
	Itm iij pair of cruett$\mathfrak{e}$	xij^{d}
	Itm A Gospell boke w^{t} thone syde cou∋d w^{t} silu̅ and a picktur of o^{r} Lorde in it trussid in a cofer w^{t}in the college of Sudbury	iij^{li}
	Sm̅ CCCxxxix^{li} xj^{s} iiij^{d}	
	My Lordis apparell	
	Itm A gowne tawny chamblett [6] furrid w^{t} old martroñ	vj^{li}
	Itm A blake gowne lynid w^{t} blake sarcenett	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A gowne of grene sylke chamblett lynid w^{t} blake velvett	iij^{li}
	Itm A gowne of blake velvett furrid w^{t} martorns [7]	viij^{li}
	Itm A gowne of blake velvett furrid w^{t} letuons [8] powderid	vj^{li}
	Itm A gowne of crymsyn veluett furrid w^{t} martroñ	x^{li}
	Itm A gowne of crymsyn velvett / veluet uppoñ velvet pirlid furrid w^{t} martron	xij^{li}
	Itm A gowne of blake tynsell satteyn furrid w^{t} sables	xx^{li}

[1] See note *ante*, p. 300. [2] *Sic*, but query for 'veil'. [3] Perhaps a mistake for 'whistill$\mathfrak{e}$'.
[4] *Sic*, but query for 'whistill$\mathfrak{e}$'. [5] Pricke song, plain song, music sung in unison.
[6] Chamblett, camlet, a cloth or stuff made of wool and silk or linen.
[7] Martorns, martens' skins. [8] Letuons, lettice, a whitish-grey fur.

	Itm A gowne of crymsyn velvett lined w^{t} blake satteyn	vj^{li}
f. 96 *b*	Itm A gowñ of crymsyn velvet lynid w^{t} whyte sarcenet w^{t} a hode	v^{li}
	Itm A Mantell of blue velvet lynid w^{t} white sarcenet	iij^{li}
	Itm the Robe of estate furrid w^{t} myniver of crymsyn velvett w^{t} mantell tabbard and circuitt and a hode price all to gither	xv^{li}
	Itm iiij brode yerdes of fyne Russett cloth	xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A Jackett of gold lyned w^{t} grene sarcenet to were vppoñ harneis	xx^{s}
	Itm A nother Jakett of grene and white velvett	x^{s}
	Itm iij shredes of crymsyn velvett and p^{r}ple	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm ij Cappis of mayntenñce [1]	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm a Doblet of blake satteyn	x^{s}
	Itm A Jaket of velvet lynid w^{t} sarcenet	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A horse harnes wrought corsewise w^{t} bokyll℄	x^{s}
	Itm A typpet of blake velvet furrid / w^{t} martorns w^{t} vij lopys of gold	x^{s}
	Itm A Whistell of Ivory garnisshid w^{t} gold	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm iiij garters w^{t} bokles and pendaunt℄ of gold	xl^{s}
	Itm a gowñ old blake satteyn furrid w^{t} blake boge	iij^{li}
	Itm A gowne of Russett furrid w^{t} olde martroñ	iij^{li}
	Itm A Cote of blake satteyn furrid w^{t} blake Cony	xxx^{s}
	Sm̃ Cxj^{li} x^{s}	

Wardrop stuff at Sudbury in the Friers

f. 97	Itm A Counterpoint of Bawdekyn blue and whyte w^{t} floures of gold	xl^{s}
	Itm A spver of the same w^{t} white Redde and blue	xx^{s}
	Itm iiij Traversis grene	iiij^{li}
	Itm ij Traversis plonkitt [2] and youlowe chaungeable [3] cont' a pece in lenght and brede xx yerdes	iij^{li}
	Itm A Curteyñ of Red chaungeable sarsenet	xl^{s}
	Itm iij Curteyns of Red tartoñ	x^{s}
	Itm A tapett of tapistry cont ij yerdes dꝺ long and oon yerde dꝺ depe	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A Counterpoint of crymsin satteyn w^{t} my lordes armes in hit and a peycock enbroderid in the myddes	iij^{li}
	Itm A pece of youlowe lawne and a pece of grene	xvj^{s}
	Itm ij small Cussheons coꝺid w^{t} redde taffata	iiij^{s}
	Itm iij Cusshons of satteyñ of Brigeis ij short and a nothr long	iiij^{s}
	Itm an old Cussheon of crymsyn velvett	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A Cussheon of blue satteyn enbroderid w^{t} ij lylly pott℄ & a crown in the myddes	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm ij olde Cussheons	viij^{d}
f. 97 *b*	Itm A Cussheon of blue worstid	xx^{d}
	Itm A standerd	x^{s}
	Itm xj pair of fyne shet℄ le pair v^{s} sm̃	lv^{s}
	Itm A fyne hedde shete	vj^{s}
	Itm xv pair of old shet℄	xxx^{s}
	Itm ix pair of shet℄ and oon of anothr sort	xxvj^{s}

[1] See an article on 'The Cap of Maintenance' by W. H. St. John Hope in *English Coronation Records* by L. G. Wickham Legg (Westminster, 1901), lxxxii–lxxxviii.

[2] Plonkitt, plunket, lead-coloured. [3] Chaungeable = shot.

	Itm xiij pair of fustians one w^{t} anoth$\bar{r}$	iiij^{li}
	Itm iiij pylowberes price ij^{s} and iij other price xviij^{d} S$\bar{m}$	iij^{s} vj^{d}
	Itm iiij of the best fetherbeddes w^{t}in the Friers	viij^{li}
	Itm viij of the next Fetherbeddes	viij^{li}
	Itm xviij Fetherbeddes of another sorte	ix^{li}
	Itm xv mattracis w^{t} their bolsters	xx^{s}
	Itm A Counterpoint of grene w^{t} lyons	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A tapyt of Dornyx paly	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A nother tapyt of dornex lynid w^{t} Canvas / ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ long / ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	iij^{s}
	Itm A tapyt of dornix v yerdes long ij yerdes iij quarters depe	v^{s}
	Itm A tapett of paly dornix old and sore woren v yerdes long and ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ brode	ij^{s}
	Itm A tapett of paly dornix v yerdes long and iiij depe	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm a tapytt of paly dornix iij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ eu$\bar{y}$ way	ij^{s}
f. 98	Itm A tapett of paly dornix iij yerdes long ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	v^{s}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix iij yerdes long and ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A tapet of Dornix iij yerdes long ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix iij yerdes long j yerde q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	xvj^{d}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix iij yerdes long ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	ij^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm A tapet of Dornix cont' ij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ long	xvj^{d}
	Itm a pece of dornix cont' iij yerdes eu$\bar{y}$ waye	v^{s}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix ij yerdes iij quart's long and a nother litle pece	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm a tapett ij yerdes long and a yerde d$\bar{o}$ depe	xvj^{d}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix iiij yerdes long and iij yerdes iij quarters depe	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix iij yerdes long	ij^{s}
	Itm a noth$\bar{r}$ old tapett rent on thone side	xx^{d}
	Itm a noth$\bar{r}$ tapet of v yerdes long and a yerde depe	xij^{d}
	Itm a tapet of Dornix iiij yerdes long a yerde q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	ij^{s}
f. 98 *b*	Itm A tapett of Dornix of iij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ long	v^{s}
	Itm a tapet of Dornix iij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ long ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	iij^{s}
	Itm A tapett of paly Dornix iij yerdes iij quarters depe	iij^{s}
	Itm A tapett of ij yerdes j q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ eu$\bar{y}$ way	xx^{d}
	Itm A tappett of Dornix ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ long and ij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ depe	iij^{s}
	Itm a tapitt ij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ of dornix long	xx^{d}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix iiij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ long ij yerdes q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	viij^{d}
	Itm a tappett of Dornix iij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ long ij yerdes q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix ij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ depe	ij^{s}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix v yerdes q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ long ij yerdes iij q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	viij^{s}
	Itm A spve$\bar{u}$ paly Dornix	xij^{s}
	Itm a nother sp$\bar{u}$ of Dornix	x^{s}
	Itm ij sp$\bar{u}$s of Dornix droppy paly	xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm an old sp$\bar{u}$ of Dornix	iij^{s}
	Itm A tapett of Dornix viij yerdes long and ij yerdes q$\bar{r}\tilde{t}$ depe	vj^{s} viij^{d}
	Itm an old sp$\bar{u}$ of Dornix stripy	ij^{s}
	Itm a tapett of Dornix iij yerdes long ij yerdes d$\bar{o}$ depe	ij^{s}
f. 99	Itm A sperver of olde saye w^{t} the sonne beames	xvj^{d}
	Itm an old tapett of tapistry w^{t} a lyon in the neither ende eting of a best cont' iij yerdes long and iiij depe	v^{s}

	Itm A Counterpoint of tapistry iij yerdes dꝺ long iij yerdes qr̃t̃ brode wᵗ an antlop̃ wᵗ a cheyñ	xˢ
	Itm viij Norwiche couerlettꝫ olde	viijˢ
	Itm iiij longe carpettꝫ olde and sore worñ	xxˢ
	Itm iij good carpettꝫ of a yerde dꝺ long	xvˢ
	Itm xj olde tapyttꝫ	xjˢ
	Itm A Counterpoint of fyne verdure olde woren cont' in lenght and Brede xx flemissh stikkꝫ	xxˢ
	Itm A tapytt of tapistry wᵗ saint george in the myddes cont' in lenght iiij yerde & iiij yerdes dꝺ depe	xvˢ
	Itm A pece of olde grene tapistry wᵗ my lordꝫ worde and his armes and his late wiffꝫ with molettꝫ & clowdes vj yerdes long & iiij depe	
	Itm A nother pece of the same cont' iiij yerdes dꝺ long	
	Itm a nother pece of the same of iij yerdes dꝺ long	
	It a nother pece of iij yerdes iij qr̃t̃ euꝰ way	xlˢ
	It a nother pece of iij yerdes dꝺ euꝰ way	
	It a nother pece of viij yerdes long iij yerdes dꝺ depe	
	It another pece of vj yerdes dꝺ long and iij yerdes iij quarters depe / muche like thother price all togither one with a nother	
f. 99 *b*	Itm A tapett of olde counterfett Arreis verduꝺ conť vj yerdes qr̃t̃ in lenght iij yerdes qr̃t̃ depe	xxvjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A tapet of olde tapistry verdure / v yerdes dꝺ long & ij yerdes iij qrt depe	xˢ
	It a nother like stuff of vij yerdes	xˢ
	It a nother pece of old broken verdure wᵗ bestꝫ in it vj yerdes long and iij yerdes depe	vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm an olde Counterpoint of tapistry iiij yerdes long & iij brode wᵗ a man having a pott in his hande	xiijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm A Counterpoint of olde tapistry verdure wᵗ a gentilman and a woman bering eche of them a hawke cont' iiij yerdes long and iij yerdes brode	xˢ
	Itm A Bankar[1] vij yerdes long and a yerde brode of olde verdure	ijˢ viijᵈ
	Itm an old bankar wᵗ an old Image of oʳ Lady in the myddes with Damaske floures	ijˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A lytle tapet verdure vndꝛ a wyndowe	xvjᵈ
	Itm ij pecꝫ of Dornyx paly for hangingꝫ cont' both togither viij yerdes long	vˢ
	Itm a nothr̃ pece of dornix paly lynid iij yerdes iij quarters long / ij yerdes iij qr̃t̃ depe	vˢ
	Itm A standing bedde of Dornyx strypy	vjˢ viijᵈ
	It a spu̾ of Dornix Droppy lined wᵗ canvas	xiijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm A Celoʳ of old verdure wᵗ fringꝫ	ijˢ
	Itm a tapett of old fyne verdure cont' euꝰ waye ix flemisshe stickꝫ lined	vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A narowe tapett of tapistry cont' in lenght and brede xij flemisshe stickkꝫ	xiijˢ iiijᵈ
f. 100	Itm A lytle tappett of grene wᵗ my lordes Armes wᵗ crankettꝫ molettꝫ and blue bores	viijˢ
	Itm iij pecꝫ of cou̾lett bery werke cont' all in lenght xviij yerdes lined wᵗ canvas & a yerde qr̃t̃ depe	xijˢ
	Itm A Counterpoint of vnykornes and a gryffyn of verdure tapistry olde	vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm an olde counterpoint of tapistry iij yerdes long and ij depe	ijˢ

[1] Bankar, banker, a covering for a bench.

	Itm ij tapittꝭ of olde tapistry verdure wᵗ shepe and shepardes cont' both in lenght xij yerdes v yerdes depe	xˢ
	Itm an olde tapett of Arreis vrdure counterfet cont' v yerdes qrt̃ long / iij yerdes dꝺ depe	xvˢ
	Itm a tapett of the dome[1] accustumed to be oū the high aulter cont' in lenght & brede xxviij flemisshe stickis	xlˢ
	Itm iij olde Quyltꝭ	xiijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm A quylt newe made wᵗ floure delicꝭ and Roses	xvˢ
	Itm a pair of blankettꝭ	iijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm xij pair of blankettꝭ olde	xijˢ
	Itm iiij Curteyns of dornex iij wᵗ grene stavys and one paly	viijˢ
	Itm a long pylowe and iij other large ones	vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm xv small pylowes downe	xvˢ
	Itm iiij other small pilowes cose	xvjᵈ
	Itm iij feble fetherbeddes wᵗ bolsters	xxˢ
	Itm A Counterpoint of old verdure cont' xxx flemisshe stickꝭ	xˢ
f. 100 *b*	Itm x olde Qussheons of verdure	vjˢ
	Itm A tapet of old counterfet aries verduꝺ cont' iiij yerdes long and v and iij qrt̃ depe	xxvjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm A small counterpoint of verdure iij yerdes long ij yerdes dꝺ brode	iiijˢ
	Itm another olde counterpoint of verdure / iiij yerdes long / iij yerdes & a qrt̃ brode	xˢ
	Itm A Canapy of grene saye enbroderid wᵗ crankettꝭ and molettꝭ v yerdes long frengid	iijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm v Cussheons enbroderid	vˢ
	Itm [*blank*] other Cussheons of stripy dornix	ijˢ
	Itm v long Cussheons	xxᵈ
	Itm A server[2] of crymsyn tynsell and grene damaske with curteyns of crymsyn and youloo sarcenet lynid wᵗ blue bokeraꝺ	vjˡⁱ xˢ
	Itm A counterpoint of the same cont' xx yerdes euꝝ way lined wᵗ blue bokeraꝺ	iijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ
	Itm vj Curteyns and a sperver of white clothe old and toren	iijˢ iiijᵈ
	Itm ix pylowes	ixˢ
	It an old coūing of Norwiche makyng	iiijˢ
	Itm ij counterpointꝭ of old verdure	vˢ
	It vj olde spervers all toreñ a canapy of old satteyñ of sypers wᵗ a counterpoint of old grene verdure	viijˢ
	Itm an old counterpoint of olde verdure brokeñ wᵗ vynes and grapes	ijˢ
	It v bankers olde wᵗ lambes wᵗ an olde grene tappett wᵗ molettꝭ and my lordes worde in it	iijˢ iiijᵈ
f. 101	Itm viij pecꝭ of olde grene saye	iijˢ iiijᵈ
	It iiij pecꝭ of Dornix. olde and sore woren	ijˢ
	It a banker of olde verdure	ijˢ
	It v pecꝭ of olde Red saye enbroderid wᵗ men and women	xˢ
	It xxxv old toren pecꝭ of red saye	xxˢ
	Itm vij pecꝭ of olde saye enbroderid with gentilwomen on horsebake	xˢ
	Itm A sperver of old died diap of grene and incarnacion colour	xˢ
	Itm to litle furres of Otter to lye on a bed	xˢ

[1] Dome, the Doom.

[2] *Sic*, for 'sperver'.

Itm ij panys of old Redde furrid with myniver olde — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm viij Canstyk^{e} and xij olde plates — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A cheir couerid w^{t} old crymsyn velvet w^{t} fring^{e} of gold and silke — x^{s}
Itm v chest^{e} one w^{t} another — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Sm̄ Cvij^{li} vj^{s} ij^{d}

Stuff at Colchester w^{t}in saint John is Abbey

Itm iij aulter clothes oon of saint John Baptist another of saint Petur and another of saint Thomas — xj^{li}
It vij tapitt^{e} of counterfett arreis w^{t} morions[1] — xxx^{li}
Itm vj tapytt^{e} of tapistry w^{t} chaiers and whistill^{e} cont' all in lenght & dept xiij^{xx} stickk^{e} — xj^{li}
Itm iij old tapytt^{e} of lylly pott^{e} cont' in lenght & dept iiij^{xx} stickk^{e} — iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A tapett of the viij valiaunt^{e}[2] olde and sore woren — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
f. 101 *b* Itm iiij tapett^{e} of the ix orders of Angell^{e} conteynyng all in lenght & dept viij^{xx} stick^{e} — x^{li}
Itm viij tapett^{e} of olde arres sore woren — xx^{li}
Itm iiij tapett^{e} of Porcenna and Cleoda[3] cont' all in lenght and dept CCxvj flemisshe stikk^{e} — x^{li} xvj^{s}
It A Celo^{r} & a testo^{r} of red satteyn w^{t} a lyon driving a Whilebarowe & a counterpoint of y^{e} same — x^{li}
Itm A quylt of Redde sarcenet w^{t} my lordes armes in hit — vj^{li}
It a counterpoint of cloth of bawdekyn panid red and blue — l^{s}
It a counterpoint of blue bawdekyn w^{t} treis of gold and white greyhoundes — iiij^{li}
It an old bedde of Bawdekyñ w^{t} lions of gold — xx^{s}
Itm a litle Celo^{r} and a testo^{r} of white cloth of gold of bawdekyn and a counterpoint of the same / iij Curteyns of sarcenett panid white and grene that was for his ryding bed and iiij angell^{e} gilt vppon tymb̄r — x^{li}
Itm A Celo^{r} and a testo^{r} of fyne blue areis old and woren w^{t} floure delic^{e} of gold — xl^{s}
It A Celo^{r} and a testour of counterfett areis after thistory of Daniell — iiij^{li} x^{s}
Itm A Counterpoint of woodehouse[4] lyned w^{t} canvas cont' in lenght and brode xxx flemisshe stick^{e} — v^{li}
Itm A testo^{r}[5] and a testo^{r} of counterfet areis of thistory of Kyng Alexand̄r — iiij^{li} x^{s}
Itm A Celo^{r} and a testo^{r} of blue counterfett Areis of the passion of o^{r} Lorde / & the salutacion of o^{r} Lady and a counterpoint of the same of thassumpcion of our Lady — ix^{li}

[1] Morions, Moors, blackamoors, or black men. See also the description of a salt on p. 329.

[2] The identity of the 'viij valiauntes' is somewhat doubtful. Originally there were nine valiants or worthies: Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabaeus; Hector, Alexander, and Caesar; Arthur, Charles the Great, and Godfrey de Bouillon. Dante, in the 18th canto of his *Paradise*, substitutes three Christians for the three Pagans and suppresses David, bringing the number down to eight: Joshua, Judas Maccabaeus, Orlando, William (the Conqueror according to Didron), Renaud (or Rinaldo), Robert Guiscard, Charles the Great, and Godfrey de Bouillon. (See Didron in *Annales Archéologiques*, xvii, 299.) The Provost of King's, Dr. M. R. James, whose kind help in the first place I must acknowledge, tells me, however, that he finds a difficulty in believing that Dante's selection could have percolated (otherwise not coming to the surface) to the maker of tapestries, and suggests instead the eight kings and knaves who appear in the packs of cards. Here, I fear, the matter for the present must rest.

[3] *Sic*, for 'Cloelia'. [4] Woodehouse, wodewose, a wild man of the woods. [5] *Sic*, for 'Celor'.

f. 102 Itm ij olde tapittꝫ of hawking — xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm a tapett of hunting — xl^{s}
It ij pecꝫ of bury makyng lined w^{t} canvas — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm an old Selo^{r} of tapistry — xxx^{s}
Itm viij Cussheons of carpett worke — viij^{s}
Itm iij Cussheons w^{t} a man and a woman in them — ij^{s} vj^{d}
It A Cussheon of tapistry w^{t} a lyon in it — xij^{d}
It ij olde carpittꝫ — ij^{s}
Itm ij Cussheons w^{t} shepe in them — xx^{d}
It a cussheon w^{t} a mapull and an Oke in hit — xvj^{d}
Itm A Carpett w^{t} a blue bore in hit — xxx^{s}
Itm A greate Carpit w^{t} Rosys in hit with a garter — iiij^{li}
Itm A greate carpit the grounde red with molettꝫ garters and crankittꝫ — xx^{s}
Itm a nother carpit with thise wordes therein / In dño confido — xv^{s}
Itm another newe carpitt w^{t} diuerse knottꝫ and redde Rosys therin — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm an olde carpit longing to the closett w^{t} Redde Rosys and Whyte — x^{s}
Itm A carpit and diuerse knottꝫ in the same & theryn in Dño confido — xx^{s}
It A carpett the grounde carnacion and Red w^{t} litle knottꝫ in hit — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A carpit the grounde yelowe and Redde Rosys and White — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A nother carpit w^{t} a trayle of grene & the grounde of Purple — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm ij long Cussheons of clothe of gold — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
f. 102 *b* Itm A square cussheon of cloth of tisshewe — x^{s}
Itm ij square cussheons of gold bawdekyn — xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A Cussheon of crymsyn velvett and crymsy̅ satteñ enbroderid w^{t} skalop shellis — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A long Cussheon w^{t} nedill werke w^{t} ij Calygreyhoundes in hit — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm iiij cussheons of purple veluett enbroderid w^{t} crankettꝫ — xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Itm A long Cussheon of purple veluet enbroderid w^{t} a target of my lordes armes & my ladies — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm iij Cussheons of purple Damaske enbroderid w^{t} Calygreyhondes — xv^{s}
Itm A cussheon long and square of Rebon lacꝫ red and tawny stripid w^{t} gold — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm A Square Cussheon of Rebound lacꝫ white and grene — x^{s}
Itm A square Cussheon of lacꝫ Reboñ Red and youloo — viij^{s}
Itm A Cussheon of satteyn of Brugꝫ stripid w^{t} white and Red — vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm vj Cussheons of Nabugodonisor is story [1] of counterfett areis — xx^{s}
Itm ij Cheyres couerid w^{t} crimsin veluett — xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm ij standardes w^{t} stuff — xx^{s}
Itm ij litle carpettꝫ w^{t} knottꝫ of beyonde see makyng — x^{s}
Itm A yelowe carpett w^{t} knottꝫ — xvj^{s} viij^{d}

f. 103 Sm̄ Clxxxxij^{li} xiij^{s} v^{d}

Debtis owing to the testator at the houre of his deth

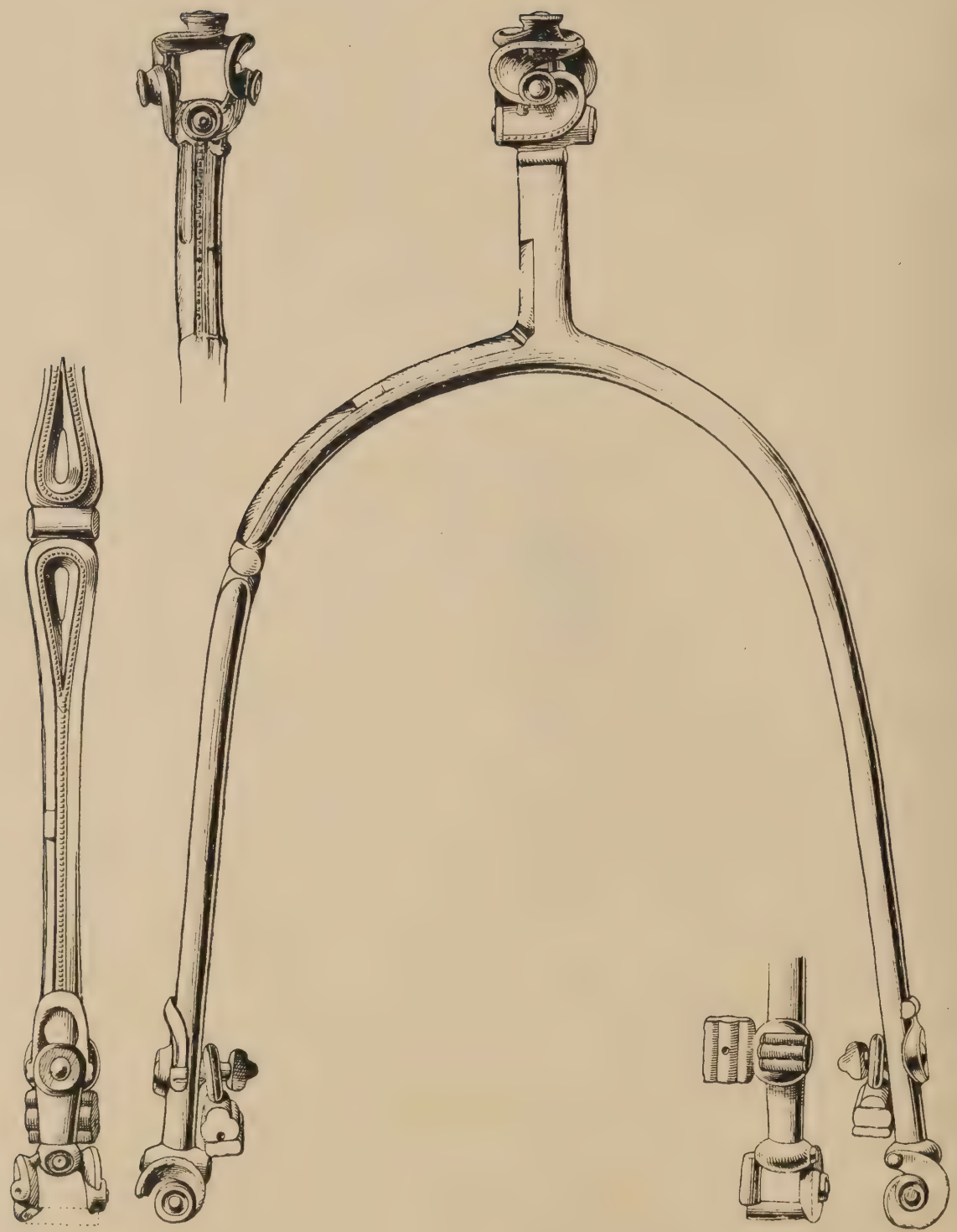
It of debtꝫ owing to hym — M̓CCCxxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Sm̄ patz

Sm̄ to^{lis} hui^{9} Inuentarii — m̓ viii. ccvj^{li} xvij^{s} viij^{d} ob'q

f. 103 *b* *Endorsed in a later hand*: Inuentariũ om̄j & singulorũ bonor̄ Comitꝫ oxoñ &c

[1] The story of Nebuchadnezzar: see the Book of Daniel.



A BRONZE OBJECT OF THE LATE-CELTIC PERIOD. (⅓)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

IX.—*On a Bronze Object of the Late-Celtic Period recently added to the British Museum.* *By* Sir Charles Hercules Read, *LL.D., F.B.A., Vice-President.*

Read 28th January, 1915.

Among a large number of weapons and other objects recently transferred from the Tower armouries to the British Museum is one of the curious stirrup-like objects of bronze familiar as being found in Late-Celtic burials with the remains of chariots or horses. Unfortunately it has no history.

The specimen that forms the subject of this communication is made of cast bronze, highly finished, as is invariably the case with objects of this particular civilization; its length is $10\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide (pl. XXVII).

The structure of the piece is that of a rounded bar, the projection at the top being rather more massive than the rest. This projection terminates in an open-work ornament of a design somewhat unusual even among the remains of British craftsmanship. Seen from either face it represents a vigorous letter S shape, the serpentine line being continued over the top, so that the same figure is again seen there, while in the middle of each S is a rosette.

The two sides of the arch differ considerably, one being a plain bar, while the other expands in the middle of the curve into two loops with a cylinder between, the design being accentuated by flutes and lines filled with dots.

The two ends are ornamented with helical motives, on one prong on both faces, on the other on one only; in both cases the open end is provided with a bar, to which a strap might have been attached. Before arriving at the ends, however, one encounters on each prong a rivet with a triple gable-end on the inner side, and an ornamental capsule on the outer side. Working freely on this rivet by a ring attachment, is a quadrangular socket, with a rivet hole in each, but the rivet passed lengthwise in the one socket and transversely in the other. From this feature it is clear that some attachment proceeded at more or less right angles from the line of the prongs.

This example is the most elaborate of any that I know, and I think may provide an explanation of how the instrument was used.

We have in the British Museum one pair of these, found with a horse's bit, and two others, found singly. The pair is so decayed as to be of no help in the elucidation of the problem. In the case of the single specimens, one has the two prongs provided with simple loops, while the projection is a plain bar, bent at right angles, entirely unornamented; the other has its prongs furnished with two loops projecting at right angles, while the end of the prong itself is exactly like the half of a filbert shell; the projection in this case is a plain solid filbert-shaped knob. Here, again, is very little help.

From their occurrence with bridle bits, these objects have been considered as having something to do with horses; but the only definite theory as to their precise use is propounded by Professor William Ridgeway, in his interesting work on *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*. Here he makes the suggestion that the purpose of these enigmatical objects is to prevent the reins from falling on the ground and becoming entangled among the horse's feet. This theory he founds on the analogy of certain wooden objects in the Archaeological Museum at Florence which are shown pendent from the yoke of an Egyptian chariot from Thebes, and believed to date from the fourteenth century B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 225). I assume that there is some evidence that these loops originally hung as shown in the figure, but no such evidence is given. They are simply V-shaped objects suspended with their points downwards, and so far resemble our stirrup-shaped bronzes. On p. 492, he gives under the heading of 'The Rein-rings' a more particular account of their use, and there follow illustrations of two bronze 'stirrups' from Ireland in figs. 138 and 139. These latter have much the same characteristics as those already described. After a quotation from Homeric analogues and another from Irish texts, Professor Ridgeway sums up as follows:

'We may therefore conclude that the curious wooden objects on the Florentine yoke were really a primitive contrivance for keeping the reins in place, and that the Irish implements are simply a more elaborate form of the same type.'[1]

Here I think the Professor is wrong, and this for two reasons. In the first place, I think it is clear that the British peoples, whose art we are dealing with, had already a much better and more practical contrivance for keeping the reins from falling to the ground, and in the second place the contrivances shown on the stirrup now before us, contrivances not found on any other example known to me, seem to prove conclusively that the stirrup was far more likely to have been worn with its projection upwards than downwards.

To take the first point. The Society may remember my bringing to its

[1] Wilde, *Cat. R.I.A.*, p. 699, figures two of the stirrups, and argues as Ridgeway does.

notice, in 1904,[1] certain ornamental bronze rings from horse-trappings, known as terrets. It was, I think, very satisfactorily demonstrated, both from the object itself and from the analogy of both modern and ancient practice, that these terrets were without doubt used for the purpose of holding up the reins at a point near the horse's head. The best illustration that has occurred to me is to be found on a hansom cab of to-day. If terrets were known, it would hardly be argued that so awkward an instrument and one so much less practical as this stirrup would ever be preferred.

With regard to the second point. Some of these stirrups have elaborate decoration on the knob at the end of the projection; if the knob were hanging downwards this ornament would be hidden and useless.[2] This may seem a small matter, but it is worth noting. A stronger argument is to be found in the presence upon the specimen now in question of the two rectangular sockets working on the rivets at the ends of the prongs. It is in my opinion unquestionable that whatever fitted into these sockets, whether a leathern strap or something of metal, must have proceeded at approximately a right angle from the line of the prong, and this seems to me to open up quite a new idea, and one that will militate against the theory of the stirrup hanging point downwards. I feel convinced that it was worn the other way up, and is in fact comparable with the plumes seen on the heads of horses at many times and in many countries. In our own time almost the only survival is to be seen on the heads of the horses at a somewhat elaborate funeral. If this explanation be accepted, all the difficulties vanish, in the light of the present specimen. The two prongs of the stirrup would then be placed over the horse's neck, immediately in front of the mane, and its attachment firmly in position would be the simplest operation. The loops at the extreme ends of the prongs would serve for the attachment of a strap which would go under the horse's neck, while a second strap would proceed from the two sockets near the end of the prongs, and this could pass around the animal's forehead. I venture to submit that this is more satisfactory as an explanation, and meets the conditions better, than that given by Professor Ridgeway.

I have before mentioned that the two sides of the stirrup differ, one being much more ornamented than the other. This fact, taken in conjunction with their being found in pairs, would lead one to think that the economy of ornament was suggested by the consideration that any decoration would only be seen from one side, and it was a waste of energy to decorate the inner sides of the two ornaments.

[1] *Proceedings*, xx, 56.

[2] See Ridgeway's figs. 138, 139.

The Dublin Museum contains thirty-three examples; of these sixteen are damaged, and their width thereby changed, while seventeen are perfect. The average width of these is 6 in.; the greatest $7\frac{1}{8}$ in., the smallest $5\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Mr. Armstrong writes:

'I tried one of the large ones on a big model race-horse we have in the Museum, and it just fitted well. The objects are easily bent, and their present width is not the full extent to which the arms could be stretched if necessary. I think your view as to how they were worn is the most convincing that has been suggested.'

A spur-like object, with rivets and rivet-holes, all of iron, was found in the Lake of Paladru, near Voiron (Isère); but this is not on so large a scale as the Irish specimens, its total length being 8·6 in., the length of the stem 4·4 in. (figured in Munro, *Lake-dwellings of Europe*, p. 301, fig. 93, no. 12; Keller, *Lake-dwellings of Switzerland* (transl. J. E. Lee), pl. cxcii, fig. 6). In any case, this specimen would seem to be more probably of the Merovingian or Carlovingian period, according to the associated objects and in the opinion of the accomplished excavator, Monsieur Ernest Chantre, of Lyons.

X.—*On the Topography of the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill.* *By* A. W. Clapham, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 18th February, 1915.

The ground immediately to the east of the city ditch of London was occupied in medieval times by three important religious foundations, an abbey of Franciscan nuns, another of Cistercian monks, and the great hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower. With the exception of one wall on the site of the first-named house, no trace of any of them survives, though the great church of St. Katherine remained until the last century. The Abbey of St. Mary of Graces, with which we are immediately concerned, was the latest foundation of the Cistercian Order in England; over half a century separates it from the latest of the previous houses, and only a few Carthusian houses, the Bridgettine nunnery of Sion, and some convents of Observant Franciscans are of later date. The house was commonly known as Tower Hill or New Abbey, and is said to have been also called Eastminster in contradistinction to the great Benedictine house in the western suburbs; for this title, however, I have not yet found any ancient authority.

The history of the foundation is in some respects similar to that of the London Charterhouse, for the sites of both of them had previously served as cemeteries for the victims of the Black Death. The Tower Hill cemetery had been acquired by John Corey, clerk,[1] from the canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and a chapel built there which was by him sold to the king, Edward III, when that monarch founded the Cistercian house in 1350.[2] The first establishment consisted of five monks from Beaulieu Abbey,[3] with Walter de Sancta Cruce, late Abbot of Garendon, as their Warden or President; it was first termed simply the Chapel of our Lady of Grace. The foundation was subsequently enlarged by the addition of one monk in 1358[4] by the king and by two more in 1375 as a condition of a bequest by Sir Nicholas Loveyne.[5] From this period or earlier the superiors were called Abbots. The house was at first poorly

[1] Stow, *Survey of London.*
[2] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1422-9, p. 89, and Add. Charters 39405.
[3] Add. MS. 15664, fol. 138. [4] Add. Charters 39405. [5] *Ibid.*

endowed, but by the close of the fourteenth century its revenues were considerable, and at the dissolution it stood third in annual value of the English Cistercian houses, being only surpassed by Fountains and Furness. The erection of the necessary buildings was at first very slow, and in 1368 Bishop Sudbury refers to them as 'the church cloister and necessary houses not yet built'.[1] In 1374 the work was expedited by a papal relaxation of enjoined penance to those who on the principal feasts of the year and on that of St. Anne, in whose honour the church was founded, visited and gave alms to the church of the Cistercian monastery of St. Mary de Gratiis.[2]

In 1377 Countess Marie de St. Pol, widow of Aylmer de Valence, left a bequest to the work of the church,[3] and in 1379 the monks received a royal grant of 100 marks for the necessary buildings.[4]

In 1391 the financial position of the house must have vastly improved, as two half-yearly accounts of the Bursar are preserved at the Record Office which show expenditure on buildings and equipment of £112 8*s.* 10*d.* and £125 6*s.* 11*d.* respectively.[5] These accounts are detailed, and are of considerable interest. The church was then practically complete, except for the paving, and the new buildings in progress included the monks' farmery and several chambers in the Abbot's lodging and elsewhere. The more important items are as follows:

To John Reynold, carpenter, for making a new house and 'camera' in the abbey on the west side thereof, on the east side of the small garden of the Abbot, and for three new tenements next the king's highway towards the west, £52; 650 ft. of new paving bought for paving our church; for one boat load of lime for making the foundations of the new farmery and carriage of the same, 14*s.*; to two mason layers for making the new foundations of the monks' farmery, 12*s.*; for mason layers for the new pavement in our quire, about the high altar and in the vestry, 20*s.*; to the same masons for works in the kitchen and other, 4*s.* 10*d.*; paid to Roger the smith for hinges, hooks, keys, and divers other things of iron for the new tenements on Tower Hill, to the east of the 'Crouchhouse' there, and for other tenements in London, and for divers candlesticks of iron for our church and in our kitchen, 26*s.* 11*d.*; to Walter Tyler for tiling the new monks' farmery, 20*s.*; for one boat load of ragstone, 23*s.*; for 100 estrebords for the doors and windows in the new farmery and carriage, 22*s.* 8*d.*; in freestone bought for the new chimney in the new chamber for the monks' farmery, 18*s.* 8*d.*; in 3,700 tiles bought for paving our church, £18 11*s.* 6*d.*; to John Reed, carpenter, for making two new doors in the church and for divers

[1] Reg. Sudbury, fol. 105.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, p. 199.
[3] See Mr. Jenkinson's paper, *infra*, p. 433.
[4] Madox, *Formul. Angl.* 268.
[5] P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts, 1258, No. 1.

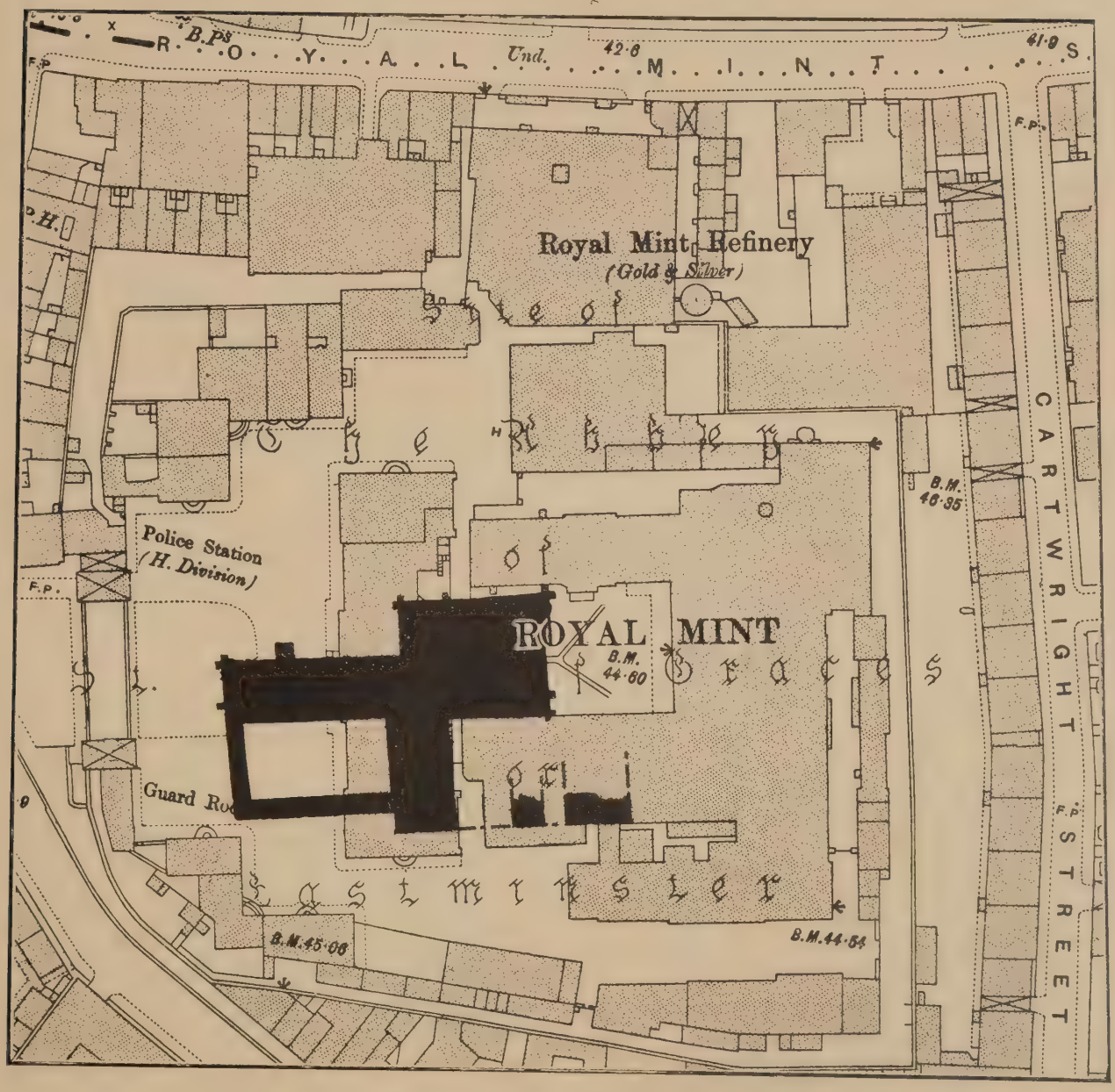


Fig. 1. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: plan of the site (scale, 88 ft. to 1 in.).

(Reproduced, with additions, from the Ordnance Survey with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)

other works, 12*s.*; for a new and great ladder bought for the bell tower, 10*s.*; paid for 1,406 ft. of pavement for paving our quire and vestry, £6 16*s.* 6*d.*

Chantries were founded in the church in 1380,[1] 1422,[2] and 1442[3] by Richard Rothyng, stock-fishmonger, Robert Fitzrobert, grocer, and Thomas Chinnor, the last named in the chapel of St. Anne. In 1415 the Abbot and his successors obtained the right to use the mitre and other episcopal insignia.[4]

Nothing further is heard of the buildings until 1494, when Sir Thomas Montgomery desired to be buried in the chapel of our Lady, which he had lately new built.[5] The abbey was surrendered in September, 1538, when its revenues amounted to £602 11*s.* 10½*d.* gross and £547 0*s.* 6½*d.* net.[6]

In the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII (1542–3) the precinct of the abbey was granted to Sir Arthur Darcy,[7] and remained apparently in his possession until his death in 1562. According to Stow Darcy 'clene pulled down the buildings', but he probably retained a part, as he was living there when he died.

The site shortly afterwards came into the hands of the Crown, and at the close of the century it was used as a victualling yard for the queen's navy.[8] It served for the same and other government purposes for the next two hundred years, being a tobacco warehouse in 1799.[9] In 1810 the whole site was cleared, and the existing buildings of the Royal Mint were erected.

The materials available for the reconstruction of the plan of the buildings and precinct fall naturally into two divisions, (*a*) post-suppression plans of the site, and (*b*) descriptions of the site in grants, etc.

The first of these categories is made up for all practical purposes of two documents, the first a sixteenth-century 'picture plan' of a part of the site (fig. 2), reproduced in the first volume of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, the original of which, formerly at Carleton Ride, is probably now at the Record Office, but I have been unable to trace it; the second document (fig. 3) is a large plan to a sixteenth scale of the victualling yard, amongst the Domestic State Papers of Charles I.[10] It may be mentioned that there is a block plan of the same site to a much smaller scale in the State Papers of James I,[11] but it adds nothing to the information given by the later plan, and may be neglected. Wingaerde's view of London shows only a church with a central tower without any recognizable details.

[1] Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, ii, 213. [2] *Ibid.*, ii, 437. [3] P.C. of Cant. 15 Rous.
[4] *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 465. [5] Nichols, *Test. Vetus.*, 396.
[6] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 398, 399. [7] *Pat.* 34 Hen. VIII, pt. 3, m. 15. [8] Stow, *op. cit.*
[9] See Horwood's Map of London, 1799. [10] *S. P.* Chas. I, vol. 301, no. 42.
[11] *S. P.* Jas. I, vol. 156, no. 14.

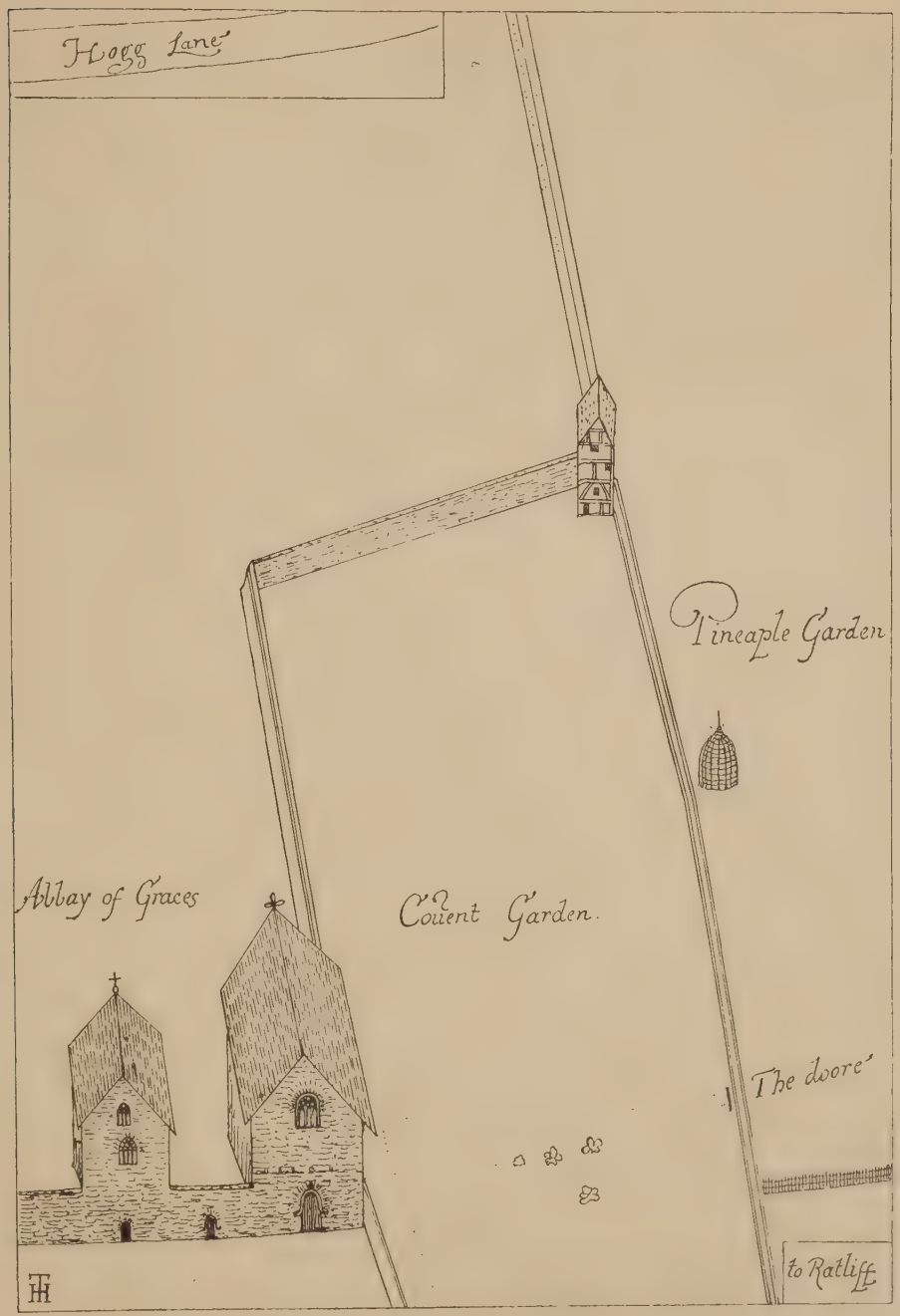


Fig. 2. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: plan of the Farmery and Gardens in the sixteenth century.
(*Reproduced, by permission, from the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. i)

The second category includes the Bursar's accounts mentioned above, the description of the site in the grant to Sir Arthur Darcy, and casual references to parts of the church in an early sixteenth-century list of burials. Comparatively few wills of persons buried here are preserved, and few of these give any particular reference to the building.

It will thus be seen that the available information on the subject is unusually scanty, but as the plan of the latest Cistercian house must be of considerable interest, and the use of the present building on the site negatives any attempt at excavation, it will perhaps not be valueless to attempt to reconstruct the plan.

The *Precinct* is represented with tolerable accuracy by the bounds of the existing enclosure of the Royal Mint, and is thus described in the grant to Sir A. Darcy, dated 1542–3[1]—'from a certain wall called the brick wall, towards our said tower of London up to the Farmery there, and thence by a certain other wall called a brick wall adjoining the said Farmery up to a certain wall called a cross mud wall, adjacent to a piece of land looking towards a certain tenement there called Coppid hall on the east part, and thence direct to a certain lane called Hogg-lane towards the north, and then turning west up to a certain wall called a mud wall, and thence by the said wall to a certain place and garden there in the tenure of Elizabeth Hawte, widow, up to a wall there called a brick wall standing in the same garden, and thence direct to the tenement of the said Elizabeth Hawte on the south part.'

From this description it is possible to identify the precinct on the large plan, and the limits approximate to the present boundaries of the Royal Mint. The south-east corner of the site is excellently shown on the Carleton Ride plan, which enables us to identify the buildings there sketched as the Farmery. The grant goes on to mention particularly the farmery and all that garden called the 'Pyne appletre' garden, the tenement formerly in the occupation of Elizabeth Hawte, the tenement and garden adjoining formerly in the occupation of Antony of Naples, a close called Bartholomew Close formerly in the occupation of Sir William Rothe or Roche, alderman, the whole cemetery, a garden called the Convent Garden, and one Dove-house. The Pine Apple-tree Garden and the Convent Garden are shown on the Carleton Ride plan, and the Dove-house is no doubt the timber-framed structure also shown there. The house and garden of Antony of Naples are described in a grant to him as being 120 ft. from east to west, and 50 ft. from north to south, and lying within the gate of the said former monastery next to the church on the north part.

[1] *Pat.* 34 Hen. VIII, pt. 3, m. 15.

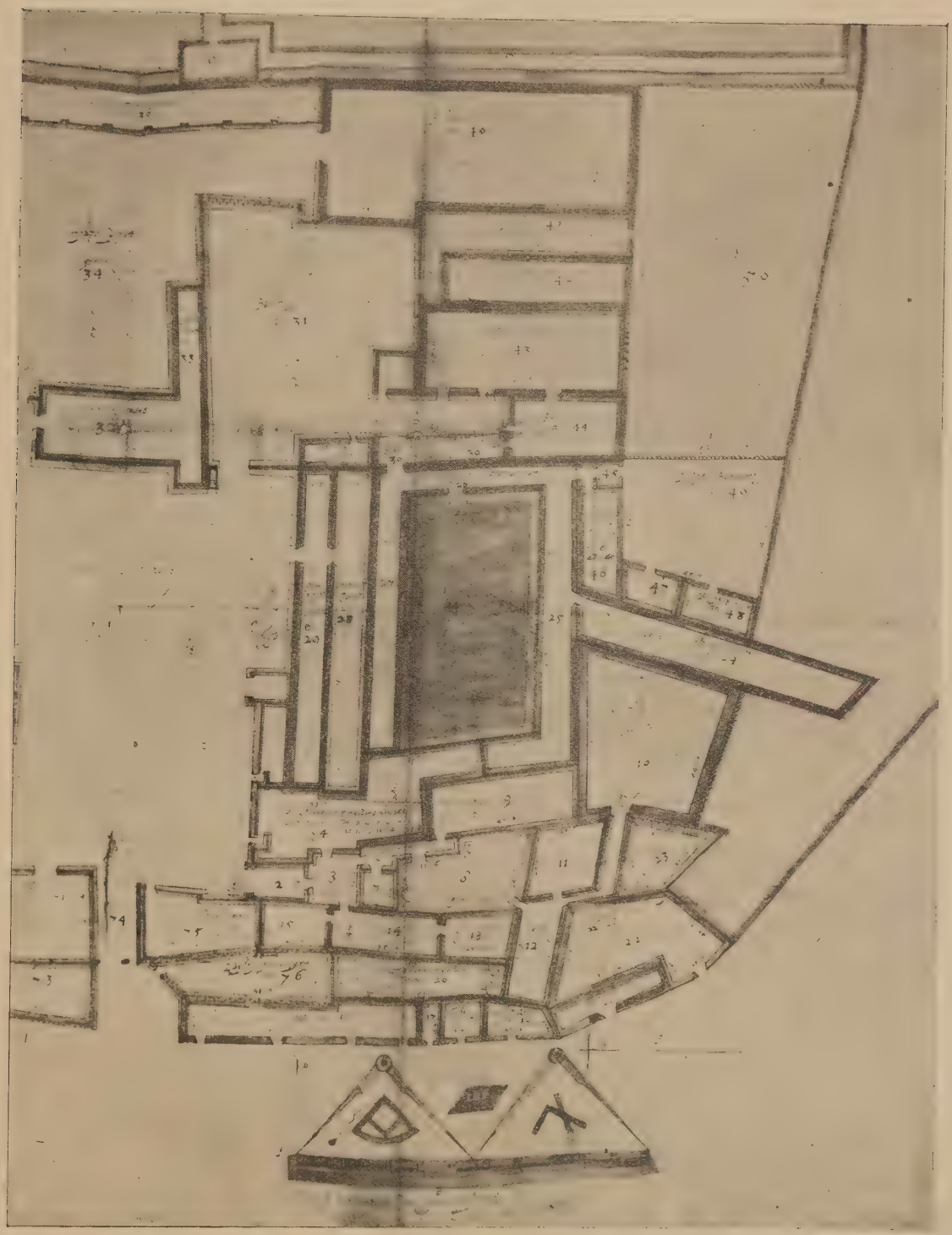


Fig. 3. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: plan of the site in the early seventeenth century.

The northern boundary of the site, called in the grant and plan Hogg Lane, had by the early years of the seventeenth century become known as Rosemary Lane, and is so denominated in the James I plan. It has now again changed its name to Royal Mint Street.

As will be seen, the grant makes no mention of the buildings composing the monastery itself, except the farmery. The Bursar's accounts, however, also mention the farmery, the church, and the Abbot's lodging, but the site of these would be quite indeterminate without the aid of the plan among the State Papers.

Before turning to this it will be well to note that the church was not complete until over forty years after the foundation, and there can be little doubt that during those forty years the monks made use of the chapel founded by John Corey in the time of the Black Death.

Turning now to the plan among the State Papers, it will be noticed that nothing can be gathered from the drawing as to the antiquity of the various walls, but on the other hand certain features are easily recognizable as having formed part of the monastic plan. The great gatehouse with its great and little portals was still standing fronting Tower Hill, and is an extraordinary example of the continuity of the building tradition in London, for it is represented almost exactly by the northern of Smirke's two modern gateways into the Mint. This gate opened on to an open space called on the plan the Great Court, and to the north we may place the houses and gardens of the Italian, Antony of Naples, and the widow Elizabeth Hawte. On the south of the court was the conventual church, and its position is generally defined by the preservation in the plan of the monastic cloister, which was a slightly irregular oblong enclosure 110 ft. by 60 ft., with alleys about 12 ft. wide. Adjoining the north side are two long enclosures, which probably represent the monastic nave, and together have a length of 103 ft. and an internal width of $23\frac{1}{4}$ ft. On the north side is a small projecting porch in about the usual position for such features. If this identification be correct, the nave was aisleless, and considering the fact that the abbey was founded after the practical extinction of the Cistercian *conversi*, by whom the nave was chiefly used, there is nothing surprising in this. It is also not unlikely that the nave represents the original chapel of John Corey, which would account for the north porch, a feature unknown in any other English Cistercian house. The eastern arm and the transepts are represented on the plan by various walls, about the age of which it is of course impossible to be certain, but those I have shown on the reconstructed plan probably represent the old lines. The south transept, though the south wall has disappeared, is easily identified by the great night stairs from the dorter which still remained against its west wall, and the door from the cloister to the south transept suggests the impracticability of an eastern processional entrance in the

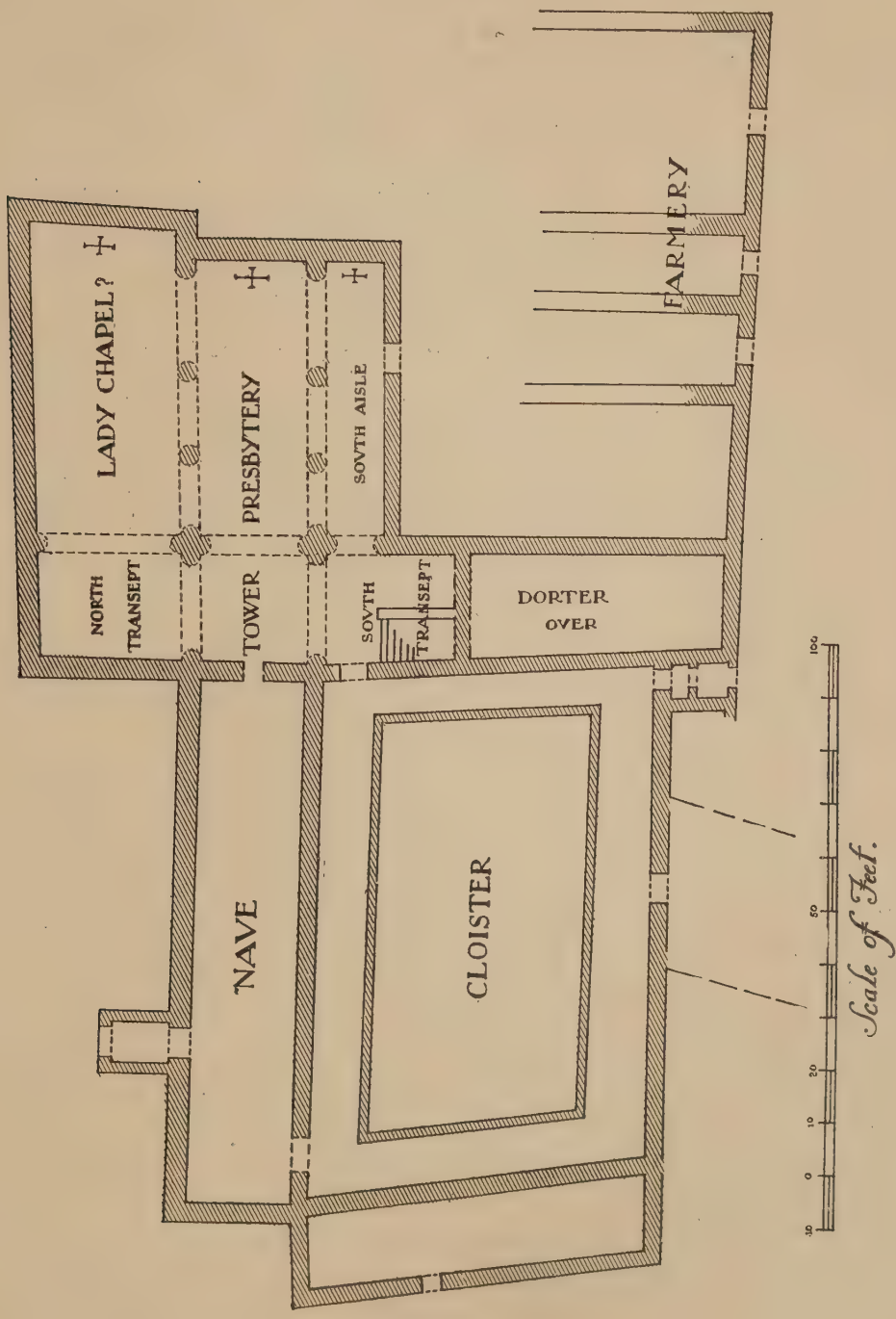


Fig. 4. Abbey of St. Mary of Graces: reconstructed ground-plan.

usual position (at the east end of the nave) and the existence of the pulpitum under the west arch of the crossing. The walls of the eastern arm indicate a presbytery (75 ft. long), with a large chapel rather overlapping it on the north side, and this may well be the lady chapel rebuilt by Sir Thomas Montgomery. There was probably an aisle also on the south side.

A collateral proof that the east end of the church has been rightly identified is provided by the item in the Bursar's accounts of 1,406 ft. of paving for our quire (which can only mean the quire proper and the eastern arm) and vestry. The area of the quire according to the plan is 1,720 ft., but from this must be subtracted the area of the stalls themselves and the various steps, say some 460 ft., which leaves some 140 ft. for the vestry, which is a very fair approximation.

Of the ritual arrangements of the church but little can be said. The list of burials mentions the lady chapel, a chapel without the quire on the south side of St. Anne's chapel. There are also burials on the north and south sides of the quire, before the high altar and at the quire door. The chapel of St. Anne is also mentioned in the will of Thomas Chinnor, 1442.

The first noticeable feature in the list is the existence of a definite lady chapel in a Cistercian church. The dedication of the high altar is also puzzling. The first chapel on the site was dedicated to St. Mary, the abbey was always St. Mary de Gratiis, but the papal relaxation expressly states that the church was dedicated to St. Anne. To add to the confusion, we find in the list of burials a chapel of St. Anne, having no connexion with the high altar.

Returning again to the plan, the eastern range is easily recognizable, and in its walls are some early windows; the chapter-house, however, cannot be defined. Projecting from the south walk is a long building which from its extraordinary angle can hardly be medieval, but which seems yet to preserve the tradition of the characteristic Cistercian Frater. An early doorway is also preserved in the middle of this walk.

The two buildings of the Farmery shown on the Carleton Ride plan agree admirably with two represented on the State Paper Office plan, having a narrow alley between them. The existence of the three doors implies that they were approached, probably by a pentise, on the south side. The eastern of the two buildings was undoubtedly the Farmery hall, and the western may well have been the misericorde.

Nothing more can be recovered as to the buildings, but by setting out the plan on the modern Ordnance map, it will be seen that both the west and east ends of the church lie in the open courtyards of the present building, and it is not unlikely that if digging should ever take place there, some remains of them will come to light.

A year or two ago, during alterations on the extreme south of the site, some twelfth-century and later stonework was discovered, but none of it was *in situ*, and all of it may well have been brought from elsewhere. It includes two pieces of rich twelfth-century work and some fragments of fourteenth or early fifteenth-century window tracery.

Impressions of three seals of the abbey have been preserved:

1. The first common seal (fig. 5, 2): circular, with the Virgin and Child in a niche flanked by smaller niches containing on the left a figure of the founder Edward III, and on the right three monks offering a book; at the base is a shield of the royal arms. Inscription: SIGILLV̄ COMVNE MONACHOR BEATE MARIE DE GRACIIS.

Fig. 5. (1) Seal of Abbot Paschal. (2) Common Seal of the Abbey.

2. Seal of Abbot Paschal, *c.* 1420-22 (fig. 5, 1): a pointed oval with an abbot *in pontificalibus* and holding a book and crozier, in a canopied niche; on the left the royal arms, on the right those of the city of London; under an arch at the base the arms of the abbey. Inscription: Sigillū Paschalis abbis monastrii btē Marie de graciis.

3. Seal of an abbot (after 1415 when the abbots received the mitre): a pointed oval with an abbot *in pontificalibus* under a canopied niche; on the left the arms of the founder, on the right those of the abbey. A very poor impression with the inscription destroyed.

In conclusion I should like to call attention to the very unusual form of the abbey arms; they are preserved on two of the seals just described, and may be blazoned as party palewise, the first pale parted also fesswise, with a fleur-

de-lis in the base and a leopard face in the chief; in the second pale a crozier. So far as I am aware such an arrangement is unparalleled in English heraldry. The first half is evidently in reference to the arms of the royal founder.

APPENDIX

P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts, 1258, No. 1.

Inprimis—Johanni Reynald carpentario pro nova domo et camera faciendis infra Abbatiam viz. ex parte australi Abbatiae predictae juxta parvum gardinum Abbatis ex parte orientali ejusdem gardini situata et pro tribus novis tenementis ibidem juxta vicum Regis versus australe ibidem lij li. Item in v̊j et di. de novis pavementis emptis pro ecclesia nostra pavianda lviijs. vjd. Item in uno batallato de calce empto pro fundamentis novi infirmatorii faciendis et cariagio ejusdem xiiijs. Item solutum diversis laborariis daubers et aliis xvjs. ijd. Item in lom empt. vjs. viijd. Item in cariagio viijs. xd. Item in cariagio alias ijs. Item duobus cementariis leggeres pro novis fundamentis novi infirmatorii monachorum faciendis xijs. Item laborariis vjs. xd. Item solutum Waltero Tyler pro duobus domibus tegulandis et emendandis in london et pro quinque novis tenementis de novo tegulandis super le Tourhull ex parte orientali de la Crouchehous et pro tegulis et clavis ab ipso Waltero emptis xxiiijs. Item solutum aliis duobus cementariis leggeres xijs. Item laborariis vjs. xd. Item cementariis leggeres pro novo pavimento paviendo in choro nostro coram magno altare et in vestiario xxs. Item eisdem cementariis pro certis diebus pro operibus in coquina et alibi iiijs. xd. Item laborariis pro eisdem operibus ixs. viijd. Item in cm̃j panystyl et j quart. xijs. vijd. Item solutum Rogero fabro pro henges hokes clavibus clykets et aliis diversis rebus de ferro pro novis tenementis super le Tourhull ex parte orientali de la Crouchhous ibidem et pro aliis tenementis in London et pro diversis candelabris de ferro pro ecclesia nostra et in coquina nostra lxxvjs. xjd. etc. Item Thome plumbario iiijs. vijd. Item Johanni Randolf tymberman London pro diversis merimiis, latthes, clavibus, quarters, tabulis de Estrichebord et de planchebord et in aliis diversis rebus emptis pro idem tempore xiij li. iiijd. Item Johanni Colyn tylmaker pro xxiiij mill. de tegulis ab eo emptis pro novis tenementis super le Tourhull ex parte orientali et pro aliis tenementis et domibus tegulandis in London et in Abbatia pro idem tempore x li. iiijs. Item Petro Sykes lymbrener pro calce arso ab eodem empto pro diversis operibus pro idem tempore liiijs. xd. Item diversis laborariis viijs. Item aliis laborariis vijs. Item cementariis leggeres viij. Item eisdem cementariis alias viijs. Item in uno batallato de calce empto xijs. Item in alio batallato de calce empto alias xijs. Item duobus cementariis leggeres et laborariis pro diversis laboribus factis pro idem tempore xjs. vjd. Item duobus cementariis leggeres viijs. Item duobus laborariis iiijs. Item aliis laborariis pro tribus septimanis xijs. vjd. Item in purgatione fossarum de le Crasschmyll xls. Item alias pro purgatione dictarum fossarum xls. Item Egedio Carter pro diversis cariagiis factis xvs. viijd. Item aliis laborariis viijs. vjd. Item Waltero Tyler pro tegulatione novi infirmatorii monachorum xxs. Item eidem Waltero Tyler pro tegulatione trium novorum tenementorum ibidem xljs. iiijd. Item in uno batallato de petro Ragge empto pro idem tempore xxiijs. Item pro cariagio ijs. Item m̊j de estrichebord emptis pro hostiis et fenestris inde factis pro dicto novo infirmatorio ibidem et pro cariagio ejusdem xxijs. viijd. Item alias in uno batallato de calce empto et pro cariagio xiijs. iiijd. Item in tabulis emptis viz. pro rotula molendini nostri aquatici empta xij. Item in clavibus emptis ad idem operi xijd. Item in cariagio de uno Milleston xxd. Item pro factura de uno Spyndal ad idem operi, de ferro empto iijs. iiijd. Item pro coggetymber empto ad idem operi xxd. Item in carpentariis locatis et dauberes et laborariis pro Richardo Olyver xvijs.

Summum cxij li. viijs. xd.

THE TOMB OF THE LADY MARGARET BEAUFORT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY CHURCH

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

XI.—*On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII, and Foundress of the Colleges of Christ and St. John in Cambridge; with some illustrative documents. Communicated by* Robert Forsyth Scott, *Esq., M.A., Master of St. John's College.*

Read 29th April, 1915.

The design and execution of the tomb of the Lady Margaret, with its recumbent figure, in the south aisle of the chapel of King Henry VII at Westminster, have long been attributed to Pietro Torrigiano, a Florentine artist. Until the documents here printed came to light in the Treasury, or Muniment Room, of St. John's College this seems to have been a matter of inference or tradition rather than a fact based on documentary evidence.

The monument of Henry VII in his chapel was, according to Stow, made by one 'Peter T. a painter of the citie of Florence'. This Peter T. George Vertue identified with Pietro Torrigiano, to whom he also ascribed the tomb of the Lady Margaret, and this was adopted by Horace Walpole.[1] Again, in *Archaeologia*[2] we have printed the draft of a contract for the erection of a tomb to King Henry VIII and Queen Katharine. This was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries on 15 January, 1807, by Mr. W. Illingworth, the original being among the papers of Cardinal Wolsey in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey. This is dated 5 January, 1518, and begins with a recital that by deed dated 26 October, 1512, Peter Torrysany of the city of Florence, graver, then resident in the precincts of St. Peter, Westminster, had contracted to erect a tomb to the memory of King Henry VII and Elizabeth his queen for the sum of £1500; the tomb for Henry VIII and Queen Katharine was to be one-fourth larger, and was to cost £2,000.

[1] *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. R. W. Warnum, 1849, vol. i, 102, 104.
[2] xvi, pp. 84–88.

A description of the tomb of the Lady Margaret is given in *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, by E. W. Brayley and J. P. Neale,[1] and it is there stated, 'The Tomb of this illustrious lady is supposed to be the workmanship of Torrigiano; but the real fact has not been ascertained'.

The Lady Margaret died 29 June, 1509, in the Abbot's house at Westminster, as Canon E. H. Pearce has recently shown. Probate of her will, dated 6 June, 1508, was granted to the executors by William Wareham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 22 October, 1512.

I. The Contract for the Tomb.

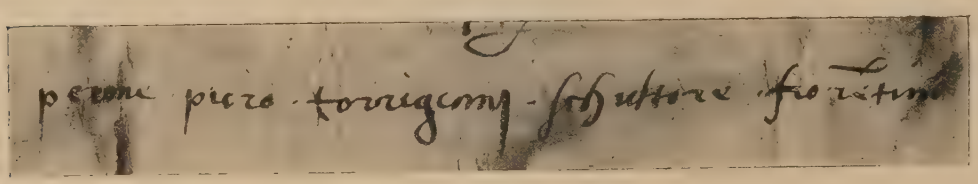
This endenture betwene the Right Reuerende faders in Criste Richard Bisshop of Winton, John Bisshop of Roffen, Charles Somerset, knight, lorde Herbert, Chamberleyn to our soueraigne lord the king, Thomas Lovell, knight, Henry Marney, knight, John Seint John, knight, Henry Horneby and Hugh Ashton, clerkes and Excecutours of the testament of the late excellent princesse of noble memory Margarete the moder of our late soueraigne lorde king Henry the vijth and Graundame to the king that now is on the oon partie And Petir Thoryson of florence graver on that other partie; Witnesseth that the said Petir hath couenaunted and bargayned and by these presentes couenaunteth and bargayneth with the said Executours to make or cause to be made at his owne propre cost and charge wele, clenly, sufficiantly and workemanly, A Tabernacle of copper with an ymage lying in the same Tabernacle and a best called an yas lying at the fote of the same Tabernacle, With like pillers, bases, chaptrels, gablettes, crokkettes, anelles, fynials, orbs, housinges, Scocheons, graven with portecoleyses and Roses, all of copper and in like makyng length and brede according to A patron drawen in a Cloth the which is sealed with the seale of the said Petir and subscribed at the oon end with his owne hande, and is remaynyng in the custodye of the said executours, And the said Petir couenaunteth, graunteth, promytteth and byndeth hym by these presentes that he shall aswell and as sufficiauntly, or better, gilde or do to be gilded all the said Tabernacle, ymage, beest and all the premisses, as any ymage or ymages of any king or queyn within the Monastery of Westminster is or haue been gilded and that to be avewed and adiuged by such indifferent persons as by the said executours thereto shalbe assigned. And furdermore the said Petir couenaunteth, graunteth, promytteth and bindeth hym by these presentes to the said Executours that he at his own costes and charges shall welle, sufficiauntly, clenly and werkemanly make or do to be made A Tombe otherwise called the case of a Tombe of good, clene and hable towche stone with all such werkmanship in the same as shalbe

[1] Vol. i, Account of King Henry VII Chapel, 69–70.

according to a patrone drawen and kerven in Tymbre and signed with thand and sealed with the seale of the said Petir and remaynyng in thandes of the said executours and a stappe or a grets of marble stone rounde aboute the same Tombe to knele vpon of syght hight and bredeth as shalbe assigned by the said executours And also shall grave or do to be graven wele, clenly, werkemanly and sufficiently viij sufficient and clenly scoucheons in such places of the same Tombe or case and with such armes as shalbe assigned by the said executours, And also at his owne costes shall make or do to be made wele clenly and werkemanly such borders graven all of copper aboute the creest, lydger or edge of the same Tombe with such scriptures the letters thereof graven outwardes as shalbe assigned by the same executours. And the same Petir shall also gilde or do to be gilded the same borders and scriptures as well and sufficiauntly as he shall gilde the foresaid tabernacle, ymage and other the premisses. And also the said Petir couenaunteth and graunteth by these presentes that he at his owne costes and charges shall well sufficiauntly and clenly polisshe all the said Tombe or case and scocheons. And the said Petir couenaunteth and byndeth hym by these presentes that he shall at his owne costes and charges finde all the copper, touchestone, gold and all other stuff that shalbe spent and occupied in about and vpon the said tabernacle, ymage, beast, tomb or case and all other the premisses. And also that the same Tabernacle, ymage, beest, tombe or case and other the premisses shalbe wele and sufficiauntly wrought made graven and gilded after the fourme abouesaid and also shalbe sufficiauntly framed ioyned fixed and set vp in the south Isle of the Kinges new chapell at Westminster onthisside the first day of feũer the which shalbe in the yere of our lord M^{l}.V^{c}.xij. And that in the said Tabernacle, ymage, beast, Tombe or case and other the premisses or in any part or parcell of them shall neither be brek, flawe, erasure nor any other deformyte. And that the lidger of the said tombe shalbe in length vij fote viij ynches of assise and in brede iij fote viij ynches of assise and all the other werk of the same tombe shalbe of sufficient length brede and height as shalbe aduised by the said executours or their assignes. And furdermore the said Petir couenaunteth, graunteth, promytteth and byndeth hym by these presentes that he from henssforth contynewelly and daily at all tymes conuenient, shall put hymself in his faithfull devoir and diligence to werk or do to be wrought in vpon and about the werking & making of the foresaid tabernacle and tombe and other the premisses for the true expedeccion performaunce and finisshement of the same after the fourme abovesaid without any delay. And that it shalbe leeffull to the foresaid Bisshop of Roffen and Henry Horneby and to William Bolton priour of the monastery of Seint Barthilmew in Westsmythfeld of London and to euery of them and their assignes, at all tymes conuenient before the full finisshement of the said Tabernacle, tombe and other the premisses after the fourme aboue declared without any let or contradiccion of the said Petir, or of any other persone or persones, to enter and haue the oversight of the same tabernacle and other the premisses, and to avewe and ouersee that the same Petir do his faithfull labour and diligence in werking of the same tabernacle and other the premises without delay. And furdermore it is couenaunted, condescended, and aggreed betwene the said executours and Petir by these presentes that yf hereafter at any tyme or tymes before the finisshement of the foresaid

tabernacle and other the premisses it shalbe thought by the said Bisshop of Roff, Henry Horneby and priour, or by any of them, that any thyng expressed in the said patrons or in eny of them may be refourmed and made better or otherwise than is expressed in the same patrons, or in eny of them, that than the same thing and thinges so found contrary to their myndes shalbe refourmed and made after such fourme as shall be aduised by them by thaggrement of the said Petir the couenantes before expressed in eny wise notwithstonding. For the which tabernacle, ymage, beast, tombe or case and all other the premisses by the said Petir to be wrought made gilded and in all things fully finisshed and set vp in the place abouesaid after the fourme abouerehersed and for all the copper, gold, touchestone and other Stuffes that shalbe spent and occupied, in, vpon and aboute the same The said executours couenaunte, graunte, promytte and bynd them by these presentes to the said Petir to pay or do to be paid to the same Petir to his executours or assignes foure hundred poundes sterlinges at the ensealing of these presentes, Whereof the same Petir holdeth hym wele and truly contented and paid, And thereof and of euery part thereof clerely acquiteth and dischargeth the said executours and euery of them by these presentes. And the said executours for them and their executours woll and graunte by these presentes that yf the said Petir wele and truly perfourme obserue fulfill and kepe all and euery the couenauntes grauntes and premyses abouesaid the which on his partie owen to be perfourmed obserued fulfilled and kept in maner and fourme aboue rehersed, that than an obligacion of the date of these presentes, Wherein the said Petir and Leonard fristobald and John Cawalcant[1] merchauntes of florence be hold and bound to the said executours in fyve hundred poundes sterlinges, shalbe void and had for nought, and els it shall stond in full strength and vertue. In Witnesse whereof the said parties to these endentures chaungeably haue set their seales yoven the xxiij day of Novembre the third yere of the Reigne of King Henry the viij[th].

perme Piero Torrigiani Schultore fiorintino.



Signature of Torrigiano, from the contract or the Tomb of the Lady Margaret.

[1] First written Cawalcant, and then the C erased.

This contract, it will be observed, is dated 23 November, 1511, a little more than two years after the death of the Lady Margaret, and eleven months before probate of the will had been granted.

Probably for the 'best called an yas' we may read 'best called an yal (or yale)'. It is tempting to believe that the word was written 'yal' in the draft, and that the engrosser mistook the *l* for a long *s*.

The supervision of the work, it will be observed, is assigned to John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Henry Hornby, then Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who had been Chancellor and Secretary to the Lady Margaret, and William Bolton, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's. Bolton seems to have been better known for his skill in design than for theological learning. Weever[1] describes him as 'a great builder'. Cardinal Wolsey appears, about the year 1518, to have recommended Bolton to King Henry VIII for the bishopric of St. Asaph. But Richard Pace, writing to Wolsey, states that the king preferred Richard Standish, a Franciscan, 'a grete lernydde man and an honest man: and that bi thiese ij qualities he must have better knowliege off the cure of sowle than the sayde Prior, in whome he doeth not know suche lernynge. And where as your Grace doeth make mention in your lettres off diverse presidentes off the Kingis predecessors declarynge howe theye dydde promote unto like dignities the Maistres of their werks; hys Grace sayeth that itt is not lykely that they so dydde for thys qualitie oonly that they couith goodde skele in byldyngs, but for sum other greate qualities (as profounde lernynge) annexidde unto the same. Nethelesse hys Grace sayeth that he is content to remembre the sayde Priors labors wyth sum other smaller promotions than bushoprychis.'[2]

It seems probable that Bolton had a considerable share in the design of the tomb. This appears from some further documents preserved in St. John's. First we have a volume of the Accounts of the Executors; this does not seem to be a complete or final account, but rather a copy of such part of the accounts as concern details regarding the payments for the Colleges of Christ and St. John, incidentally including some other items. This account contains the following entries with regard to the tomb:

[1. August 1511]

paiede to the prior of seint Barthilomews the first day of August for my ladys tombe in Westminster, bi a bill £40

[1] *Funeral Monuments*, 434.

[2] Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, 3rd series, vol. i, 185.

In a further section of the accounts dealing with the period 19 June, 1512, to 18 January, 1514–15, are the following entries:

Also the said bisshop [i. e. John Fisher] chargeth hym self gratis apon this accompt of xxx*li.* xj*s.* x*d.* of the rest of a somme of xl*li.* which was delyurede to the prior of seint Barthilmews apon a prest towarde the making of my ladies tombe, as it apperith in the last accompte, of which xl*li.* the seid prior expendet abowt the seid tombe but ix*li.* viij*s.* ij*d.* as it apperith by his bill of parcellis.

Paymentes for my ladies tombe.

[27 December 1511]

First paide the xxvij day of December in the iiijth yere of the reigne of King Henry the viijth to M. Garter the king of haroldes for makyng and declaring my ladies armes in viij schochyns for my ladies tombe and deliuerede to the florentyne 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item paide the xxvijth day of December the seide iiijth yere to M. Erasmus for the ephitaff aboute my ladies tombe, by my lordes commaundement 20*s.* 0*d.*

[22 June 1513]

Item paide the xxijth day of Junij in the vth year of the reigne of Kinge Henry the viiith to Maynarde paynter for makinge the picture and image of the seide ladye 33*s.* 4*d.*

[16 March 1513–4]

Item paide to the seid Maynard the xvjth day of Marche in the fifte yere of the reigne of the seid kynge for making of diuerse patrons for my ladies tombe £4 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item to the prior of Seint Bartilmews for his counsell in devisynge the seide tombe, and for his labour and costis and expensis in surueyinge and controllynge the werkmen of the same tombe at diuerse and sondry tymes and for sendynge for diuerse werkmen from beyende the sea for making of the seide tombe [blank]

There is a note: 'non hic, quia postea in pede'; and later on a further note: 'Memorandum, the prior of Seint Barthilmews is no thinge allowed yet for his labour.'

Again, in a parcel of miscellaneous warrants for payments, or receipts for such payments by the executors, we have the following relating to the tomb.

for my lady the kinges grandame
whose Soulle god pardone.

firste for making of iij patrons in paper for her Tombe eche of theym diuerse facions summa 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item for ij patrons made in cloth beyng the length of her tombe wrought with colours whereof the one Remayned in the executours handes and the oder in Master Petirs handes at xl*s.* the pece And for his costes and lett of other besynes at diuerse and many tymes attending vpon the priour of seynt Bartilmewes and vpon the foresaid Master Petir by the commaundment of the executours summa £4

Summa totalis £4 13*s.* 4*d.*

[Countersigned] Jo. Roffs.

Memorandum, payd by Morgan Mores on monnday the iij^de^ daye of nouember the iij^rd^ yere of the raigne of kyng Henrie the viij^th^ for his boot hyre from London to Mortlake and frome thens to London Whyen he and the franchmen was with my lord chamberlane with the pateron of my ladeys Towme 2*s.* 4*d.*

Item payd by hym on tvysdai the fovrte day of the same movnth for hys bot hyr from stangate to london and from london to stangate 1*d.*

Summa 2*s.* 5*d.*

[November 1511]

Memorandum that I Maynarde Vewike of London paynter haue ressauid the vij daie of february the thrid yere of the reigne of kynge Henry the viij of the Reuerend father in God John bushop of Rochester thre poundes sterlyng in parte of payement of a more some for a certen table and ij patrones drawen for my ladie the kynges grandamm tombe In witnes where of I the saide Maynarde haue subscribed this bill with my own hand

Meynnart Wewyck.

It would appear then that the design for the tomb was the subject of a good deal of consideration. Perhaps we may put the steps of the process as follows: Bolton conceived the general idea, summoned to his aid Meynnart Wewick, the painter, referred to as Maynard, and also as the Frenchman, perhaps a Fleming; he drew alternative patterns, of which one was selected, and two copies of this painted on canvas, of which one was handed to Torrigiano, the artist artificer.

The following, undated, letter from Bishop Fisher to Prior Bolton shows that the work was inspected from time to time. The letter is written by a secretary and signed by Fisher; the postscript, in brackets, is added in Fisher's own hand:

Brother prior I pray you to delyuer vnto the brynger hereof, Roger Notte, for my ladyes power folke at Hatfield ciiij^li^. And this bill assigned with my hande shalbe your discharge. From Lambeth Marsh, the xiiij^th^ daie of June.

Jo. Roffs.

[And I pray you do so moch to se Peter's work for my ladyes tomb and when ye have oones seen I will comm my self thyder.]
Addressed: To the prior of Sent Bartylmewes this be delyuered.

These documents clearly establish the fact that the tomb of the Lady Margaret was the work of Torrigiano, and we may safely infer that it was his first commission in England. Incidentally they show that the statement of Brayley and Neale,[1] 'there is no reason to suppose that Torrigiano arrived in England previously to the year 1512', is a mistaken one.

With regard to Torrigiano's sureties, we find that John Cavalcant was to act also as surety in the contract for the tomb of Henry VIII,[2] while the name Fristobald occurs in the following letter preserved in St. John's College:

My lord I haue been at frystoball and lowes la fauour ys banke to know the best manner of change and their they hold a dukette large at iiiis viij*d.* And a dukette de Camare at iiijs vij*d.* but I thynke they wyll abate *ob* in the dukett. Onn of them shewed me he had benn with you Ther is anodre that wyll delyuer a duket large for iiijs vii*d,* and de Camare for iiijs v*d. ob.* And it pleys you to command me at your pleasure when I shall come to you and with Mr. Metcalfe to write your stuffe. I trust now I shall shewe your lordshippe where it may be well and save.

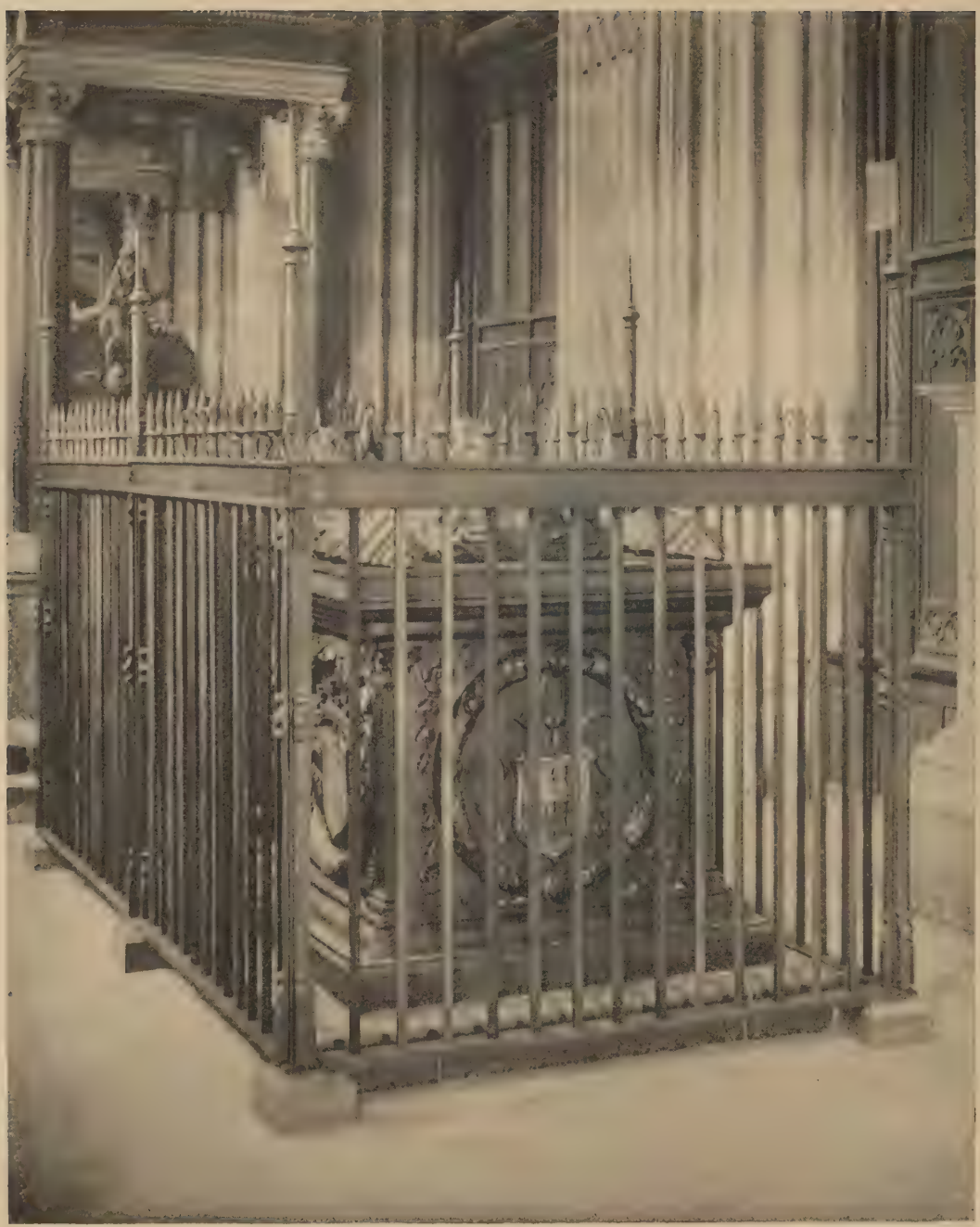
By your owenn subiect the pryour
of Ledes.

Addressed: To his singler good Lorde my Lord of Rochester.

The reason for this letter was the following: In 1512 Fisher and others had been appointed by Henry VIII to attend the fifth Lateran Council summoned by Pope Julius to meet at Rome in April of that year. This commission was subsequently revoked and others sent, but Fisher's appointment was again renewed in 1515, in which year he appointed Richard Chetham, Prior of Leedes in Kent, and another, to be his proctors for the transaction of episcopal business in his absence. As a matter of fact, he did not go, but this letter, written either in 1512 or 1515, seems to show that Richard Chetham was making inquiry as to foreign moneys for the journey.

[1] *l. c.*, p. 54.

[2] *Archaeologia*, xvi, 85.



THE GRATE AND TOMB OF THE LADY MARGARET BEAUFORT
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY CHURCH

II. The Contract for the Grate.

This Indenture made betwene Maister Nicholas Metcalf clerke, Maister of the College of Seint John the Evangeliste in the vnyuersitie of Cambridge, And William Longford clerk on that oon partie, And Cornelyus Symondson of the parishe of Seint Clement Danes without the barres of the newe Temple of London in the Countie of Middlesex, Smythe, on that other partie, Witnesseth that it is couenaunted bargayned and aggreed betwene the seid parties by these presentes in manner and fourme folowyng that is to sey, The seid Cornelyus couenaunteth, grauntith, and hym byndeth by these presentes that he shall make frame fynysshe and sett vp, or cause to be made framed fynysshed and set vp, a grate of Iron to stande aboute the Tombe of the moost excelent pryncesse lady Margaret, late Countesse of Rychemond and Derby, sett in the Isle of the Southside of the newe Chapell of King Henry the vijth at Westmynster, of Suche maner and fourme as hereafter shalbe rehersed, that is to wete, first the Soyle of the seid grate to be made of Iron lettyn into the Steppe of hardstone goyng round aboute the seid Tombe, and in euery syde of the said Tombe shalbe iij pryncipalle poostes of Iron, that is to say two corner postes whiche shalle aunswere to the werkes both at ende and atte syde that they serue for, and oon poste of Iron in the myddes on euery of the two sydes to aunswer to his werkes, and euery poost shall haue a butteras with a baase to aunswere booth weys, with a water Table in the middes to aunswere lykewyse and with a Chaptrell above and a Creste of three ynches and a half brode to goo rounde aboute the said werke and to be joyned to the seid Chaptrelles, the which creste shalbe made and vented after the fasshon and werkmanship of the creste aboute the grate of my lord of Seint Johns Tombe, above the whiche creste euery principall shalle ryse a foot and a half and shall bere a Repryse with a busshe of Daysyes vpon it, and the foresaid creste shalbe made with a casement of two ynches and a half, the whiche shalbe garnysshed Rounde aboute with perculyus and roses, eche of them to stand within half a ffoot of a nother. And the seid grate shalbe in hight from the vppersyde of the Soyle vnto the neyther syde of the crest foure foot and a half to be garnysshed with arres barres of three quarters of an ynche square, wele and clene hamared, So that the dentes of the hammer be not seen in them, fyxed in the seid soyle, and to the seid creste, aboue the whiche creste shalbe a dowble crest booth within and without after the crest of Seint Johns aforesaid. And the said barres to be sett eche within three ynches of other rounde aboute the seid grate, And over the seid creste there shalbe fflowredelyces rounde aboute to shewe lyke good in werkmanship aswell within towarde the seid Tombe As without, And betwene euery flowredelyce a spere point, to shewe likewise, vnder thendes of the flowredelyces aunswering eyther a flowredelyce or a spere point to euery Arras barre that standeth vnder All the whiche seid grate with almanar scochyns, flowredelyces and other thynges thereto perteyning, the said Cornelyus couenauntith grauntith and hym byndeth by these presentes that they

shalbe made of bylbowe Iron wele, clene and workemanly wrought, and shalbe fynysshed and sett vp in alle and euery thinge atte propre costes and charges of the said Cornelyus onthisside the feast of Easter whiche shalbe in the yere of our Lord M'CCCCC and xxviij^{ti} FOR THE WHICHE seid grate in all thynges apperteynyng to Smythes craft after the fourme aforeseid to be made and sett vp, The seid Maister Nicholas Metcalf and William Longford couenaunte and graunte by these presentes that they shall pay or cause to be paide to the seid Cornelyus or his assignes twenty and fyve poundes of good and lawfull money of England in maner and fourme folowyng that isto wete, in hande atte ensealyng of these indentures, fyve poundes iii^{s}. iiij^{d}. wherof the seid Cornelyus knowlegeth hym self wele and truly contented and paide, And thereof acquyteth and dischargeth the seid Nicolas and William their executours and assignes by these presentes, And the Resydue to be paide for the seide werke after the Rate of the weyght, as the same werke gooth forward IN WITNESSE whereof the seid parties to these indentures interchaungeably haue sett their sealles YOVEN the xiijth day of Decembre the xviijth yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the viijth.

This contract, it will be observed, is dated 13 December, 1526, the parties being Nicholas Metcalf, the Master of St. John's, William Longford, the President or Vice-master of the College, and Cornelius Symondson.

It is perhaps worth noting that while Torrigiano was paid his fee down, Symondson received a sum down on the execution of the deed, and was to be paid by instalments as the work proceeded; the grate to be finished before Easter, 1528.

The grate was erected at the cost of St. John's College, and the successive payments appear in the College accounts, showing that the grate stood upon a stone base. I have extracted from these accounts all entries relating to the grate; the words in italics are written in the margins of the accounts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Michaelmas Term 1526 *a grat for my lades tome*						
Item to the Smyth at Temple barr in Ernest		13	4			
Hilary Term 18 Hen VIII [Jan–Feb 1527] *my lades tombe*						
Item paid in part of payment to Cornelys Smyth for makynge a grate of Irone at Westminster ouer my lady the Kynges mother the vijth	4	10	0			
Easter Term 18 Hen VIII [1527] *my lades towmbe*						
Item paid in part of payment to cornellys smyth for makynge the Kynges grandmother tumbe at Westminster	5	0	0			
Trinity Term 19 Hen VIII [May–June 1527] *my ladys Tombe*						
Item Cornelys the Smyth in parte of his payment for my ladys tombe and in full payment of xj*l*	1	0	0			

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
26 October 19 Hen VIII [1527] *my lades tombe*						
To Cornelys Symsonn in part of payment for making a Grate of my lades tombe	4	0	0			
Easter Term 20 Hen VIII [1528]						
Item to Cornelis the Smyth in parte of payment for my lades tombe and in full payment of xx*li*	5	0	0			
Michs Term to end of Hilary Term 20 Henry VIII [Michs. 1528–Jan 1528/9] *expensae pro tumba fundatricis*						
Item to Cornelis Symondson in parte of payment for makyng the grate abowte my lades towmbe	1	13	4			
13 February 1528/9						
Item to the Smyth for my lades grate	2	0	0			
Term of St John Mids 1529						
Item to Cornelys Symondson in full payment for the grayte aboute my lades tombe our foundres	1	6	8			
Item in rewarde amoynst the Smythes seruantes that made the grayte for our foundres tumbe			4			
				25	3	8
Stonework:						
Michaelmas to Hilary 20 Hen VIII [1528–9] *pro tumba fundatricis*						
Item to Raynold Bray in parte of payment for makyng the baysses aboute my lades towmbe in Westminster		10	0			
Hilary Term 20 Hen VIII 1528/9						
Item to Ranald Bray for stonework to set the grate vpon about my lades tombe		10	0			
13 February 1528/9						
Item to the fremason for stonework		13	4			
Easter Term 20 Hen VIII 1529						
Imprimis to the fremason in full payment for the stoneworke to set the grayte upon about my lades tombe		4	0	1	17	4
Gilding:						
Michaelmas 1529						
Item for gylding the grate about my ladys tombe	2	0	0	2	0	0
				29	1	0

A few vouchers for these payments have been preserved, of which the following may serve as examples. Symondson always signs with a mark.

This bill Witnesseth that I Cornelys Symonson haue received of Mr Doctor Metcalf at divers tymes as appereth by sondre bokes xv*li.* in part of payment of xxv*li* for the

makyng of a certen grate betwext me the sayd Cornelys and the sayide Mr doctor apoynted and barganed, of the which xv*li* I the sayd Cornelys knowlege myself truly contented and payd and the said Mr doctor and his assignes thereof do clerly acquite and discharge by these presentes for euer. In wittenes whereof I the said Cornelys to these presentes haue setto my seale the xxvj day of octobre Anno xix° henrici octaui

Sigillatum et pro vere factum deliberatum in presencia mei Raunoldi Hall, Willielmi Lamkin, by me Gabriell metcalf.

[26 October 1527]

Be it knowen to all men by these presentes that I Raynold Bray, Citizen and fremason of london haue receaved this present day of maister Doctor Medcalff xx*s* sterlinge in partie of payment of a more somme. Of the whiche xx*s* I knowledge myself welle and truly contented and paide by these presentes. Sealed with my seall, yauen the vj day of February the xxth yere of the Reigne of King Henry the viijth.

[6 February 1528–9]

XII.—*Recent Discoveries in the Abbey Church of St. Austin at Canterbury.*

By Sir William St. John Hope, *Litt.D., D.C.L.*

Read 10th June, 1915.

It is a matter of common knowledge that for some years past excavations have been in progress on the site of St. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury, and the Society of Antiquaries has shown a practical interest in the work by occasional help from its Research Fund. There is every reason, therefore, that the Society should be made acquainted with certain discoveries of exceptional interest that have lately been made within the abbey church by the authorities of St. Augustine's College.

It is somewhat unfortunate that only a small part of the site of the nave, a triangular piece at its eastern end,[1] belongs to the college, the remainder being the property of the Kent and Canterbury Hospital. That corporation has, however, generously leased to the college, for a nominal yearly rent, the rest of the north aisle and a broad strip of the length of the nave, but it is impossible for more to be acquired owing to a vitally interesting portion of the site being covered by the hospital laundry, which can not at present be moved for lack of funds.

For a long time it has been the confident belief of some of us that, should the opportunity for the search ever arise, there would be found under the nave of the abbey church, not only the ground plan of the minster built for St. Austin by Ethelbert king of Kent at the very beginning of the seventh century, but the burying-place of St. Austin himself and of his immediate successors as archbishops of Canterbury, which is so particularly located by the chroniclers of the abbey.

The ground had been prepared to some extent a little time ago by the excavation of the site of the monks' quire, which, with its screens, occupied the crossing under the middle tower, as well as the eastern part of the nave. This area when cleared showed a raised platform of earth between the transepts, intersected in its western extension by the foundations of the *pulpitum* and rood-

[1] This, however, includes the greater part of abbot Wulfric's building, and the tombs of the Saxon archbishops, described in this paper.

loft, with the place of the nave altar beyond. In view of the interesting questions involved it was decided to remove the earthen platform, leaving the screen foundations to be dealt with later. The result was somewhat startling, for there gradually came into view, as the earth was taken away, a ring of strong stone piers, arranged about a wide central space, with traces of a circumscribing ambulatory (fig. 1). To enable this discovery to be followed up, careful plans,

Fig. 1. St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury. Remains of abbot Wulfric's building, looking west.

notes, and photographs were taken of the screen foundations, which were only of rough chalk blocks, and then these too were cleared away. Further discoveries forthwith followed, which suggested investigations in other directions and with the same success.

The whole of the work was carried out by the college authorities under the competent direction of the sub-warden, the Rev. R. U. Potts, but I was able from time to time to be present during the operations, and to give advice when necessary; I also undertook the measuring up and planning of the remains uncovered.

This essential proceeding shows that underlying the area of the tower and

the first three bays of the nave, as well as the adjoining parts of the transepts and aisles, are the foundations of a very remarkable building (plate XXX).

It consists of a circular area about 25 ft. in diameter, enclosed by a ring of eight huge segmental blocks to carry piers, each $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, and expanding in width from 5 ft. to 6 ft. on the inside to 8 ft. to 10 ft. on the outside. The interspaces also have diverging sides as well as varying widths, from $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 5 ft. within to $6\frac{3}{4}$ ft.

Fig. 2. Pier-foundations of abbot Wulfric's building, looking east.

without (fig. 2). They open into an encircling ambulatory 6 ft. wide, round within, but octagonal outside, with an opening towards the west $9\frac{3}{4}$ ft. broad.[1] There is a wall 25 in. thick, constructed of Roman bricks, upon the outer edge of the eastern side, with a doorway $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide in the middle (fig. 3). The sides of the octagon measure $26\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and the total width of the building externally is $64\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The masonry is constructed throughout of rough pieces of thin oolitic sandstone, carefully laid, and faced with a thin layer of mortar or plaster.

[1] The ground plan of the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (begun by bishop Ecclesius, 526-34) shows a similar circle of eight massive piers with an encircling aisle of eight sides.

The building is unfortunately overlaid to a considerable extent on the north and south, especially as to the outer ring, by the broad and massive sleeper walls of the late eleventh-century work which superseded it (see fig. 4), but there is no reason for thinking that any important features are thereby hidden.

There are several minor points to be noticed. First, the considerable depth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the top of the sleeper walls, to which the building is carried. It has

Fig. 3. East face and piers of abbot Wulfric's building, looking west.

also outside the north-west side a set-off 2 ft. wide, which possibly extended all round, except on the east side, where it is lacking; the south-west face is unhappily beneath the hospital laundry. The west wall, for some reason, includes the set-off in its thickness, which exceeds by so much that of the other seven sides. It likewise slightly oversails on the west a thick wall of earlier date.

From this description of the remains of the building we must pass to inquire into its history.

It is clear from the several chronicles of the abbey that, in the middle of the eleventh century, the great church of St. Peter and St. Paul, begun by King Ethel-

bert in 598 and hallowed in 613, had to the east, but separate from it, a lesser church or oratory of our Lady, built by Ethelbert's son and successor Eadbald, on his conversion from paganism in or soon after 620. Between the buildings lay the cemetery of the monks.

It was the intention or ambition of the fortieth abbot, Wulfric, who succeeded in 1047, to enlarge the greater church by coupling to it, by an intermediate

Fig. 4. Part of the north side of abbot Wulfric's building.

structure, Eadbald's oratory of the Blessed Virgin. Soon after Wulfric was sent to Rheims to pope Leo IX, from whom he sought and obtained leave to carry out his purpose.

One of the chroniclers, Gocelin, a contemporary inmate of the abbey, states that on his return home, Wulfric accordingly 'first demolished his temple', that is the great church, 'from the front', or east end. Then

> he threw down also the western part of the oratory of the holy mother of God, together with the 'porches' (*porticibus*) with which it was surrounded, and, when the cemetery of the brethren hard by had been cleansed, he takes the whole space between the

two churches for the building, raises walls, and constructs columns and arches. Kent rejoiced in the new work, although the want of skill of the builders had made it unsuitable for a monastic habitation.[1]

But the new work was not allowed to go on, for the Blessed Virgin, so write the chroniclers, being displeased with the destruction wrought on her chapel, the unfortunate abbot was smitten with a disease from which he died in 1059.

Wulfric's successor, Egelsin, apparently made no attempt to finish or interfere with the new work, which remained as it was left until the coming of another abbot, Scotland by name, in 1070.

This man (says the monk Gocelin), after he like the rest of his predecessors had been established in his monastery, when he began to put forth his great mind to the building of his church now further to be lengthened, was sorely troubled by the work already standing (and) awkwardly extended; he was troubled also by the narrow space for the proposed plan. He was afraid moreover of the judgement of the mother of God against the previous abbot for her church which he had overthrown: he was afraid of the danger of ruin with respect to the old monastery consumed by long decay. In the midst of these anxieties he is carried off to Rome on a royal embassy to pope Alexander. There, after the king's business had been settled, he receives from the same pope counsel and benediction concerning the translation of the saints, the pulling down and building up of his basilica according to his own wishes, and with the sanction of the gracious Being on high. . . . . Then the faithful abbot, amazed and thankful in consequence of the testimony of so great a man, hastens home, and pulls down the unfinished portion of the new work. But the remaining part of the virgin oratory of the exalted Mary awaited his attack.[2]

After describing at some length the removal from the building of the body of St. Adrian and of various bishops, abbots, and other holy men who had been buried within it, Gocelin continues:

So when the aforesaid church had been thus emptied of its relics, it is thrown down and levelled to the ground, and soon on that very front that was battered down

[1] 'templum suum a fronte diruit . . . . Partem quoque ab occidente oratorii sancte Dei Genetricis cum porticibus quibus circumcingebatur dejecit: et inter utramque ecclesiam fratrum cimiterio quod adjacebat purgato. totum spacium ad fabricam corripit. parietes erigit. columnas et arcus componit. Letabatur novo opere Cantia. quamquam monastice habitacioni incongruum fecisset artificum imperitia.' Lib. ii, cap. iii, Cott. MS. Vesp. B xx, f. 127.

[2] 'Hic ut ceteri antecessores ordinatus in suo monasterio. cum in ecclesie sue longius protendente edificium largum extenderet animum. graviter offendebat eum asstans opus impediose productum. offendebat et angustum decrete machine spacium. Terrebat vero Dei Genitricis in abbatem superiorem de prerupta ecclesia sua judicium: terrebat de veteri monasterio longa carie consumto ruine periculum. In his angoribus rapitur legatione regia Romam. ad Alexandrum papam. Ibi post regia responsa: consilium accipit ab ipso papa et benedictionem. de transferendis sanctis. de destruenda et reformanda basilica sua pro suis votis. ac nutu superne largitatis.' Lib. ii, cap. vi, *ibid.* f. 128.

'Tum abbas fidelis ad tantum tanti viri testimonium obstupescens et gracias agens: domum properat. incoatam molem novi operis subvertit. Verum residua pars virginalis oratorii summe Marie ejus impetum morabatur.' Lib. ii, cap. vii, *ibid.* f. 128.

the forepart of the new 'hall' is erected and embraces all that interior of the old site with much more room. In that same first and choicest place of hers the highly exalted Virgin acquires a new crypt and the resting-place of Austin; the 'house', too, of the princes of the apostles (i.e. St. Peter and St. Paul) is elevated above.[1]

A later chronicler of the abbey, William Thorn, adds that

Abbot Scotland finished that new work beginning from the abovesaid oratory of the Virgin to the aisle of St. Austin in which he formerly rested.[2]

Now there can not be any question as to the position and extent of Scotland's work, since the crypt which he undoubtedly built, and wherein he was buried, has been discovered and excavated, as have the remains of his transepts, tower piers, and eastern part of the structural nave. Moreover, the massive foundations of these works overlie the remains of a building which was obviously pulled down to make way for them, and this building we are plainly told was Wulfric's. The octagonal structure under notice must therefore have been that begun by Wulfric, and carried up as high as the arcade story (which Scotland destroyed), between his visit to Rheims and his death in 1059.

How the building was intended to be finished is an interesting question. Its plan suggests a round dome, perhaps for a lantern or tower above, supported on strong piers and arches, with a vaulted ambulatory on all sides. The dome itself was also of course a vault. The eastern side seems to have been connected with Eadbald's church of our Lady, perhaps by a screen or arcade with a doorway in the middle. There was also a wide entrance on the west from the nave of the great church of St. Peter and St. Paul, to which the building was joined, and the principal apse or presbytery of this had apparently been destroyed to make way for it.

Analogy with other early buildings in France, Italy, and elsewhere, suggests that Wulfric perhaps intended his new work to serve as a baptistery, like several such that he might have seen abroad, and it is interesting in this connexion to recall what had been done in the rival monastery of Christchurch so far back as the middle of the eighth century. There, it is recorded by Eadmer, archbishop Cuthbert (741–758), amongst other good works,

built a church on the east part of the greater church, almost touching the same, and solemnly hallowed it in honour of the blessed John Baptist. He constructed this church to this end: that baptisms might be held therein and inquiries of courts of justice

[1] 'Sic itaque predicta ecclesia suis pignoribus evacuata. ad solum evertitur et complanatur. moxque in ipsa fronte arietata nove facies aule erigitur. totumque illum veteris spacii uterum. cum ampliori capacitate complectitur. In ipso priori atque electissimo loco suo criptam novam altissima Virgo nanciscitur. et Augustini thalamus. et principum apostolorum domus desuper cacuminatur.' Lib. ii, cap. xvi, *ibid.* f. 132.

[2] 'Perfecit autem abbas Scotlandus ipsum opus novum incipiendo a supradicto virginis oratorio usque ad porticum Sancti Augustini in qua antiquitus quiescebat.' Thorn, col. 1790.

appointed for divers causes which are wont to be held in the church of God for the correction of evil-doers; also that the bodies of the archbishops might be buried in it, the ancient custom being thus taken away by which hitherto they were wont to be buried outside the city in the church of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, where are laid the bodies of all his (i.e. Cuthbert's) predecessors.[1]

Unhappily there are no remains left to us of this church of St. John Baptist, nor any record as to whether it was round, eight-sided, or rectangular.

Buildings specially constructed as baptisteries seem, however, to have gone out of fashion before Wulfric's time, and in the middle and north of France, according to M. Enlart, polygonal baptisteries had ceased to be built during the Carolingian period.[2] M. Robert de Lasteyrie points out as the reason for this, that owing to changes in the ancient practices relating to the administration of baptism, baptisteries gradually lost their utility.[3] Their use, nevertheless, continued in Italy, but in Gaul it seems to have ceased about the time of Charlemagne, and in the Romanesque period baptisteries were not built at all.

Circular buildings to hold the remains of the dead were common even in Roman times, and a well-known Christian example is the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna. A more pretentious round building for the same purpose is the church of St. Constance in Rome, erected towards the end of the reign of Constantine to hold the tomb of his daughter. This has an inner ring of twelve pairs of coupled columns, with a circular aisle with recesses, and a porch covering the entrance.[4] The round part of the church of the Holy Sepulchre also had a ring of columns with an encircling aisle.

To come down to a period nearer to that of Wulfric, reference may be made to the church of Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre (Indre), which was founded in 1045 'ad formam Sancti Sepulchri Ierosolimitani'.[5] This has a ring of ten massive round columns with an encircling aisle and a later upper story with a dome.[6]

But there is a somewhat earlier building of the same type, to which Mr. John Bilson has called my attention, the round part of the church of

[1] 'Is inter alia bona quibus totum vitae suae tempus coram Deo et hominibus clarificabat, fecit ecclesiam in orientali parte majoris ecclesiae eidem pene contiguam, eamque in honorem beati Johannis Baptistae solemniter dedicavit. Hanc ecclesiam eo respectu fabricavit: ut baptisteria et examinationes judiciorum pro diversis causis constitutorum, quae ad correctionem sceleratorum in ecclesia Dei fieri solent, inibi celebrarentur, et archiepiscoporum corpora in ea sepelirentur: sublata de medio antiqua consuetudine, qua eatenus tumulari solebant extra civitatem in ecclesia Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ubi posita sunt corpora omnium antecessorum suorum.' Eadmer, *De Vita Bregwini archiep. Cant.* in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii, 186.

[2] Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française: architecture religieuse*, i (Paris, 1902), 192.

[3] R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1912), 280.

[4] Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* 130, figs. 112 and 113.

[5] Victor Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture* (Paris, 1911), 123–5.

[6] Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* fig. 269, p. 276, and Enlart, *op. cit.* fig. 65, p. 216.

St. Benignus at Dijon, which resembles Wulfric's structure in that it connects the east end of an earlier church with an older chapel to the east. Its plan shows an inner ring of eight columns, and an outer ring of sixteen columns, with an encircling aisle flanked north and south by round staircases to the upper works.[1] This was begun by abbot William of Volpiano in 1001 and consecrated in 1018. As Mr. Bilson says, 'it would be interesting to know if any connexion can be traced between Wulfric and the school of William, who was a great influence in his time'.

Another round building of similar plan to that at Dijon, also connecting the nave of a church with an apsidal presbytery and encircling chapels to the east, formerly existed at Charroux in Poitou, but only some fragments now remain. It was built in the eleventh century, and consisted of three concentric rings of columns with an encircling aisle.[2] Other buildings which seem to come within the same category are Rieux-Mérinville (Aude), which has an arcade forming a polygon of seven sides, with an encircling aisle of fourteen sides;[3] and the little building attached to the north side of Saint-Léonard (Haute-Vienne), which has a ring of eight round columns and an encircling aisle, also round, with four small apses projecting from its cardinal faces.[4]

If the theory be accepted that these later buildings were imitations of the church of the Holy Sepulchre it is quite possible that, like it, they were meant to contain a tomb or tombs, and that Wulfric began his round structure to hold eventually the tomb of St. Austin and other notable persons. But of this there is no documentary evidence.[5]

[1] M. de Lasteyrie (*op. cit.*) gives a plan (fig. 270) and section (fig. 271) of this remarkable building, from drawings published by Dom Plancher in his *Histoire de Bourgogne* in 1739-81. See also *Histoire de l'église Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, by Abbé L. Chomton (Dijon, 1900).

[2] Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* 277-8, and plan, fig. 272. I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Toy for calling my attention to the Charroux building.

[3] Plan and description in the volume of the *Congrès archéologique de France* (Carcassonne and Perpignan), 1906, pp. 54-6.

[4] *L'Église Saint-Léonard et la Chapelle du Sépulcre*, by René Fage, in the *Bulletin Monumental*, lxxvii (1913), pp. 59-72, with plan and section. Plan in Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* fig. 276, p. 282.

[5] In the thirteenth-century chronicle of Abingdon abbey, it is recorded of St. Athelwold, a monk of Glastonbury and pupil of St. Dunstan, who was made abbot in the days of King Edred, 947–55, and became bishop of Winchester in 963, on finding that the abbey of Abingdon had been ruined by the Danes, that

> Tunc coepit sanctus Athelwoldus aedificare ecclesiam hanc habentem formam. Cancellus rotundus erat, ecclesia et rotunda, duplicem habens longitudinem quam cancellus; turris quoque rotunda est (*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson (R. S.), ii, 277).

This might mean that the church had an apsidal or round-ended presbytery, a nave with central ring of pillars and an encircling aisle of a diameter twice the length of the presbytery, and a dome carried up as a round tower.

Mr. Micklethwaite, whose attention I called to the passage in 1896, thought that it referred

It has already been pointed out that Wulfric's building partly oversails on the west the thick foundation wall of an earlier structure. It also breaks through on the north-west what seems to have been an apse belonging to this same early work (fig. 5 and fig. 4).

These traces of an older building have been exposed for some months, along with the remains of Wulfric's octagon; but it is only lately that they could

Fig. 5. Part of an earlier apse overlaid by abbot Wulfric's building.

be further elucidated, and again by the sacrifice of certain screen foundations that stood in the way.

Baeda tells us that when Austin died in 605,

> his body was placed out of doors near the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul . . . . because that had not yet been finished nor hallowed. But as soon as it was hallowed, it was brought within and decently buried in the north aisle (*porticu*) of it; in which were also buried the bodies of all the succeeding archbishops, save two only, namely Theodore and Berctuald, whose bodies were placed in the church

to a rebuilding or restoration of the abbey church as founded in 675, described in a previous entry in these words:

> Habebat in longitudine c. et xx. pedes et erat rotundum in parte occidentali quam in parte orientali (*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*).

That is, it had an apse at each end. [See his paper, 'Something about Saxon Church Building', in *The Archaeological Journal*, liii, 296, note 2.]

But in face of the recent discovery of Wulfric's building, it seems possible that Athelwold's may have been similar in plan as regards its round nave and tower.

itself, because the aisle aforesaid could not take any more. This (aisle) has, almost in the middle of it, an altar dedicated in honour of the blessed pope Gregory, at which their services are solemnly celebrated every Saturday by a priest of that place.[1]

The Book of Customs of the abbey, compiled *c.* 1320–30, says that

The mass of the Mother of God was wont of old time solemnly to be sung by note daily at the altar of the same Mother of God in the crypts until the time of the lord abbot of pious memory Nicholas of the Thorn (1273–83). But he, by consent of the whole chapter, transferred that mass to the altar of St. Stephen and St. Mary Magdalene which is in the aisle on the north part of the nave of the church where the Blessed Austin was first buried and there rested for five hundred years until his translation.[2]

When William Thorn, one of the later chroniclers of the abbey, wrote towards the close of the fourteenth century, the chapel of St. Stephen and St. Mary Magdalene had come to be known as that of our Lady, and after quoting the statement from Baeda noted above, he adds

This aisle was in the old church where now is the chapel of the blessed Virgin.[3]

This chapel occupied a corresponding position to the old Lady Chapel in the cathedral church, in the eastern part of the north aisle, and outside the screens that formed the western barrier of the quire.

The excavation of its site has brought to light, first, the base of a massive wall running north and south, with large stones built into it, and what looks like the start of an apse on the east, but this is cut off abruptly by the outer wall of Wulfric's building (fig. 5). A little to the west is the angle of a much older structure, with part of a wall going eastwards; a wall running southwards, broken off and interrupted by Scotland's great sleeper wall; and at a much lower level the foundation of a wall continuing westwards, which has since been followed to its return southwards at a distance of 53 ft. These walls are only 21 in. thick, and largely built of Roman tiles and faced on both sides with a thin coat of plaster.

[1] 'Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus pater Augustinus, et positum corpus ejus foras juxta ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cujus supra meminimus, quia ea necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox vero ut dedicata est intro inlatum et in porticu illius aquilonali decenter sepultum est; in qua etiam sequentium archiepiscoporum omnium sunt corpora tumulata, praeter duorum tantummodo, id est, Theodori et Berctualdi, quorum corpora in ipsa ecclesia posita sunt, eo quod praedicta porticus plura capere nequivit. Habet haec in medio pene sui altare in honore beati papae Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius agendae eorum solemniter celebrantur.' *Baedae Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum*, lib. ii, cap. iii.

[2] 'Solebat antiquitus missa Dei Genetricis cantari solempniter per notam cotidie ad altare ejusdem Dei Genetricis in criptis, usque ad tempora piae memoriae dompni abbatis Nicholai de Spina. Sed ipse, de consensu tocius capituli, illam missam transtulit ad altare sancti Stephani et sanctae Mariae Magdalenae quod est in porticu septentrionali parte navis ecclesiae ubi beatus Augustinus primo sepultus erat et per quingentos annos usque ad suam translacionem ibi quiescebat.' ed. Henry Bradshaw Society, 1902, i, 144.

[3] 'Haec porticus erat in veteri ecclesia ubi nunc est capella beatae virginis.' W. Thorn, col. 1765.

As will be seen presently, there can also not be any doubt that they formed part of the church begun by King Ethelbert in 598; they also enclose the very *porticus* or aisle in which St. Austin and his immediate successors were buried; and standing in line against the north wall are three of their actual tombs (fig. 6).

The first of these occupies the north-east corner of the building, and has at its foot the standing fragment of the east wall. To the west of the second tomb, and between it and the third, is a patch of an early cement floor, with a bright

Fig. 6. Remains of the north *porticus* of King Ethelbert's church, with the tombs of archbishops Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus.

red surface of pounded Roman tile. To the west of the third tomb at 29 ft. from the east wall is a foundation only $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick and plastered on both sides, which apparently carried a wall or screen enclosing the burying-place on the west. Just beyond this are the remains of a concrete platform, perhaps for an altar.

Before dealing with the tombs themselves, several other features must be noticed; and first, another patch of red cement flooring. This lies opposite the interval between the first and second tombs; but it is to the north of the wall against which they stood, and clearly belongs to a later extension of the building. This extension probably included the destroyed apse to the east, and it necessitated the taking down of the north wall of Ethelbert's work for its whole length to enable the new floor to be continued over its line.

The extent of the new work can approximately be fixed. Its east wall

remains with the beginning of an apse. Its western limit may be indicated by a foundation 2½ ft. wide which crosses Ethelbert's building near its west end. The north wall seems partly to have been preserved as a base for abbot Scotland's aisle wall, and is still visible on the cloister side for its whole length. The two works are readily distinguished by a difference of colour in the mortar, and the rubble masonry here and there is rudely laid herring-bone fashion. The enlarged aisle was apparently 52 ft. in length. Its date is an open question, but I think it may be connected with a dedication of the church in 978 by archbishop Dunstan, in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and of St. Austin,[1] an event which evidently points to some unrecorded reconstruction or rebuilding on a large scale.

It must of course be borne in mind that these discoveries on the north part of the church ought to be balanced by similar finds of quite corresponding interest on the south part of the site of the *porticus* or aisle of St. Martin, wherein were buried St. Letard, Queen Bertha, King Ethelbert, and King Eadbald and his queen Emma, but for these we must await the removal of the hospital laundry which so unhappily and effectually stands in the way. Until this has been removed and the rest of the nave laid open it will also be safer to reserve for consideration several questions relating to the original plan and enlargement of the church.

Meanwhile, it is somewhat unfortunate that our present investigations are limited in two directions: to the north, by the deep foundations of abbot Scotland's aisle wall; to the south by the strong and broad sleeper wall of his nave arcade. The first is not very serious, but the southern obstruction overlies much that we would fain have seen. Moreover, it is 10 ft. broad and nearly 6 ft. deep, and its extraordinary solidity makes it difficult to burrow into or under. Its removal too is both undesirable and inexpedient, owing to its forming an important chapter in the history of the building.

The story can, however, be continued by the description of certain features south of it.

Partly overlaid by the western wall of Wulfric's building, and more or less in line with the eastern wall of Ethelbert's work, is a broad concrete foundation nearly 7 ft. thick. It has a clear face to the east, but the west side is very rough and much cut about. It appears to mark the eastern limit of the nave of the Saxon church, but I am inclined to associate it with the tenth-century reconstruction rather than with Ethelbert's work. Parallel with it to the west, at a distance of about 2 ft., is the foundation of another wall, 25½ in. thick, of doubtful purpose and date.

[1] 978. 'Dedicata fuit ista ecclesia a beato Dunstano in honore sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Augustini.' Thorn, col. 1780.

At the base of the great sleeper wall, here 5 ft. 10 in. deep, there extends westward from below the thick cross wall on the east, the concrete foundation of an older wall which has been traced for about 25 ft. from the face of Wulfric's octagon. At a distance of $23\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the same point it suddenly rises vertically to a higher level, 4 ft. 9 in. below the sleeper wall, and forms a jamb of Roman brick. Eastwards of this the foundation is set back 15 in. for a length of 6 ft. This apparently marks the place of a doorway, which, as will be seen from the plan, comes exactly in the middle of the burying-place to the north, wherein stand the three tombs. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible, that we have here the south side of Ethelbert's *porticus*, with the place of the entrance into it from the nave of the church, but it is curious that this wall is not parallel with the one to the north. It has also not been possible as yet to fix its thickness. This was greater than that of the outer wall, but the inner face is everywhere overlaid by the sleeper wall, and burrowing under this has not so far shown what is wanted. It is also much to be feared that for the building of the sleeper wall everything upon its line was first cleared away, and there thus have been lost many features of interest. What these were must next be inquired into.

'The book of the translation of St. Austin the apostle of the English and of his fellows', now amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum,[1] which the monk Gocelin wrote towards the close of the eleventh century,[2] is of special interest as being a contemporary record of the works that were carried out in the abbey church under abbots Wulfric, Scotland, and Wido. The first of these began to link together the two early churches with his octagonal structure; the second replaced the Saxon church of our Lady and Wulfric's building by a new presbytery with the existing crypt and transepts; while Wido continued Scotland's work down the nave.

Before each of these operations was begun, it was necessary temporarily to transfer elsewhere the remains of the saints and famous men who had been buried in the building about to be dealt with.

In 1030 the remains of St. Mildred, through the gift of King Cnut, had been translated to St. Austin's from Minster in Thanet, and laid before the principal altar of St. Peter and St. Paul. Here they rested until the destruction of the presbytery by Wulfric for his new building, when they were moved into the aisle of St. Austin and placed against its north wall.

The destruction by Scotland of King Eadbald's oratory of our Lady involved the translation of the remains of St. Adrian, the seventh abbot; of Albin his

[1] Vespasian B xx.

[2] In the prologue to Book I he describes the miracles wrought 'per *hoc* fere ab ipsa translatione septennium', that is, in the seven years following the translation by abbot Wido in 1091, which would give 1097 as the date of his work and that accepted by the Bollandists. [Note by the Rev. R. U. Potts.]

successor and several other abbots; and of the bodies of four kings, including Eadbald, who built the chapel, and Lothair, the son of St. Sexburg. All of these, with the exception of Adrian, abbot Scotland (according to Gocelin)

> placed in a western tower of the monastery before the altar of the Holy Mother of God, until the new church being rebuilt they could be re-deposited with new honour.[1]

Gocelin gives a minute account of the removal of the altar and tomb of St. Adrian, whose body was found entire within 'a large sarcophagus of white marble'. At the suggestion of Odo bishop of Bayeux, who happened then to be at Canterbury, the body was not taken out.

> And so the beloved Adrian, together with his great block of stone beautifully decorated, is lifted out entire upon very strong beams; he is borne forth with melodious organs of praise that reach the stars; into the aisle of the most beloved father Austin his most welcome colleague is conveyed: and among his most blessed associates and near to his first successor, that most holy archbishop Laurence, is entombed with fitting reverence.[2]

It was Scotland's intention, on the completion of the new presbytery which he had built above his crypt, to translate thither the bodies of Austin and his successors, as well as the relics already noted, but his own death in 1087 delayed for a time the carrying out of this plan.

Scotland was succeeded by Wido, who, in 1091, effected the translation of all who had been buried in Austin's *porticus*, but not until their remains had narrowly escaped total destruction through the impatient throwing down upon them of the building that stood to the east. The story of this extraordinary proceeding is eloquently told by Gocelin, but he goes on to say that

> when such great heaps of stones, beams, and leaden roofs, which had overwhelmed the sacred bodies, had been removed, all the sepulchral monuments of those men, although they were fragile and of tilework, and also the sculptures and angelic images with the Majesty of our Lord, wonderfully wrought over the tomb of the noble Austin, appeared unhurt, while all acclaimed the wonderful works of God.
>
> Meanwhile (continues Gocelin) the south wall remained near which lay the kindly Austin and the holy Deusdedit, and this being at length loosened by much battering, while it was believed that it must certainly crush the saints, straightway by the

[1] 'in occidentali turri monasterii omnia composuit ante sancte Dei Genetricis altare. donec nova ecclesia reedificata. novo reconderentur honore.' Lib. ii, cap. xiii, *ibid.* f. 131.

[2] 'Totus itaque desiderabilis Adrianus cum saxosa mole sua speciose adornata robustissimis trabibus excipitur. cum dulcimodis laudum organis astra ferientibus effertur. in porticum desiderantissimi patris Augustini gratissimus collega deponitur. et inter beatissimos ipsius consortes. ac juxta primum ejus successorem Laurentium archipresulem sanctissimum condigna sanctitate reconditur.' Lib. ii, cap. xi, *ibid.* f. 130 *b*.

unspeakable mercy of God it made a sort of a leap, and fell down flat, all in one solid mass, to the south, against those who were pushing it.[1]

Despite this careless treatment of the most sacred relics of the church, they were eventually taken up and translated in 1091 into the new presbytery, under circumstances described at length by Gocelin, which may for the present be passed over. He inserts, however, in his story, a chapter that is of special interest in connexion with recent discoveries, to this effect:

> It is a sacred duty to let posterity hear, what is no longer to be seen, in what position the saints formerly rested here. Austin first of all occupied the south side of his aisle, and with his sacred feet was pressing the eastern wall. On his left his first successor and companion Laurence, as has been shown, was stretched out in a similar space, only removed from him by so much room as the altar of their most blessed patron Gregory was occupying, claiming as its own one on either side. The other part of the breadth to the north, on the left of the good Laurence, received the holy Adrian. But the virgin of Christ Mildred, the one jewel of the fathers, by the north wall corresponded in a like place with Austin on the south. Of the translation of these (saints) we have above declared. At her head, as at that of the blessed Austin, stood an altar. But at the sacred head of Laurence, Mellitus, as his next successor, projected into the middle of the church. Mellitus makes room at his head for the righteous Justus, according to his succession to himself. On the right of Justus is blessed Honorius, the successor of Justus, and on the right of Honorius the holy and God-given Deusdedit was placed in the order of his succession. He indeed deserved a resting place on the same south wall at the head of mightiest Austin; only the door in the middle by which one entered divided them. Yet all the tombs of those angels of God were so separated that a passage between each of them was possible.[2]

[1] 'Nam ubi tante moles lapidum. trabium. tectorumque plumbatorum. que sacrosancta corpora obruerant sunt ablate. omnes ille illorum sepulchrales edicule cum essent fractiles et lateritie. sed et sculpture et imagines angelice cum dominica majestate super tumbam magnifici Augustini mirifice formate. cunctis miracula Dei acclamantibus illese apparuere.' Lib. i, cap. iii, *ibid.* f. 96 *b*.

'Restabat interim paries australis qua parte almus Augustinus sacerque Deusdedit quiescebant. Qui tandem multo ariete solutus. dum certo nutu sanctos oppressurus crederetur. protinus inestimabili Dei virtute quasi in saltum excutitur. et ad austrum contra impellentes totus integra soliditate prosternitur.' Lib. i, cap. iiii, *ibid.* f. 96 *b*.

[2] [f. 101] 'Pium est etiam posteros audire. quod jam non est videre. qua hic sancti prius requieverint positione. Primus Augustinus sue porticus australe latus possidebat. et sacris vestigiis orientalem maceriam pulsabat. Ab ejus leva primus successor et lateralis Laurentius ut premonstratum est simili spacio protendebatur. tantummodo remotus. quantum loci altare beatissimi auctoris sui Gregorij hinc inde utrumque ascissens occupabat. Cetera pars aquilonalis latitudinis. a sinistra almi Laurentii Adrianum sanctum exceperat. Virgo autem xpi Mildreda unica patrum gemma. a boreali pariete australi Augustino concordi respondebat regione. quos supra translatos extulimus. Ejus vertici ut beati Augustini. altare astabat. At capiti sacro Laurentii. Mellitus ut proximus successor. in producta ecclesie area imminebat. Mellitus justifluum Justum. secundum suam successionem sibi accommodat ad caput. A Justi vero dextera beatus Honorius successor Justi. a dextra Honorio. sanctus et a Deo datus Deus-

The recent excavation of the *porticus* and its surroundings, although incomplete for the reasons above stated, makes it comparatively easy to understand, what would otherwise have been somewhat difficult, this careful description by Gocelin.

The original aisle had in its eastern corners and up against the east wall the tombs of Austin to the south and of Laurence to the north, with the altar of St. Gregory between them. There was also a smaller altar at the head of Austin's tomb. Before the main altar was a clear space, entered by the doorway on the

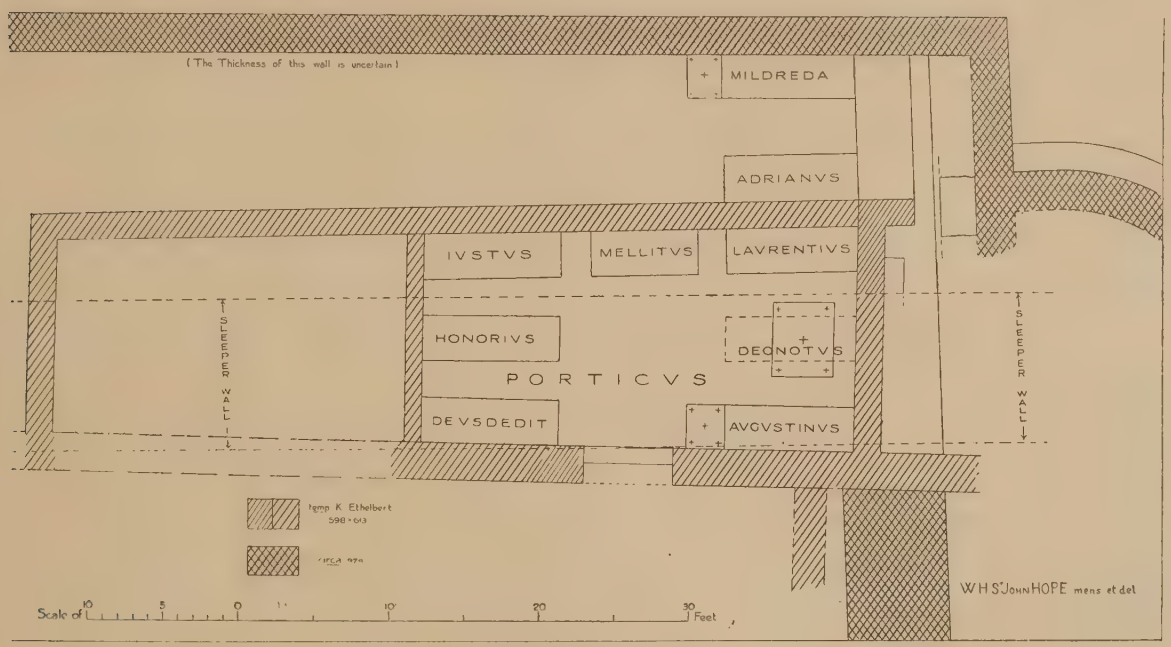


Fig. 7. Restored plan, with probable arrangement of *porticus* and tombs.

south, which had opposite to it against the north wall the tomb of Mellitus. The western part of the chapel had against the wall or screen, that enclosed it, the tombs of Justus and Deusdedit in the corners with Honorius between.

Besides these six tombs there were two others; these stood, however, not in the original *porticus*, but in the later extension of it to the north. Beyond Laurence lay Adrian, whose empty grave can now be seen, and against the north

dedit. successionis sue ordine subjungebatur. Is nempe a capite summi Augustini. ejusdem [f. 101 *b*] australis parietis thorum commeruit: quos tantum medium ostium quo intrabatur discrevit. Sic tamen erant omnia illa angelorum Dei mausolea distincta. ut transitus haberetur inter singula.' Lib. i, cap. xvii, *ibid.* ff. 101, 101 *b*.

wall, in the corner, lay Mildred, with a small altar at the head of her tomb, but the place of her burial is now covered by Scotland's aisle wall. The three tombs that have lately been found in a row are clearly those of Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus. The places of the others and of St. Gregory's altar are unhappily covered by the great sleeper wall.

Before describing the tombs it may be well to quote from a further chapter by Gocelin another curious discovery that was made.

> Now in taking up the body of the blessed Laurence, while it was being decided that the pavement which lay before St. Gregory's altar, between him and the renowned Austin, should first be taken up, so that an easier exit might be prepared for the saint from the tomb broken through on the side, wonderful to say the hardness of the bricks mocked the iron tools and the wits [or engines] of them all. . . . At length the stubborn strength yields to frequent blows, yet the very strong construction of the brickwork is not broken up. But, wondrous sight, a sort of wooden boarding nailed together, about the size of a large door, is taken out entire. And while from the pavement thus pulled up this boarding is torn out and lifted up, a small sepulchral crypt, which was hidden before or even under the altar itself, is disclosed by a small stone being pulled up in like manner. A small opening being thus made, straightway a prodigious vapour of sweetness never before experienced, boiling up, not only smote the bystanders in the face as a mighty blast, but blew through the whole cloister of the monastery and the brethren resident therein with a new aroma of spices. . . . . Under the same altar of St. Gregory then, the most holy body of the buried man lay towards the same east wall hard by, as did those of Austin and Laurence, and lying exactly in the middle as the son of both fathers, was as it were cherished under the wings of each.[1]

The remains of this person, whose burial was unrecorded and his name unknown, were enclosed in a leaden coffin and translated into Scotland's new work. As his name was known only to God he was henceforth entitled Deonotus.

Gocelin describes with his usual eloquence the issuing forth of fragrant vapours from the tombs of Austin and Mellitus and follows up the account of the translations with the following interesting notes:

[1] [f. 101 *b*] 'Igitur efferendo beati Laurentii corpore. dum pavimentum quod coram Gregoriano altare inter ipsum et preclarum Augustinum patebat prius evellendum censeretur. quatinus a latere fracta tumba facilior. exitus sancto pararetur. mirum dictu. ferramenta et ingenia omnium. ridebat durities laterum. . . . . Tandem rebellis fortitudo crebris ictibus subjicitur. nec tamen munitissimus laterculorum textus solvitur: verum mirabile visu. quasi ligneum tabulatum conclavatum ad spatium ample ianue integer sustollitur. Dumque sic excrustato pavimento evulsa crates erigitur. sepulchralis criptula que coram ipso vel sub ipso altari latebat evulso pariter lapillo violatur. Ita modice foramine facto. protinus ingens vapor. inexperte suavitatis ebulliens. non solum asstantes ut vehemens flatus in faciem percussit. sed et totum claustrum monasterii ac fratres in eo residentes nova aromatum virtute perflavit. . . . . [f. 102] Sub eodem itaque Gregoriano altare. sacrosancta gleba sepulti ad ipsum orientalem parietem contiguum sicuti Augustini et Laurentii porrigebatur: qui tanquam filius geminorum patrum eque medius. velut utriusque alis fovebatur.' Lib. i, cap. xviii, *ibid.* ff. 101 *b*, 102.

On the Monday following, the site being cleared, the building of the nave of the church goes on. A great column is founded in the northern rank in that very place whence the richest treasure, the body of Austin, was taken up. That (column) encloses in a spacious cavity, as sacred relics, the hallowed bricks of his tomb or little crypt. Of the pavement laid below, on which the most blessed body lay, the bright purple tiles, united together in a level flooring, and reeking with nard of saffron hue, are eagerly stripped off and enclosed in the altar of the new porch of the blessed Gregory . . . Under these tiles lying on the top was found most pure earth, half a foot thick, from the foundation that projected from the old wall of the Augustinian *porticus*. This earth, too, the odour of Austin penetrating the tiles, was fragrant with marvellous sweetness. The earth taken out about the flints of the aforesaid foundation they decided should be distributed through the sacred tombs of Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, which had escaped the ruination of the ecclesiastical structure, and so be preserved.

Gocelin concludes with this important memorandum:

Moreover, lest our posterity, those who shall be sons of the love of so great a father, shall grieve that henceforth they know not the place as described of his ancient monument, let him note who will that this column, which we have described a little before, contains the tile tomb, and let him number and know that it is the third from that which is arched for the eastern tower.[1]

It may be pointed out, also for the sake of those who come after us, that the flint rubble core of this third pillar is still standing to a height of 2 ft. 5 in., but there is no outward sign of the tiles of Austin's tomb, and I doubt if we should be justified in breaking up the core in the hope of finding the tiles within. We have also in several places met with black earth similar to that referred to by Gocelin. A layer of it, except where interrupted by graves, extends under the red cement floor of the nave, and it occurs again further east to the north of the destroyed apse.

From the particular mention of the preservation of the three tombs along the north wall, and the account of the way in which the materials of Austin's

[1] 'Secunda dehinc feria patente spacio structura navis ecclesie procedit. Fundatur columna spaciosa in aquilonali serie. ipso loco unde opulentissimus thesaurus Augustini corporis assumtus est. Cujus tumbe vel criptule sacratos laterculos. alvo capaci pro sacris pignoribus illa complectitur. Substrati vero pavimenti cui beatissima gleba incubuit lateres puniceos. nitidos. plano tabulatu contextos et crocea nardo fumantes. certatim excrustantur. et in altari nove porticus beati Gregorii supra memorato reconduntur. Sub his lateribus inventa est terra mundissima. semipedis spissitudine fundamento quod de pariete veteri Augustiniane porticus prominebat superjecta. Hec quoque terra penetrante lateres Augustini odore mirifica fraglabat suavitate. Quam ad predicti fundamenti silices exhaustam per sacrata busta Laurentii. Melliti ac Justi que ecclesiastice structure persequutionem evaserant distribuendam ac servandam censuerunt. Ne vero posteri nostri hi qui fuerint filii dileccionis tanti patris se nescire doleant hactenus descriptum ejus antiqui monumenti locum. notet qui voluerit hanc columnam quam paulo ante designavimus ejus continere latericiam tumbam. numeretque et sciat ab illa que turri orientali arcuatur terciam.' Lib. i, cap. xxix, *ibid.* ff. 108 *b*, 109.

tomb were disposed of, I think it must be taken for granted that everything else in the original chapel was entirely destroyed, as already noted, for the building of the sleeper wall.

It only remains to describe the tombs that have been so fortunately spared to us.

The easternmost, that of archbishop Laurence, who died in 619, appears outwardly as a flat-topped rectangular mass of concrete raised 3 ft. above the red floor (fig. 8). It is 3 ft. wide, and was originally 9 ft. long, but was seriously damaged

Fig. 8. Remains of the tomb of archbishop Laurence, with Adrian's grave on the left.

in the thirteenth century by being cut through for the foundation (which we have lately removed) of a transverse screen-wall in the aisle above. It now consists of a large section towards the east 5 ft. 7 in. long, and a fragment to the west containing the head of the grave. The concrete mass, which abuts at its foot against a section of Ethelbert's wall that has been preserved on account of it, consists of an upper layer, 26 in. thick, of pieces of Roman tile bedded in white mortar, and resting upon an under layer of pink cement which enclosed the coffin on all sides (fig. 9). The coffin was 6 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with sides 18 in. deep, and had a coped lid with a flattened ridge 6 in. broad and rounded ends. The total depth

of the coffin was 2 ft. 2 in. and the width about 2 ft. throughout. The coffin was a wooden one, and the interior of the tomb is actually a cast of its outward form, since the pink cement was evidently poured over it in a semi-fluid state after it had been laid in the grave, until it was completely covered to a depth of 6 in. above the lid. The grave was 23 in. deep and floored with similar cement, and the foot of the coffin was 2 ft. 6 in. from the wall against which the tomb abuts. Whether the coffin contained an inner one of lead we cannot now tell, but archbishop Laurence must have been a very tall and sparely built man.

It is evident from Gocelin's account of the discovery of Deonotus under St. Gregory's altar, that the altar was removed and the flooring south of the tomb taken up, so that the side of the tomb could be broken through and the contents withdrawn. The breach is still visible, but if the tomb had not been partly cut

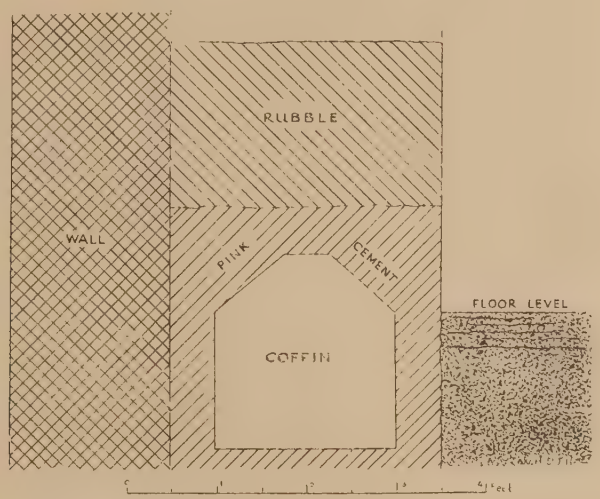


Fig. 9. Section of the tomb of archbishop Laurence.

away in the thirteenth century it would have been difficult for us to see the interior as we now can, owing to the close proximity (less than 18 in.) of the sleeper wall.

It may be noted that when the original wall to the north was taken down for the enlargement of the aisle, the side of the tomb thereby exposed was roughly plastered over.

The second tomb, that of archbishop Mellitus, who died in 624, stands 23 in. to the west of the first. It is 7 ft. 1 in. long and 3 ft. broad, but its flat top is raised only 3 in. above the floor. The tomb is outwardly of white cement or concrete. There is a breach low down along the south side, through which the contents were taken out in 1091, but owing to the nearness of the sleeper wall it is impossible now to see inside, unless an opening be made from above.

Another interval, of 25 in., divides the second tomb from the third, that of archbishop Justus or Just, who died in 630. This is 9 ft. 4 in. long and 3 ft. wide, with a roughly bevelled top 6 in. above the floor. Owing to the fact that in 1091 the tomb of archbishop Honorius was standing alongside it on the south, the tomb of Justus was not opened on that side, but on the north, by cutting down the foundation of Ethelbert's wall. The long breach then made through which the contents were taken out enables the interior to be examined with ease. As in the case of archbishop Laurence, a large wooden coffin, or outer shell to an inner one, was laid in the grave. The body of the coffin was then surrounded up to its depth with semi-fluid white cement, and upon this when sufficiently set there was laid along the sides at the level of the lid a line of pieces of Roman brick. These were placed horizontally on the south side, but on the wall side

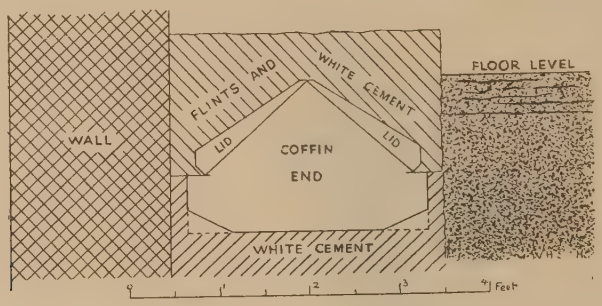


Fig. 10. Section of the tomb of archbishop Justus.

they were laid aslant. The sloping sides of the lid were then covered up with a concrete of flints and white cement until the coffin was completely buried to a depth of $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. above the ridge (fig. 10).

The interior of the tomb, like that of Laurence, is practically a cast of the shape of the coffin, but owing to the use of a finer and more liquid cement, it is in better preservation.

The coffin was 7 ft. 7 in. long with a uniform width outside of 2 ft. 8 in. and 1 ft. 8 in. deep from the ridge of its coped lid or cover. The ends were formed of pieces of planking $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 3 in. thick, square at the bottom and gabled at the top. The bottom was made of three planks: a middle one 20 in. wide, and side planks only 6 in. wide canted up outwardly at a small angle. The coped lid was 2 in. narrower in width than the coffin, and formed of two thick planks increasing in thickness from 1 in. at the ridge to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the edge, which was chamfered on the under side. The imprint of the boards, even to the grain in places, is plainly visible on the cement, which was evidently fluid enough to run in between the planks at the ends and elsewhere where they were not closely nailed together.[1]

[1] For the minute details of the inside of this tomb I am greatly indebted to Mr. Wilfrid J. Hemp, who spent a considerable time within it, examining it and taking the necessary notes and measurements.

It should be noted that the foot of the coffin actually extended 9 in. beyond the tomb under the pink floor, which, if not contemporary, ought therefore to be of a later date, and that the ends and south side of the tomb are coated with fine plaster. The size of the enclosed coffin suggests that archbishop Justus, like Laurence, was a very tall man.

Of the interest attaching to the discoveries just described it is somewhat difficult to speak.

Not only do they take us back with startling reality to the very beginnings of the English Church, but they prove in a remarkable way the credibility of the chroniclers of the abbey who set down for us what they had heard and seen. The account of the monk Goscelin in particular may to a large extent be taken as that of an eyewitness who was keen to record all that he saw, and his descriptions and enthusiastic flow of language justify William of Malmesbury's opinion of him as 'insignis litterarum et cantuum peritia'. The finding of the veritable tombs of three of the earliest archbishops of Canterbury is in itself a noteworthy event, and the singular recovery from them of the forms of two of the contained coffins is another exceptional matter.

We have also got an instalment towards the plan of one of the first important churches recorded to have been built in England, begun from the foundations so early as 598. For further remains of this and of its unrecorded enlargement, as well as the excavation of St. Martin's aisle and its contained royal tombs, we may confidently await the much-to-be-desired removal of the hospital washhouse.

The foundations of Wulfric's abortive building that have so fortunately been preserved to us, form yet a third remarkable find, and it is to be hoped that some further light may be thrown upon its possible origin and purpose by the publication of its singular plan and arrangement.

All these discoveries justify in the most ample manner the value of scientific excavation and the careful noting of what is found: Goscelin's description of the burying-place of the early archbishops in itself would have been difficult to follow, but the revelation of the lines of the early walls that enclosed it and of the later extension which included the added tombs has made everything quite clear.

So, too, with regard to Wulfric's building. Excavation has revealed a most unusual plan of which we had otherwise not the slightest hint.

In conclusion, I should like again to express the indebtedness of all archaeologists to the authorities of St. Augustine's College, especially to the warden, Bishop Knight, and the sub-warden, the Rev. R. U. Potts, for their careful and patient unravelling of the important relics of the first abbey church. The college has also with commendable foresight already roofed over for protection from the

weather so much of the excavated section of the north aisle as contains the archbishops' tombs and their surroundings. Most useful help, too, has been constantly given by some of the students of the college, especially Mr. Bertram Lamplugh and Mr. Harold Pyner, the latter of whom has also arranged with unusual skill and judgement in the vestibule of the Library the large number of architectural and other remains that have been accumulating for some years from the excavations.

I am also personally indebted to Mr. Aymer Vallance for photographing the remains of the various screen foundations, etc. before their necessary removal, and to my old friend the Rev. Dr. Fowler for the translation of the difficult Latin of Gocelin's chronicle, towards which Bishop Knight and the Rev. R. U. Potts have made some suggestions.

It only remains to state that the three surviving trustees, Lord Northbourne, Mr. F. Bennett-Goldney, and myself, in whose hands the property known as the Abbey Field was vested on its purchase by private subscription in 1900, have now been able to transfer it to St. Augustine's College, and so once more to unite two important sections of St. Austin's Abbey that have been separated ever since its suppression in the sixteenth century.

POSTSCRIPT.

After the foregoing paper had been set up in type, the Rev. R. U. Potts kindly sent the following important note:

'The fact of the extension of the original *porticus* of which the stones first told us, has since been confirmed by the following statement from Gocelin's life of St. Austin:

> Theodore too the seventh, a noble follower of the high Roman tradition, was buried on the right side of father Austin with only the internal wall of the church between them, because the porch *as yet not enlarged* could not hold all; but *afterwards when it had been enlarged*, to these fellow saints is added Adrian beloved of all generations, the most kindly abbot of that monastery; also the fairest lily of the English, Christ's royal virgin, Mildred with her own brightness most happily illumines the splendid tombs of these great fathers. Thus then the most blessed father of them all, pope Gregory, has his altar in the middle, like a patrician's chair of state, and protects the same *porticus* consecrated to God, embracing in his eternal affection not the graves of those who are buried together but the couches of those who banquet together' (? not the sharers of a common grave but the partakers of a common feast).[1]

[It is possible that the bit of early foundation by the site of Theodore's grave (see p. 389) may have had something to do with it.—W. H. St. J. H.]

[1] Ch. 53. 'Septimus quoque Theodorus, Romanae praecellentiae subsecutor egregius, almo Augustino a dextro consepultus est latere, una tantum monasterialis alvi maceria interstite quia *nondum amplificata* porticus omnes nequierat suscipere: qua *postea dilatata*, his sanctis consortibus adjungitur omnibus amandus saeculis Adrianus, ejusdem monasterii abbas clementissimus: . . . item candidissimum ex Anglis lilium, regia Christi virgo, Mildretha suo candore gratissime illustrat splendida tantorum patrum ornamenta. Horum igitur omnium auctor beatissimus papa Gregorius, habens altare medium velut patricium solium, ipsamque servans Deo dicatam porticum aeterna dilectione circumplectitur non tam funera consepultorum quam triclinia convivantium.' Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 80, p. 92.

CLOISTER

NORTH TRANSEPT

JUSTUS MELLITUS LAURENTIUS

NAVE

ABBOT SCOTLAND'S

CRYPT & PRESBYTERY

[NOT YET EXCAVATED]

SOUTH TRANSEPT

temp. King Ethelbert 598—613.

? circa 978.

Abbot Wulfric 1056—59.

Abbots Scotland 1070—87 and Wido 1087—91.

SCALE.

Feet 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Feet

W. H. St John Hope mens. et del.

C.F.KELL & SON

ST AUSTIN'S ABBEY, CANTERBURY, PLAN OF RECENT DISCOVERIES OF EARLY WORKS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1915.

XIII.—*Mary de Sancto Paulo, Foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge.*

By Hilary Jenkinson, *Esq., B.A., F.S.A.*

Read 26th November, 1914.

It is natural that in the period of nearly six hundred years that has elapsed since the foundation of her college some of those who have had part in the Countess of Pembroke's beneficence should have attempted to put together materials for her life. The most definite effort was made on the occasion of the college's quincentenary in 1847 by the then Master, Dr. Gilbert Ainslie.[1] Dr. Ainslie, who was responsible for the excellent arrangement and catalogue by which the Pembroke deeds are still referred to, wrote out his results in a manuscript book[2] which is now in the possession of the college. His critical acumen, as seen in this work, is wholly admirable: he realized and corrected numerous errors, some of which have continued in printed books down to the present time. He also covered, in his search for information, a very wide ground. This last, however, did not include original documents except (the exception is a large one, it is true) the college muniments and possibly some British Museum and other library manuscripts: the Public Records he knew, as a rule, only from Rymer, the Record Commission publications, and the like; and there are, of course, many printed authorities now in existence which he would gladly have consulted.

I have therefore thought that there were gaps in Dr. Ainslie's narrative which I might fill and even a few mistakes which I might correct; and that perhaps, making my survey[3] as complete as possible, I might go so far as to try to discover not merely the ordinary facts which must emerge with regard to the career and possessions of any well known and highly placed medieval personage, besides such actual material links with her as may still survive; but also something of her views, ideas, ways of life, what she was and what she

[1] Upon the subject of the work of one of his predecessors (Bishop Wren) in this connexion see Ainslie's MS., p. 73.

[2] *Memoirs of Marie de Saint Paul Countess of Pembroke.*

[3] I have been very much indebted, in the compilation, to the kindness of many connected with the college: in particular I should mention the present and late Masters (Mr. W. S. Hadley and the Rev. Canon A. J. Mason), the Treasurer (Mr. H. G. Comber), who has allowed me access to the muniments, and the Librarian (Mr. E. H. Minns), who has supplied me with much information. I have also to thank many of my colleagues at the Record Office and other friends who have at various times given me references.

thought in connexion with the political, moral, and intellectual movements and achievements of her time. In doing so I have used Dr. Ainslie's MS. freely in connexion with other sources; though my paper was first written without reference to it.

Researches of this kind have been very little made in regard to medieval women; and are perhaps, on that account alone, of some interest. For reasons, however, which I think will be clear later, the result of them is somewhat disappointing in the case of Mary de Sancto Paulo. I am able to offer to the Society a few documents of real interest which have been untouched, or very little touched, so far; but the mass of information about the Countess, though very considerable in bulk, is, and I am afraid must remain (even in more skilful hands than mine), in a way colourless.

Birth and Family Connexions.

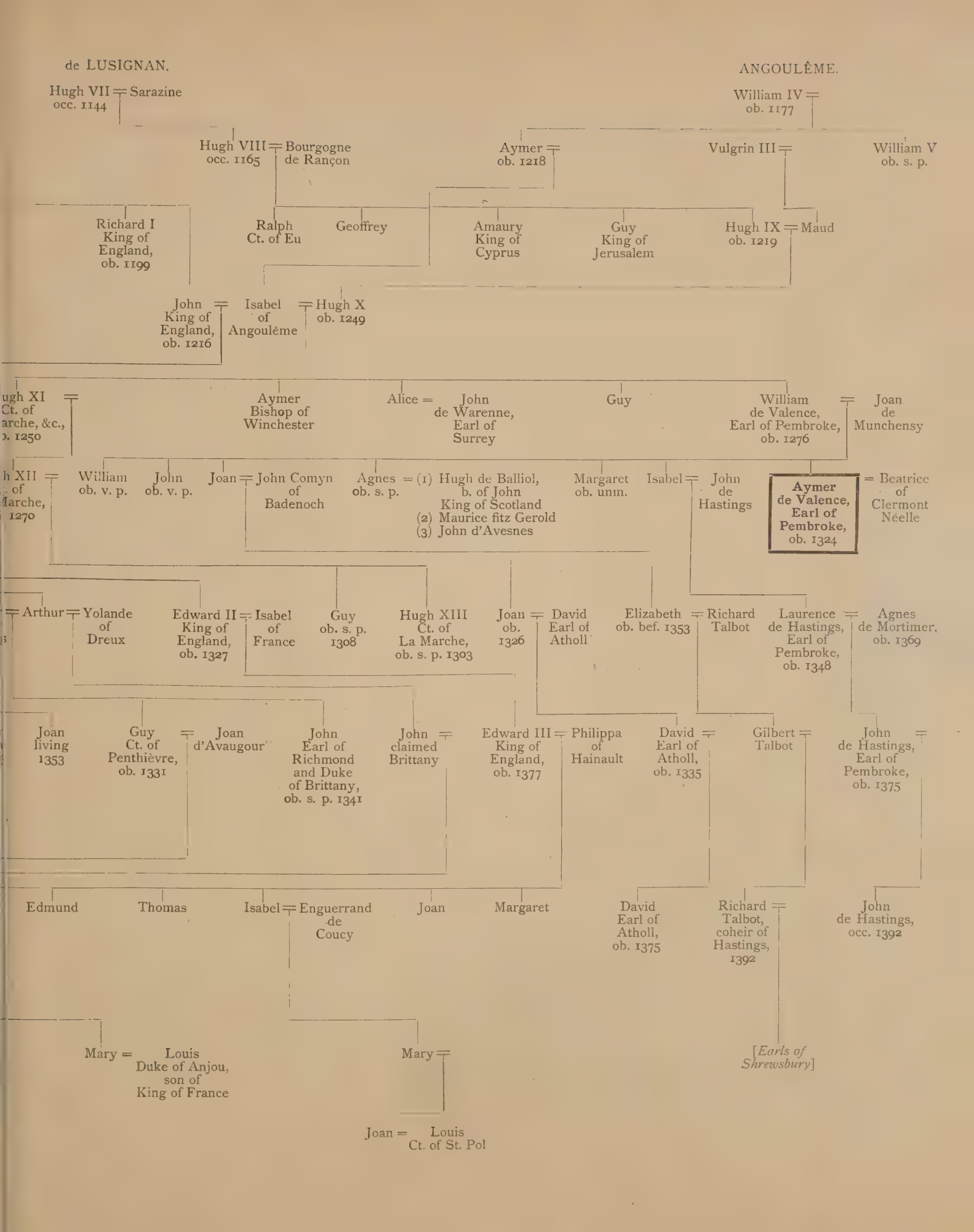
From her family and marriage connexions, the position she herself occupied during the major part of her life, and the characteristics of the period she lived through we might have, I think, a reasonable expectation of something quite vivid. Her family was that of Châtillon of Châtillon-sur-Marne. Without going into the history of the original Miles de Châtillon (*c.* 1050), of the ancestor who married the Princess of Antioch, or even of those more practical Châtillons who contracted alliances with the heiresses of St. Pol and Blois, we may mention that according to Anselme it had been allied with the blood royal fourteen times, while the seventeenth-century historian of the house, André Duchesne, tabulates about 250 noble families with whom it had marriage connexion. The Countess's own father was Guy de Châtillon, Count of St. Pol (a small place in the Pas-de-Calais near Amiens): 'one of the most accomplished lords of his time', he fought for and served King Philippe le Bel in numerous high capacities. Her mother, Mary of Brittany, whom he married in 1292, was descended directly from the sister of the English Prince Arthur and (in a later generation) from Beatrice, daughter of Henry III; and was sister to that Arthur of Brittany (died 1312) whose descendants by his two marriages quarrelled so long over the duchy later in the fourteenth century. Our own Countess, the subject of this paper, was her parents' fourth daughter, and was born (probably at St. Pol since she consistently used that name) not much later or earlier, we may suppose, than 1304. Her father died in 1317 and was buried, as was her mother, at Cercamp, Pas-de-Calais.

It is important to realize the extent to which the Countess of Pembroke was united by ties of blood with ruling families all over the north of France; but

de CHÂTILLON.

ENGLAND.

Henry living 1130 = Ermengarde de Montjay
Gaucher occ. 1147 = Ade de Roucy
Renaud occ. 1186 = Constance Princess of Antioch
Guy living 1170 = Alice of Dreux
Agnes = Bela King of Hungary
Gaucher ob. 1219 = Elizabeth d. and h. of Hugh Ct. of St. Pol
Guy ob. 1226, leaving one s. Gaucher, ob. 1251
Hugh Ct. of St. Pol, ob. 1248 = Mary d'Avesnes, Countess of Blois
Gaucher Ct. of Porcien, ob. 1261 = Isabel de Villehardouin
John Ct. of Blois, ob. 1279 = Alice of Brittany
Guy Ct. of St. Pol and Blois, ob. 1289 = Maud of Brabant
Gaucher Ct. of Porcien, ob. 1329 = Isabel of Dreux
[Counts of Porcien]
Joan ob. 1292 = Peter Ct. of Alençon, s. of St. Louis
Jacques Sr. de Leuze, occ. 1302 = Catherine of Condé
[Seigneurs de Leuze]
Guy Ct. of Blois and Dunois, ob. 1342 = Margaret de Valois
Jean ob. 1342 = Joan de Fiennes
Guy ob. 1360 in England
Maud Countess of St. Pol = Guy of Luxembourg
Louis Ct. of Blois, occ. 1346 = Joan of Hainault
Charles of Blois, Duke of Brittany, Ct. of Penthievre, occ. 1364 = Joan
Louis Ct. of Blois, ob. 1372
John ob. v. p.
Guy Ct. of Soissons, Blois, and Dunois, ob. 1397 = Mary of Namur
Louis ob. v. p.
Charles ob. s. p. m. bef. 1434
Peter de Braine, Count of Brittany = Alice
John Duke of Brittany, ob. 1286 = Blanche of Navarre
Gaucher Ct. of Porcien, ob. 1261 = Isabel de Villehardouin
John Ct. of Blois, ob. 1279 = Alice of Brittany
Guy Ct. of St. Pol and Blois, ob. 1289 = Maud of Brabant
Jacques Sr. de Leuze, occ. 1302 = Catherine of Condé
Hugh Ct. of Blois and Dunois, ob. c. 1307 = Beatrice of Flanders
Guy Ct. of St. Pol, ob. 1317 = Mary of Brittany, ob. 1339
John Earl of Richmond, ob. unm. 1334
Jean ob. 1342 = Joan de Fiennes
Jacques ob. s. p. c. 1365
Maud ob. c. 1348 = Charles of Valois, s. of Philip King of France
Beatrice living 1350
Isabel living 1351 = William de Coucy
Mary of St. Pol, ob. 1377
John K.G., def. Charles of Blois, 1364, and bec. Duke of Brit. = (1) Mary (2) Joan, d. of Thomas Earl of Kent (3) Joan of Navarre
[Dukes of Brittany to 1488]
Guy ob. 1360 in England
Maud Countess of St. Pol = Guy of Luxembourg
Louis Ct. of Blois, occ. 1346 = Joan of Hainault
Charles of Blois, Duke of Brittany, Ct. of Penthievre, occ. 1364 = Joan
Louis Ct. of Blois, ob. 1372
John ob. v. p.
Guy Ct. of Soissons, Blois, and Dunois, ob. 1397 = Mary of Namur
Louis ob. v. p.
Charles ob. s. p. m. bef. 1434
Henry II King of England, ob. 1189 = Eleanor of Aquitaine
Henry
Guy de Thouars = Constance of Brittany = Geoffre
Arthur
Elea
Henry III King of England, ob. 1272 = Eleanor
L
John Earl of Richmond and Duke of Brittany, ob. 1305 = Beatrice
Edward I King of England, ob. 1307 = Eleanor
Edward
Lionel
John of Gaunt
Ele liv 13
Mary of St. Pol, ob. 1377
John 36 years a hostage in England, ob. 1404 =
Guy ob. a hosta in Englan


de LUSIGNAN.
ANGOULÊME.
Hugh VII = Sarazine occ. 1144
William IV = ob. 1177
Hugh VIII occ. 1165 = Bourgogne de Rançon
Aymer ob. 1218
Vulgrin III =
William V ob. s. p.
Richard I King of England, ob. 1199
Ralph Ct. of Eu
Geoffrey
Amaury King of Cyprus
Guy King of Jerusalem
Hugh IX ob. 1219 = Maud
John King of England, ob. 1216 =
Isabel of Angoulême =
Hugh X ob. 1249
ugh XI Ct. of arche, &c., . 1250 =
Aymer Bishop of Winchester
Alice = John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey
Guy
William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, ob. 1276 =
Joan de Munchensy
h XII = of Marche, 1270
William ob. v. p.
John ob. v. p.
Joan =
John Comyn of Badenoch
Agnes ob. s. p. = (1) Hugh de Balliol, b. of John King of Scotland (2) Maurice fitz Gerold (3) John d'Avesnes
Margaret ob. unm.
Isabel =
John de Hastings
Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, ob. 1324
= Beatrice of Clermont Néelle
= Arthur =
Yolande of Dreux
Edward II = King of England, ob. 1327
Isabel of France
Guy ob. s. p. 1308
Hugh XIII Ct. of La Marche, ob. s. p. 1303
Joan ob. 1326 =
David Earl of Atholl
Elizabeth ob. bef. 1353 =
Richard Talbot
Laurence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, ob. 1348 =
Agnes de Mortimer, ob. 1369
Joan living 1353
Guy Ct. of Penthièvre, ob. 1331 =
Joan d'Avaugour
John Earl of Richmond and Duke of Brittany, ob. s. p. 1341
John claimed Brittany =
Edward III King of England, ob. 1377 =
Philippa of Hainault
David Earl of Atholl, ob. 1335 =
Gilbert Talbot =
John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, ob. 1375 =
Edmund
Thomas
Isabel =
Enguerrand de Coucy
Joan
Margaret
David Earl of Atholl, ob. 1375
Richard Talbot, coheir of Hastings, 1392 =
John de Hastings, occ. 1392
Mary = Louis Duke of Anjou, son of King of France
Mary =
[Earls of Shrewsbury]
Joan = Louis Ct. of St. Pol

difficult to express it without entering upon a long catalogue.[1] Her father's county of St. Pol went out of the direct line, it is true, very soon; her brother's son dying without issue and leaving it to the Luxembourg family, into which his sister had married. On the other hand, of the Countess's own elder sisters Maud[2] was wife to Charles of Valois and stepmother to the future king Philip VI, and to Marguerite of Valois, who married Maud's cousin, Guy Count of Blois; Beatrice, married in 1315, was Dame de Nesle; and Isabel married in 1311 William de Coucy, and had a grandson who married Edward III's daughter. There were also two younger sisters and two brothers, Jean Comte de St. Pol and Jacques Seigneur d'Encre. At the date of the Countess's marriage (to mention only two further great houses) the Count of Blois, Charles, was her first cousin and the Count of Porcien her father's first cousin; from this house of Porcien (itself founded by a younger son) had already sprung, in the first part of the fourteenth century, the branches of the Vidames de Laon, the Seigneurs de la Ferté (a line which lasted in direct male descent well into the eighteenth century), and the Seigneurs of Dampierre, Dours, La Fère en Tardenois, Bonneuil and Marigny. The Counts of Dunois and Chartres were similarly direct descendants of Miles de Châtillon, as were the Counts of Penthièvre and the Seigneurs of Leuze. Indeed so numerous were the branches of the family, and so many the members of it who attained to such dignities as those of Constable and Grand-Master, that one can hardly imagine any event of historical importance occurring in France in the fourteenth century without a de Châtillon being present: Froissart mentions between twenty and thirty of the name.

Aymer de Valence.

The lady of these many relationships married a man who was himself of very old French descent. Aymer de Valence's father, William de Valence, was a younger son of Hugh de Lusignan, tenth of that name, whose uncles had been kings in Cyprus and Jerusalem when a de Châtillon was ruling in Antioch. Unlike the de Châtillons, however, the Lusignan family had at this date im-

[1] I have taken this information and the materials of the annexed pedigree mainly from André Duchesne's *Histoire de la Maison de Châtillon* and Anselme's *Généalogie des Rois de France*. Note that upon several points Duchesne corrects what he had to say in his text in the latter part of his volume (the *preuves*: see particularly p. 116 of these). I am much indebted to Mr. G. W. Watson, who was good enough to read through the proofs of the pedigree. It is, I am afraid, only a rough one; and it necessarily omits a great deal—for instance the children of the Countess's sister Maud, one of whom married the Emperor Charles IV and one Piers Duke of Bourbon. Also it cannot show many interesting cross-marriages: thus the Countess's sister Beatrice married John of Flanders, who was nephew of Aymer de Valence's first wife; her sister Isabel's grandson married Edward III's daughter, while Isabel's daughters married Châtillon cousins.

[2] Her will, according to Duchesne (p. 281), was dated 1348.

mediate marriage ties with England as well as France. Hugh the tenth married Isabel of Angoulême after the death of King John:[1] three of his sons, half-brothers of Henry III, came over to seek a fortune in England; and William de Valence (the name is, again, probably derived from a birth-place) found it in a match with Joan de Munchensy, heir of the Munchensys, the Maréchals, and a branch of the de Clares, who brought him a great fortune and the earldom of Pembroke. Joan and William had seven children: two sons who died during their father's life; Joan married to John Comyn of Badenoch, whom Bruce slew; Agnes thrice married (once to a Balliol, brother to the King of Scotland), but childless; Margaret, who died unmarried; Isabel, wife of John de Hastings; and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Wexford and of Montignac, Champagnac, Bellac, and Rançon.

The position of Aymer de Valence in the history of his own time it would be difficult to exaggerate. His was, of course, a palatine earldom with *jura regalia*. His property, after the death of his mother and his cousin (Dionysia de Munchensy[2]), was enormous—he is said to have owned lands in six hundred and thirty-one places, besides what he had of his father's inheritance. Apart, however, from his lands and his family, his own character gave him an invariable prominence in the affairs of the time; and, whether or no one likes his policy, always a successful one. Not only was he keeper of Scotland (he figures in, among others, the famous bloodhound story), a frequent ambassador to France,[3] executor of the will of Edward I and charged specially by that king with the welfare of his son, Edward II, and the repression of Piers Gaveston—not only had he such positions as these, but in every plot and intrigue which marked the reign of Edward II we find him prominent, and from every one he emerged successfully. The chroniclers have unpleasant things to say, or to hint, of the part he played in the proceedings of the Lords Ordainers, in the rebellion of the Mortimers, and in the deaths of Gaveston and Lancaster; but few would deny that it was a skilful and a predominant part: and it is a fascinating problem what would have occurred if his death had not preceded and perhaps left room for the final plot of Mortimer and Queen Isabel. In fine, the biography of Joseph the Jew, as Gaveston named him, has yet to be written; and the historian who undertakes it will probably rewrite in the process much of the history of Edward II.

[1] The match had been arranged, before that of John was thought of, to heal an old family quarrel: for the curious story of this, see Miss Norgate's *John Lackland*.

[2] See *Complete Peerage* under 'Pembroke' (p. 203, note *l*).

[3] He had special letters on one occasion to the Count of St. Pol.

Marriage.

So much for the position in the world of the Countess of Pembroke and her husband. Their complicated relationship (he was her grandmother's first cousin) I must leave the pedigree to show. He was not a young man when he married her, and his first wife, Beatrice of Clermont Néelle, had only been dead a few months.[1] It seems clear from this last fact and from the mention of the subject which we have in records (particularly the appeal made by Edward II to the Pope when he wrote for the necessary dispensation[2]) that the marriage had a definite significance with regard to the relationships between France and England at the moment. At any rate the negotiations for it seem to have gone quite smoothly. Early in 1320 Aymer had been employed in Scotland, and in June was keeper of the realm while the king was in France; then in September his first wife died,[3] and by November he was over in France, where he seems to have stayed some months; the letters of the King of France containing the treaty of marriage are dated at Paris February 1321;[4] Edward's letters consenting to the assignment of dower are of April 12, and the bull of dispensation of April 22; and the marriage took place on July 3 or 5.[5] The Earl and his new Countess came back in time for a stormy Parliament in August; the Countess entered London on July 28, 1321, 'and there came to meet her the earls and barons who had come to the king's parliament'.[6]

Of the Countess's married life we have absolutely no information: we do not even know at which of his castles the Earl placed her during the siege of Ledes Castle in October 1321, the events which led up to the capture, condemnation, and execution of Lancaster in March 1323,[7] the parliament at York which revoked the Ordinances (Easter 1323), and the futile expedition to Scotland in September of the same year; in all of which Aymer took part upon the king's side. But soon after April 1324 the Earl was on a special mission in France (where affairs had become grave, following the escape of Mortimer from the Tower in the previous

[1] See *Archaeologia*, xxvi, 338. According to the average age assigned to him in the Inquisitions *post mortem* on his father he would be over fifty in 1321.

[2] Rymer, under date March 29, 1321, quoting Roman Roll.

[3] It is incorrect to say that he was married three times. He had no children by either wife, but the Papal Register in 1324 (Calendar, p. 240) speaks of a natural son Henry, a knight.

[4] Duchesne, *Preuves*, p. 168: the Countess's father had been dead some three or four years.

[5] On this day, according to one chronicler, Queen Isabel made purification for the birth of her daughter Joan; 'and on the same day, as it was said, the Lord Aymer married the daughter of the Count of St. Pol at Paris'.

[6] *Annales Paulini* (Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II), i, p. 292.

[7] He seems only just to have extricated himself over the Lancaster affair: we are told that he had to make oath upon the Gospels of his fidelity.

August); and there, at or near Compiègne, on Saturday, June 23, 1324,[1] he died very suddenly, possibly of apoplexy: some of the chroniclers, who never forgave him for the death of Lancaster, saw in his own end the judgement of Heaven.[2] Thus the Countess, young, newly married, childless, in a strange country and in troubled times, was left a widow; but by that very circumstance attained almost the only position of anything approaching independence possible for a medieval woman. From this time, then, her chronicler may begin to look for evidences of the free action of her own personality.

1324 to 1377: Incidents and Authorities.

So much for the circumstances of birth and marriage which settled for Mary of St. Pol the position in the world which she was to occupy during a long widowhood. She was never married again (no doubt she arranged the matter, for though her marriage was once granted out by the king[3] we never hear any more of it): she buried her husband on the 31st of July, 1324,[4] beneath one of the finest medieval tombs that has survived to us; of which we shall have to speak again later: she went on visits to France, but spent the larger part of her life in England: she founded an abbey and a college: and widowed some time before the murder of Edward II she lived to see the Jubilee of Edward III. It remains to take a glance at the historical setting of these fifty-three years.

We cannot, of course, even touch in detail here upon the events of Edward III's reign. We may remind ourselves, however, that this period included, as I have said, the horrible circumstances of Edward II's dethronement and murder; the *coup d'état* of the young Edward III in 1330; the Scotch wars of the beginning of his reign;[5] the French wars that followed with all their fluctuations, their lulls and revivals—the English victories at Crécy and Poitiers and the later English decadence and French recovery; two Great Pestilences in England and a Peasants' Revolt in France; the activities of the Flagellants and the activities of Wiclif; the erection of such buildings as the Lady Chapel at Ely; the foundation of the Order of the Garter.

[1] It is worth while emphasizing this date, which is given us by some of the Inquisitions *post mortem*, the poem of James de Dacia (App. IV), and other documents; because most authorities, following Dugdale, have miscalculated the regnal years of Edward II and made it 1323. The suggestion of apoplexy is taken from such common factors as may be obtained in the various descriptions of his death.

[2] The author of the account in *Flores Historiarum* (p. 223) says, punning, that he died *apud dimidiam villam* (Miville) *ubi Christus non voluit virum sanguineum et dolosum dimidiare dies suos.* Walsingham, who speaks of him much more kindly, also sees a judgement in his death (*Chronicle*, p. 193). See also, for his death, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 259.

[3] To Roger de Mortimer in 1327 (*Cal. Pat.*, 166).

[4] *Annales Paulini*, vol. i, p. 307.

[5] Two at least of the late Earl's near kinsmen were closely involved in these—Atholl and Talbot.

We have also to take into consideration, however briefly, the social, moral and economic changes which went with such events as those I have mentioned —the general spirit of lawless gain whose particular embodiment is found in the Free Companies, the Trade Boom, the change in the conditions of labour, the change in religious and intellectual outlook. Further, with these we have to remember also the existence of the chivalric idea; it is a fact not to be too lightly dismissed that this is the age of Froissart, the man who wrote

> Que toute joie et tout honnour
> Viennent et d'armes et d'amour.

However much we discourage and distrust Romance the fourteenth century must remain entitled to be called picturesque. Many forms of art reached a very high level in England: a new literature was born: new ideas touched and coloured and quickened all the ordinary details of life, all the conventions of Religion, of Science, of Art, of Trade, of Fighting, even of Administration. The whole century may fairly be described as one of new colour, new energy, and teeming incident in every department of human activities.

All these activities are reflected in an extraordinary richness of contemporary manuscript sources. For the matter of the Chroniclers it suffices to have mentioned Froissart, though I would not willingly omit Barbour, and there are half a dozen others of importance. But we have to reckon also with the remarkable richness of Records: not only do all the normal great series of these—the enrolments of letters under the Great Seal (on Charter, Patent, Close and subsidiary Rolls), the records of all the processes preliminary to these (the Warrants and Inquisitions); the great rolls of Accounts, of Receipts, of Issues and of Memoranda at the Exchequer; the bulky records of proceedings in the two permanent divisions and all the visitational departments of the king's judiciary—not only do all these increase enormously in bulk, scope, and regularity during the fourteenth century: but we have also to face a great increase in number and a new fullness of detail in the records of private jurisdiction or private enterprise on the one hand (in the Court Rolls, the Fabric Rolls, the Rentals and Bailiffs' Accounts, the Municipal Records, the private Muniments), and on the other in those private accounts, correspondence and memoranda which survive to us because they served as vouchers or accompaniments to the more conventional public or semi-public Records. From all these classes, and especially the last mentioned, we derive to an ever increasing extent in the fourteenth century masses of intimate, picturesque, domestic information concerning all the chief personages and events of the time and the trappings, the circumstance, the human detail which accompanied them. When we look at the results which have accrued up to now from the comparatively slight use that has yet been

made of (let us say) the original Accounts of the Exchequer, it almost seems as if no person of any eminence could do anything at this time—be born, or married, or die; fight, or build, or judge, or feast, or dress; or so much as exist —without leaving us at least one or two coloured pictures of his life somewhere among the Public Records.

I have tried to emphasize the eminence of the subject of this paper and the richness of the sources available, at this period, for the study of a person of eminence. From all these sources, printed and manuscript, I have had compiled[1] what is, I think, a fairly complete Calendar of references relating to the Countess; it is based on references to two or three hundred Records, printed or in manuscript; and perhaps almost as important is the almost equal number of manuscripts which have been searched in vain. New publications and more extended indexing will, no doubt, add a certain number of items[2] to this list; but not, I hope, any new class of them, nor any leading to new material facts. It has already been suggested that the Countess's position was such as to bring her frequently into contact with the various departments of administration whose activities survive for us in written records. We may now try to indicate certain groups of facts and inferences which may be obtained from these, together with certain negative results.

The negative results, it may be mentioned at once, are connected largely with a very marked gap in the manuscript materials for the Countess's history: search over a large number of Exchequer records produces hardly any references to her. It is not so much that we have not her own accounts. A few rolls such as those[3] which give us minute daily details of the life of the Countess's contemporary, Elizabeth de Burgo Countess of Clare, would indeed be invaluable; but it is only chance which has preserved these documents to us among the Public Records; there is no reason to expect a parallel Pembroke series. What is remarkable is that among all the entries on the roll of Issues, in every connexion and for every kind of purpose, from the king's treasury, in all those long lists of gifts in the Household accounts of the king, the queen, and their children, in the frequent mention of persons who dined at the royal table or had liveries of robes or gifts at Christmas—in all these records which give us mention of persons who visited or were employed by or about the Court, we are able to find the names of practically every one we know of in the fourteenth century,

[1] I have been much indebted to my wife's help in making this compilation. My quotations from the Record Office Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls, etc., except where it is otherwise stated, refer in each case to the volume covering the year mentioned in the text.

[2] For instance, it is almost impossible that a certain number of stray references should not be found on the Pipe Rolls: and a considerable quantity might probably be recovered from the Plea Rolls. These are, so far as I know, the only two serious gaps in the Calendar referred to.

[3] Exchequer Accounts, Clare Household (Boxes 91 to 95).

except (saving in one or two special cases to be mentioned below) the Countess of Pembroke. Certain obvious inferences from this may better be drawn at a later stage, but it is worth mentioning here as a significant fact that whereas the Countess figures continually in the Chancery records, she almost escapes mention in the Exchequer ones.[1]

The Countess and her two Countries.

Perhaps the most natural point of interest in connexion with the Countess is that touching her relations with her two countries. On the one hand, we have to look upon her as an Englishwoman. On the other hand, Crécy was fought in her own part of France and Poitiers in that of her husband's family; when Hennebon was besieged the attacking party was led by one of her cousins and the defenders by the wife of another; when a quarrel about Brittany caused a renewal of war in 1341 two of her cousins were again the contending parties; when Charles of Blois was captured in 1344,[2] the Pope wrote to her to receive his nuncios dispatched upon this matter; Poitiers brought to England a host of French prisoners, and among the most important of the French nobility who remained as hostages for their king's ransom were three of her kinsmen (Guy of Luxembourg, Count of St. Pol, with his sons, Enguerrand de Coucy and the Count of Blois); a few years later when the French successes began they were led, among others, by this same Guy and it was his son who planned an invasion of England in 1366.

It is a little difficult to decide how far personal and national feeling went in this war. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the Countess deliberately maintained a neutral attitude, and with remarkable success. On the one hand, she went frequently abroad; she went in 1325,[3] as soon as affairs were somewhat settled after the Earl's death; and she remained abroad from 1331[4] to 1334.[5] On the other hand, when war broke out in 1337 (partly as a result of the childless death of her uncle, the Earl of Richmond) she definitely settled her residence in England, where of course her material interests chiefly lay; though it is possible that she had been in doubt at one period, since we find her, in 1333,[6] 1335, and 1336,[7] acquiring from the coheirs in each case additions first to her husband's and then to her own French lands. She appears to have gone abroad for a few months in

[1] I have not thought it worth while to consider the obvious cases where the Exchequer in its records merely repeats or notes the effect of Chancery activities. The point is the absence of any movement upon the Exchequer side of administration in her behalf.

[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, 12.

[3] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 200.

[4] *Cal. Pat.*, 105, 123, 210, 268, 281, 308, 376, 426, 467, 543.

[5] She was in England in July 1334: see *Cal. Pat.*, 567.

[6] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 81: cp. *Cal. Pat.* (year 1332), 309.

[7] *Cal. Pat.*, 222.

1341.[1] She again had licence to be abroad for a long period from November 1352[2] to the latter part of 1357,[3] being thus actually in France (as indeed she had special licence to be) when war was hot. She had succeeded early[4] in securing adequate protection in England for herself and her household, and in 1337,[5] when the lands of all aliens were taken into the king's hands, the order was promptly superseded in her favour. On the other hand, she retained her lands in France so late as 1372;[6] though it is true there seems to have been an interval when the French dispossessed her about 1346.[7] Side by side with these indications is to be put the fact that she was not exempted from sending troops for the siege of Calais in 1347,[8] and from taking part in other ways in the defence of the realm.

The questions arise—did she ever go abroad on English official business? how far did either side, or both sides, make use of her as an exceptional and privileged neutral? and how far did her own feeling, as well as circumstances, put her into that neutral position? There are two main pieces of evidence on these points.

First, she is definitely stated to be abroad on the king's business in 1331.[9] In this year Edward III had gone to France to do homage for his French lands for the second time; this following upon his dramatic crushing of Mortimer and Queen Isabel: and the Countess had licence to go no more than three days after he returned home. However, if she had any diplomatic secrets on this occasion they were well kept, and I have found no trace of her expenses being paid.

The second point lies in the new interpretation of a document printed by this Society[10]—a wardrobe account of Queen Isabel for the year 1358. The editor (Mr. E. A. Bond) very plausibly suggests from the circumstance that the old queen is here found returning to Court and entertaining a number of the French prisoners then in England (and this at a time when talk of peace was in the air) that Isabel was taking part in negotiations between the two countries—she, too, being by circumstance both French and English. But he identifies a

[1] *Cal. Pat.*, 77, 126; *Cal. Close*, 100.

[2] *Cal. Pat.*, 363, 506.

[3] *Cal. Pat.*, 51, 170, 203, 409, 460.

[4] *e.g.* in 1324: see *Cal. Pat.*, 18, 57, 313.

[5] *Cal. Close*, 94, 169; *Cal. Pat.*, 57: cp. *Cal. Pat.* (1328), 313, and (1339), 312; *Cal. Close* (1334), 230: see also Rec. Off., Ministers' Accounts, 1187/19.

[6] See Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 'Preuves'.

[7] *Cal. Papal Letters*, 25. Other matter with regard to the lands in France will be found in the *Registres du Parlement*.

[8] She was one of three ladies summoned to send a deputy to a special Council in view of a threatened French invasion in 1335; but probably her position as a landowner, rather than as a Frenchwoman, was responsible for this (*Cal. Close*, 517): cp. her summons (below, p. 413, note 3) to attend Councils on Irish matters.

[9] *Cal. Pat.*, 105. For another slight indication of her employment by the king, see App. III, 9.

[10] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv.

Countess of Pembroke who dined with her several times during this period with the widow of Laurence de Hastings, Agnes de Mortimer, at that time married to a second husband. Now our Countess can be proved to have been in London at very nearly the required time;[1] previous visits in Hertfordshire are equally possible, the Countess Mary frequently residing at Anstey and La Mote whence a journey to Hertford Castle would be quite reasonable; and a messenger of the Countess of Pembroke is called John de Anstey. I suggest further that a search of Isabel's Wardrobe Accounts[2] has so far revealed hardly any previous connexion between our Countess and that queen, nor does it appear from any other records except two years before (1356) when her licence to stay abroad was extended, it is expressly stated, upon the petition of Queen Isabel[3]—at least an additional evidence that they might have been working together; and, in effect, who in England had stronger ties with France and the French exiles (and therefore a stronger inducement to work for peace) than the subject of this paper? A further slight confirmation of this view is found in the fact that when, in August 1357, Joan 'calling herself Duchess of Brittany' had occasion to send a messenger to England on some business unspecified, it was the Countess of Pembroke who procured his safe-conduct.[4]

On all these grounds I think the altered identification is reasonable. If it is adopted the emergence of the Countess from retirement at this point, contrasted (as we shall see later) with an almost total absence from Court life at other times, may be taken as strong evidence of very definite sentiment: while we are entitled to argue that the English king, as she says in her will, had always been her gracious lord, we must add that she had never abandoned a certain amount of French sympathy. We may, having gone so far, make use now of three further small points. First, she drafted statutes for her college in which she provided for a definite attempt to secure French scholars.[5] Secondly, making her will, after she had been deprived of her French lands, she still remembered to make honourable bequests to both the French king and queen. Thirdly, the bequest to the French king—this after forty years of war, of English

[1] May 15 and 16: see Appendix I.

[2] Among the Exchequer Accounts, K. R. It is true that there are not very many, but what remain are very important: No. 393/4, for example, is a long list made after Queen Isabel's death of all her goods, showing the disposal of them; a number being given to persons specified. The only connexion noticed anywhere is the fact that the Countess twice visited the queen in France in September 1325 (Exch. Accts., 380/9).

[3] *Cal. Pat.*, 409.

[4] Rymer (Rec. Comm. Ed.) quoting French Roll, under date August 1.

[5] It is perhaps not beside the point to add that at the moment when this paper was read (November 1914) nearly 200 of the scholars who should have been in residence at her college were fighting or preparing to fight in France for the French.

victories followed by French victories—was *une espee qe jay qi est sanz pointe*: she provided for a special messenger who should explain its meaning; but the ceremonial significance of the pointless sword is, and was then, well known.

Her Dower and Property.

So much for France and England: we turn now to the topic of the Countess's estates and business generally—an extensive subject and one which brings us into most immediate contact with the Chancery section of the Public Records, bound up as these are with questions of feudal tenure. We need not here do more than mention that her husband assigned her[1] lands to the value of £2,000 a year at the church door; that after his death[2] an assignment of dower to her was made in Chancery, the three coheirs failing to agree upon the point; that this gave her manors, land, and advowsons in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Norfolk, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Suffolk, Yorkshire and Wiltshire, in Pembrokeshire and in Ireland (Wexford); that she had in addition her own dower in France;[3] and that certain lands had been granted during the Earl's lifetime to himself and her.[4] The dower lands would of course revert at her death to Aymer's coheirs unless she had obtained previously, as she in fact did in several cases (for instance that of Saxthorpe[5]), completer ownership of them by a series of private transactions and a royal licence.

It is clear that the Countess had considerable trouble with regard to her property in the early days of her widowhood. Her husband's will has not yet come to light, but she was one of the executors[6] in company with the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Surrey (Pembroke's cousin), and others. And she afterwards complained that thanks to the ill-will of the Dispensers and Robert de Baldok they were deprived of all the late Earl's personal property, amounting to the value of £20,000, which was seized to satisfy certain non-existent debts to the Exchequer;[7] and that they were thus unable to pay his just debts, to which indeed she alludes in her own will (fifty-three years later) as possibly still outstanding. She certainly had to execute a surrender[8] of this property in order to obtain a full acquittance. She also lost the castles of Haverford, Hertford, and

[1] In 1321. See *Cal. Pat.* 575, 576, 596 and (next vol.) 12.

[2] In 1324. See *Cal. Close*, 244; and cp. Rec. Off., Chancery Parl. Proc. 45/24.

[3] Her French lands were in Tours-en-Vimeu (near Abbeville), Thièvre (near Doullens), Fréacan (perhaps near Arras), and Orville (near Acheux).

[4] Cp. *Cal. Pat.* (year 1322), 87, 113.

[5] *Cal. Pat.* (1346), 86: Saxthorpe passed to the college in 1349.

[6] Cp. *Cal. Fine Rolls* (1324), 298; *Cal. Close* (1325), 412: see also *Cal. Pat.* (1327), 41.

[7] See App. III, 8; and cp. *Cal. Pat.* (1325), 165.

[8] *Cal. Close* (1325), 412, 505; and (1333) 104, the two last mentioned being enrolments of releases by her to the king.

Monmouth [1] which she claimed. She was not altogether clear of trouble at the end of 1325, when she went abroad.

Her French lands have been sufficiently referred to already except that we may notice that they were administered for her by agents who sometimes gave trouble, for instance in 1354 and 1355. In 1349,[2] when there was danger to them from the English armies, she had a special protection for them which expressly mentions both those which had belonged to her husband (Champagnac, etc.) and her own (Tours-en-Vimeu, etc.). Her lands in Ireland [3] are continually referred to as worthless, and seem to have done no more than to make her liable to provide troops for service there. We may turn back to a consideration of one or two matters—selected from a large mass—touching her English possessions.

It is clear to begin with that her economies were considerable. In her will she disposed of considerable sums of ready money, and she had been able before this to acquire large additional amounts of land to found and endow her abbey and college; the fine alone which turned her life interest in Denny into a fee simple was £250.[4] Besides this she left at her death a considerable amount of land [5] which, though held for life only (the only land then remaining to her which was disposable by will was her manse in London), yet represented additions to her dower or modifications of it.[6] Some of these lands she had obtained by grant from the king, generally on substantial consideration; some had come to her through such complicated transactions as those with the Earl of Richmond

[1] *Cal. Pat.* (1327), 37; *Cal. Close* (1327), 109: the last is again a release; see Rymer under date March 13. Edward II's grant was exemplified at the Countess's request in the same year (*Cal. Pat.*, 109). She seems to have gone about to secure redress of this grievance immediately after the accession of Edward III: see App. III, 5. Cp. also *Cal. Pat.* (1366), 276.

[2] Rymer, *ed. cit.*, under date July 25.

[3] There are numerous references to these in the Patent and Close Rolls, but generally touching only her appointment of attorneys. For the question of their defence, see (e. g.) Rymer (*ed. cit.*) under date October 15, 1331, and January 28, 1332. She was summoned at least twice to attend Councils concerning Irish affairs (Rymer, *ed. cit.*, under date March 15, 1361, and February 10, 1362). There are references to her at intervals on Irish Chancery Rolls from 18 Edw. II (*Rot. Pat. et Claus. Canc. Hib.*, 30 B.) onwards.

[4] *Cal. Pat.* (1336), 250.

[5] The Inquisitions *post mortem* (Rec. Off., *Inq. p. m.*, Edw. III, 262) give valuable information in this respect, though they are incomplete. Inquisitions at this time were becoming very much a matter to be arranged by the family lawyer, and that fact is particularly well illustrated in the case of the present file by the accidental inclusion of three fragments (App. III, nos. 2, 3, and 14) from the Countess's muniment chest which have nothing to do with the documents they are preserved with. Other indications suggest that some of the material was put together for a previous occasion (perhaps the death of John de Hastings in 1375).

[6] For instance: Anstey, La Mote, the manse in London, and Fotheringay—four of her principal residences—do not appear in the assignment of dower; which has also no mention of lands in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.

which gave her Fotheringay. This business with her uncle,[1] which may be taken as an interesting example, extended over a period from May 1331 to January 1334, and at one time involved her receiving a life interest in all the lands attaching to the earldom in return for an annual pension to the Earl of £1,800: this would have meant a heavy profit, for her uncle died in 1334, she in 1377. The matter ended in a conveyance by the Earl to his niece and an immediate reconveyance by her, which is the subject of a mysterious letter to the Chancellor from the Bishop of Norwich and Geoffrey Lescrop, who had met the Countess in Paris and talked over some business, probably the question of the late Earl's personal goods.[2] A minor point of some interest raised here is the question of the numerous reversions which were delayed by her exceptionally long life; the d'Arcy and Denton families, in particular, figure in perpetual readjustments and compensations made to them by the king on this account.[3] Another small matter of importance is that of the recognizances for debt extant and testifying to very numerous loans, frequently upon landed security, made by her and indeed by many great people of this time. Who was John de Coupland[4] that he should owe the Countess of Pembroke £100? The people who occur in this position are often so obviously unconnected with the creditor that it is clearly a business matter simply—we have here, in fact, a common way of investing surplus cash which has not perhaps received sufficient attention from economists.

It is very difficult to say how far in the fourteenth century the lord took a personal share in the management of his lands; but on the whole we may decide that in the Countess's case the personal element was strong. Very few court rolls and accounts[5] of her manors for her period have survived, and they yield no evidence: except that in one or two cases she drew her personal attendants[6] and servants from her manors. On the other hand, the extensive nature of her dealings is itself an evidence; in a large number of cases (especially in the latter part of her life) her object was that of the endowment of charities: in the

[1] *Cal. Pat.*, 110, 124, 150, 241, 404, 484, 491: two of the original deeds are in Pembroke College Deeds (Wissenden, A. 2 and 4): see also Rymer, under date January 5, 1334.

[2] The conveyances are dated the 7th and 18th of November: see *Cal. Pat.* (1333), 484, 491; cp. Rec. Off., Chancery Warrants, I, 7361, A to D.

[3] See, for example, the references under the year 1337 on the Close, Patent, and Fine Rolls; many others might be cited.

[4] *Cal. Close* (1347), 417: cp. (1329) 581, 582, 586; (1334) 495; (1343) 243; (1348) 487; (1354) 72; (1358) 500; (1360) 131; (1362) 433; (1363) 555; (1369) 82; (1371) 295.

[5] Referred to in various places below: see also p. 410, note 5 above.

[6] John de Castro Martini is her attorney in Ireland in 1327 (*Cal. Pat.*, 136); similarly we have John de Redeswell in 1331 and 1332 (*Cal. Pat.*, 210, 277, etc.): John de Anstey, a messenger, has been already mentioned; and in one court roll we have a default excused on the ground that the defaulter is away *in servicio domine* (Rec. Off., Court Rolls, 178. 1).

remaining cases she could have no reason for engaging in land transactions, except the actual pleasures and profit of doing so; the case of the Earl of Richmond's land is here in point, and we have indications that she not only acquired but sometimes farmed[1] land from the king. Further evidence is furnished by the way in which she played (to use the phrase) with one or two properties: she would acquire a manor; after a time obtain licence to alienate it; change her mind as to the object of her benefaction; later make the grant; and ultimately, perhaps, round it off by another small acquisition and alienation: the Tilney property,[2] which was originally intended for Westminster Abbey and ultimately went to Pembroke College, is one out of a number of cases in point.[3] Again, there is no doubt that she superintended to the end of her life (as is noticed again below) the property of her two foundations. Two final small illustrations are perhaps supplied by the terms of her complaint to the king in 1349, that 'she had caused certain bondmen and fugitives to be taken at her manor of Foxley and brought to her at Denny for chastisement . . .'[4] and by a fragmentary petition which shows her representing to the king the interests of the men of one of her towns.[5]

If the Countess did take a close personal interest in her land transactions she would have plenty to occupy her. It is to be remembered that legal processes were certainly not less complicated then than now: to obtain licence to acquire, abolish various uses and interests, and perhaps obtain another licence to alienate meant a great deal of time and law and many deeds; as witness the Pembroke muniment chest[6] or the thirteen deeds, not a complete file, which mark the transactions preliminary to a single grant to Denny. And besides there would certainly be, from time to time, lawsuits.[7]

She apparently preferred as a rule private deeds to the processes of fine or even of deeds enrolled, or her legal advisers did for her. In this last connexion

[1] *Cal. Close* (1344), 332: she had a family interest here, the lands being those of William de Coucy; but see also *ibid.* 643.

[2] For the licence for the Countess to receive and alienate, see *Cal. Pat.* (1345), 568; the original being among Pemb. Coll. Docs. (Tilney, B. 2): other deeds relating to the same are Tilney, B. 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6; the last two being the indentures of a fine which will be found among the Rec. Off. Feet of Fines. For the licence to alienate to Westminster see *Cal. Pat.* (1346), 62. The Repton property was also intended for Westminster originally (*Cal. Pat.*, 61).

[3] Cp. below, p. 418, the remarks concerning Westmill.

[4] *Cal. Pat.* (1349) 313.

[5] Rec. Off., *Anc. Pet.*, 7897.

[6] The arrangement of these deeds is according to the properties involved, all those acquired during the founder's lifetime being represented by very complete collections: cp. those referred to in note 2, above. For another case of complicated transactions see the note on Strood below, p. 418, note 8.

[7] Cp. App. III, 6; Rec. Comm., *Placita de quo Warranto*, 640; and various Commissions of oyer and terminer, such as appear in *Cal. Pat.* (1342), 554, 556, 582.

one more small point may be made, that of her attorneys. The history of the lower branch at this period—how far it formed a professional class, how far it was legal adviser, and how far mere agent—is another rather neglected subject. The Countess's attorneys, apart from her Irish ones (whose task in the then state of Ireland was an altogether peculiar one), may have been generally her protégés, members of her suite or household such as John Dengayne and Roger de Dersingham; though she would use them for the same purpose with regularity: one or two were then or afterwards professional men of distinction such as Parnyng the Chancellor, and John of St. Pol (presumably an early protégé from France), who became first an Exchequer clerk and ultimately archbishop of Dublin. The witnesses to all her charters were generally members of her household, with sometimes a few local people, such as the Mayor of Cambridge.

A final word, in connexion with her property, as to her residences.[1] She dated sometimes from Denny, and we know that she resided occasionally at Fotheringay; but her most usual places for dating were probably Anstey, La Mote in Cheshunt, Braxted (where she made her will), and London. It is clear from her will, combined with one or two scanty 'Ministers' Accounts'[2] which have survived, that she kept up several houses simultaneously, but transferred her household and a good deal of household stuff from one to another as required. Her manse in London was evidently her most important residence. It may be identified with fair certainty with Bergavenny House, which was situated somewhere in the angle formed by what is now Amen Corner and Ave Maria Lane:[3] it was her own property, and she left it to her executors; how it came back to the possession of the Hastings family afterwards has not yet been settled. The Countess had also a house in France at St. Germain-des-Prés, and we have letters of hers dated from Paris.[4]

Charities.

The question of lands may well lead on to the subject of the Countess of Pembroke's charities, and that to the religious side of her life generally. Taking first the subject of general or miscellaneous charities we may best begin from

[1] Cp. App. I.

[2] In the Westmill accounts (Rec. Off., Ministers' Accounts, 873/4 and 5) there is reference to repairs at La Mote and to the expenses of carriage of victuals, wine, wardrobe, etc., to and from Anstey, Braxted, Denny, Fotheringay, La Mote, London, and Westmill: cp. similar entries in the Anstey Accounts (Min. Acc., 862/2).

[3] See m. 2 of the Inquisitions *post mortem* on the Countess; and Stow's *London* (ed. Kingsford), i, 339, ii, 350, 388: cp. *Munimenta Gildhallae* (Rolls ed.), II, ii, 455. I am indebted to Mr. Kingsford for a note on this subject.

[4] *Cal. Close* (1333), 104. For Itinerary see App. I. For the St. Germains house see Archives Nationales, *Titres de Bourbon*, 1917.

her will[1]—a remarkable document of which copies exist at Lincoln and Lambeth, and on the Hustings Roll of London. A very large proportion of the will deals with matters of charity and religion. We find that the English provinces of Austin Friars, Carmelite Friars, Friars Preachers, and Franciscans (Friars Minors) have each 100 marks. The Carthusians at Hinton have 13 marks and three other Carthusian houses unnamed 10 marks each. Other large bequests are to the king's new abbey *De Graciis* (100 marks for their buildings), to Westminster (300 marks to find a monk singing perpetually in the chapel adjoining her husband's tomb), and to the Prior of Litton (100 marks for his church). Two small hospitals on the Countess's own manors of Anstey and Milton[2] are specially remembered with 10 marks each. Besides these, Westminster has rich gifts of relics and plate, St. Paul's is to have one of the Countess's gold cups to show,[3] her abbey and her college (she does not always go into full details, explaining that she has left careful schedules) also receive plate, jewels, and so forth, and so does the abbey of Bruisyard; while all the religious houses of men or women into which she has been received are to be informed of the day of her death (a reflection of this is seen in one of the St. Albans Chronicles[4]) and to have each a relic or other gift. In the way of general charity she gives all the money and chattels found upon her manors to the poor of her towns and of the neighbouring towns, specifying in order poor maids, widows, orphans, and poor religious as objects of her charity: similarly half her linen, clothes, and so forth is to go to poor *maisons Dieu*.

Of personal beneficiaries we have first the abbesses of Denny, Bruisyard, and the minoresses of London, the scholars in residence at her college, her nuns at Denny and her confessor; also the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are formal gifts to the King of England and the King and Queen of France. The only others mentioned are her servants, who are to have a proper provision of wages and the second half of her linen and clothes; her executors, who have her London house for their trouble; and one kinsman,[5] who has what is possibly the remission of a debt of 100 marks; while a codicil bequeaths to some of her servants and train amounts varying from 10 marks to £40. The residue of her goods is to go in prayers for her soul. Well may the monk of St. Albans (his

[1] App. II.

[2] The Countess had licence to impropriate the church of Milton in 1326 (*Cal. Pat.*, 275).

[3] Presumably the one referred to in an early inventory (*Archaeologia*, l, 512).

[4] *Chronicon Anglie* (Rolls ed.), 137, says she gave images to many monasteries where she had the benefit of prayers: see below, p. 418, note 1, and p. 430, note 1.

[5] Aymer of Atholl, one of her knights and a frequent witness to her charters. He was indebted to her in 1362 (*Cal. Close*, 433) and again in 1371 (*Cal. Close*, 295), when he owed the sum here mentioned.

abbey obtained a gold image with a relic of St. Vincent[1]) exclaim upon the way in which she divided all her substance between the religious, her servants, and the poor.

To these benefactions we have to add those which we know to have been done in her lifetime. The church of the Friars Minors in London had £70 towards its fabric, besides the glazing of a window, the furnishing of an altar, *et multa alia bona*.[2] At the London Charterhouse she built a cell and gave £200 towards the endowment, and many other gifts.[3] We have notice of gifts by the Countess to Westminster in an early inventory;[4] and we may well imagine that like gifts were made to the many houses of religious which, as we shall see, she visited; and that such a work as the rebuilding[5] of Milton Church, near Gravesend (in which place she had an interest), did not go unaided.

Turning next to religious foundations, we have first to notice that the Countess had at different times various schemes which did not materialize. Thus she obtained licence to alienate land in Surrey (which she did not then possess, so far as is known, and never acquired) for the foundation of a Carthusian house at Horne in that county.[6] She seems to have had a distinct wish for a Carthusian foundation, since we find her, in 1369, contemplating another one to be endowed with one of the manors of Westmill, Measden, and Hormead, in Hertfordshire,[7] of which she was to obtain the title in fee in exchange for that of Strood[8] in Kent (she ultimately retained her ownership of Strood and alienated it to Denny): the special Carthusian bequests in her will may be remembered in this connexion. Her intentions with regard to Westminster have already been mentioned.

Of complete works we have first the foundation of a chantry in the hermitage in Cripplegate, a work done for her husband's soul: she endowed this in

[1] 'Quandam imaginem de Sancto Vincencio argenteam deauratam que tenet in manibus quoddam scrinium in quo unum os eiusdem preciosi martyris continetur', *Chron. Angl.*, 137: cp. Trokelowe (Rolls ed.), 436.

[2] Brit. Mus., Cott. MSS., Vit. F. 12.

[3] Rec. Off., L. R. Misc. Books, 61, f. 12.

[4] *Archaeologia*, lii, 254, 261.

[5] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xi, p. xlvii.

[6] *Cal. Pat.* (1346), 141.

[7] Rec. Off., *Inq. ad quod damnum*, 365/18: cp. *V. C. H.*, Herts., III. 399.

[8] The history of her possession of this manor is another example of complicated processes. It was granted to her first in connexion with property given up after the Earl's death, then in fee as a reward for her guardianship of the king's daughter Joan in 1338 (*Cal. Pat.*, 53), this grant appearing again on the Patent Roll under the same date (*ibid.*, 60). She then leased it to the Hospitallers for the term of her life (*ibid.*, 571). Then by error the manor was granted to Reginald de Cobham; which grant was revoked in 1342 (*Cal. Pat.*, 461) and a fresh grant made to her (*ibid.*, 462). In the same year she had licence to assign it in mortmain (*ibid.*, 529) and had again licence to alienate in 1344 (*Cal. Pat.*, 340), to Denny.

1343 by means of a grant to the abbot of Garendon,[1] who was to find monks for the purpose, presenting them to the Lord Mayor of London. We have then left for consideration Denny Abbey and Pembroke College.

Religious Life.

Before we proceed to consider these, however, we may conveniently examine what evidence there is of her general religious attitude. Her will alone is sufficient to mark the immense importance of this in her life.

Our knowledge on this subject must come mainly from the Papal Registers. The Countess of Pembroke's period was that of the exile at Avignon, and application to the Papal Curia for privileges of all kinds was extremely easy; indeed there was a special agent who looked after English messengers and English petitions; and the Countess's name consequently appears very frequently among the papal records. First there are her grants obtained on behalf of Pembroke and Denny. Then she applied frequently on behalf of various protégés for nominations to the office of notary public,[2] for licences for her clerks to hold benefices while remaining away from them in her service,[3] and so forth. More important, however, for our purpose are the applications made on her own behalf for the grant of various privileges. The first of these grants belongs to the year 1331, when, it will be remembered, she was herself in France: it covers a wide ground.

So early as 1333 the Countess obtained leave to enter convents of men and women with a suite of six matrons;[4] and similar grants continued to be obtained throughout her life, culminating in one (in 1364) which allowed her to sleep and eat in Denny and other houses of religious, together with a suite of four women, supposing all of them to be over sixty years of age.[5] There is evidence elsewhere[6] that she entered into formal arrangements with the heads of religious houses by which she became a participant in the benefits of their religious exercises, and notes of various small indulgences to her appear at different places in the Papal Registers.[7] She also obtained a licence to have her

[1] *Cal. Pat.*, 133: notices of presentations by the abbot appear in the *Letter Books* of the City of London: cp. B. M., Harl. 540, f. 24.

[2] e.g. *Cal. Papal Petitions* (1349), 155.

[3] *Cal. Papal Letters* (1332), 381; (1342), 89; and (1347), 261.

[4] *Cal. Papal Letters* (1332), 381.

[5] *Ibid.*, 502.

[6] Ainslie, *Memoirs*, 68, quotes from Baker's MSS. an arrangement made with the abbot of Battle in 1346: cp. above, p. 417, note 4.

[7] She obtained a number as early as 1331 (*Cal. Papal Letters*, 367). A good example of a group of petitions from her is registered under date May 2, 1349.

heart buried separately;[1] but this was twenty-five years before her death, and there is no evidence that she took advantage of it.

Besides these evidences of religious preoccupation extending from almost the earliest period of her life to its end must be placed another matter of considerable importance in the Countess's marked predilection for the Franciscan order. Was she a Franciscan tertiary? The third order of St. Francis, it will be remembered, was open to men and women who underwent a year's noviciate and took a simple vow to observe the rule: they were bound to dress more soberly, fast more strictly, pray more regularly, hear mass more frequently, to abstain from dances, to eschew quarrelling and the use of arms except in self-defence, and so forth. The order was extremely popular from the thirteenth century onwards, and there were congregations of it, though not in England. Its members were generally under the governance of the Observant or Conventual Franciscans.

There is no direct evidence that the Countess ever joined this order, though she might quite well have taken the necessary steps while in France between 1331 and 1336: that she belonged to it is at least a possible supposition, based on the facts of her life already set out, on her general absence (to be mentioned again below) from the English Court, and upon the undoubted preference she exhibited for Franciscans. Of this last there are many indications. Thus, immediately after the death of Aymer de Valence (so early as August 1324) we find her with a suite of apparently seventeen Franciscans[2] (it is to be remembered that she was then not much more than twenty years old). Her most marked charities are all Franciscan—Denny, the Friars Minors of London, Bruisyard; and in her will there are special bequests of money to Denny and Bruisyard, the abbess of the latter house having also 40*s*., a breviary which belonged to the sisters of St. Marcel,[3] and a journal 'in which I say my hours'. Another of the Countess's breviaries has come down to us: it again is Franciscan. The two confessors of hers, whom we know by name, were both Franciscan, and the later of the two, besides having bequests of money and a breviary, is made, not executor, but overseer of her executors. In her will also the Countess desired to be buried in the choir at Denny *la ou ma tombe est faite* in the robe of a sister of the order, her funeral to be *sanz coustage outrageux*. Finally, perhaps the most remarkable testimony of all, we have in the draft statutes[4] of Pembroke College, which date undoubtedly from her time, a most remarkable provision

[1] *Cal. Papal Letters* (1352), 458.

[2] *Cal. Pat.*, 18.

[3] I suggest that this breviary came from the Sisters Minoresses of Lourcine-lez-Saint-Marcel near Paris, and that the Countess might well have been associated with them intimately during one of her stays in France—possibly had passed a noviciate in their house. See below, p. 426.

[4] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, Coll. A. 12.

for two external rectors of the college, one of whom is to be a Franciscan; the foundress instructs her fellows to act as confessors to the nuns of Denny; and in a final appeal *tanquam vale ultimum et vale meum finalem* she exhorts and binds the members of her college *in fide iuramenti* always to assist and help in all matters the nuns of her abbey, and to be good *omnibus Claustralibus et precipue Fratribus Minoribus.*

Denny Abbey.

We may here pass appropriately to note a few special facts with regard to Denny. The Countess had made up her mind in 1336, on her return from France, to alienate this manor (which she had acquired in 1327 as part of the compensation for her lost castles)[1] to the Nuns Minoresses of Waterbeach, a house founded by her husband's kinswoman, Dionysia de Munchensy, in 1293;[2] and had obtained a licence to do so:[3] she apparently did not act in the matter till 1339, when she decided that it would be better to transfer the house to Denny, a healthier situation, where also there was the site of a former house of religious: she obtained licence to do this in 1339,[4] and again in 1341,[5] and her grant to the abbey was confirmed in 1342.[6] Between this date and 1348 she was busy providing further endowments for it,[7] and obtaining privileges for it from Avignon.[8] By the end of this time she had built a suitable house and church at Denny, and having now acquired the patronage of Waterbeach was anxious to make the union of the two houses complete. Here there was difficulty. Some nuns had been temporarily left behind on the old site into which their foundress had decided to put twelve friars, and these seem to have risen in revolt, supported by brethren of the order, elected an abbess for themselves and several additional sisters, and declined to be moved. The Countess took vigorous action, appealing to both king and pope,[9] and by 1350 had triumphantly vindicated her authority, though there is a suggestion that some of the recalcitrant sisters had to be moved by force. The settlement of the dispute was marked by a papal ratification in the following year,[10] and by her own final grant to the abbey in the same year[11] of the advowson of Waterbeach, which she forbade the nuns ever to alienate, binding them at the same time to find a chaplain to pray there for the

[1] *Cal. Pat.*, 37.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 1554.
[3] *Cal. Pat.*, 248.
[4] *Cal. Pat.*, 242: cp. App. III, 10.
[5] *Cal. Pat.*, 289.
[6] *Cal. Pat.*, 381.
[7] *Cal. Pat.* (1342), 417, 436; *Cal. Close* (1342), 540; *Cal. Pat.* (1346), 119; *Cal. Close* (1346), 89; *Cal. Pat.* (1347), 369 (cp. App. III, 11); *Cal. Pat.* (1348), 201.
[8] French Rolls, 1346 (Carte, *Catalogue*, ii, 37); *Cal. Papal Letters* (1348), 266, 285.
[9] *Cal. Papal Letters* (1349), 160; *Cal. Close* (1350), 237.
[10] *Cal. Papal Petitions*, 209; *Papal Letters*, 433.
[11] *Cal. Pat.*, 72.

soul of the original foundress, Dionysia de Munchensy. She continued to provide further endowment for her abbey at intervals till the end of her life,[1] frequently stayed there, and thought continually of its welfare, as may appear from her statutes and from her will. In this last she commends it particularly to the good offices of the king, who had at least on one occasion made a donation[2] to it, and to whom she had assigned the advowson of it in 1362.[3] It is to be noted that the king's son Lionel obtained nuns from Denny in order to found Bruisyard in 1364.[4] Very little of the remains of the Denny buildings which are now above ground belong to the foundress's period. According to William Cole, the materials procured by its demolition were used for Lord Justice Coke's house at Milton; and the Cambridge antiquary liked to believe that a piece of black stone in his possession, which came from this house, was a portion of the foundress's tomb.[5]

Pembroke College.

We turn to the Countess's most important foundation—Pembroke College, or to give it its original title, the Hall of Valence Marie; the idea of which apparently occurred to the Countess about 1346—partly perhaps as a result of her friendship with the Countess of Clare (of which more later), partly because the progressive university movement of the time was very much in the hands of the Friars. It is not the purpose of this paper to trace in detail the acquisition of lands which she enabled her foundation to make. Most of the deeds which form the title to them remain safely housed in the College Treasury, and Dr. Ainslie in his manuscript has given a careful account of this portion of the college history. It must suffice to say that the Countess acquired the first messuage of the college site in September 1346,[6] and during the next few months[7] obtained property in Tilney and Burwell which she probably intended to devote to this purpose. She had licence to found on Christmas Eve, 1347,[8] and her charter to the college is dated June 9, 1348.[9] Between this date and 1352 various further

[1] See *Cal. Pat.* (1365), 48; (1366), 221; (1373), 246.

[2] Rec. Off., T. R. Misc. Bks., 204, f. 169.

[3] *Cal. Close*, 404.

[4] *Cal. Papal Petitions*, 488. It is perhaps worth noting that in 1350 we find the Countess Elizabeth entertaining both Lionel and the Countess of Pembroke at the same time (Exch. Acc., 93/4).

[5] B. M., Add. MSS. 5820, 5837.

[6] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, College, B. 1 to 5: it was made over to the college in June 1348 (College, B. 6 and 7).

[7] December 1346 to April 1347: see Pemb. Coll. Deeds, Tilney and Burwell sections: cp. *Cal. Pat.* 61, 65.

[8] *Cal. Pat.*, 444. The original patent is among the College Deeds (College, A. 1): the original Privy Seal for this (Rec. Off., Chancery Warrants, I, 326/19088) states that it encloses the Countess's petition, but this has unfortunately disappeared.

[9] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, College, B. 7.

grants were made,[1] and in particular the college obtained the second messuage of its site—University Hostel.[2] Immediately after her return from France in 1357 the Countess again took up the business of the college, and so, as in the case of Denny, continued till her death, by which time it was endowed with its possessions in Burwell, Repton, Saxthorpe, Tilney, and Wissenden. She had obtained for it in 1366, after considerable trouble, what was at the time a remarkable privilege—that of having a chapel:[3] she had previously intended only to provide it with an appropriated church.[4] She bestowed upon it the third section of the college—the Orchard messuage—so late as 1372,[5] and the last privilege obtained for it from the Pope bears date two years later.

Certain further points of college history which concern the Countess intimately remain to be considered. The college muniments not only witness the care with which she provided it with lands, but give evidence also of the authority she maintained over it; for in a careful though incomplete contemporary list of muniments it is mentioned that one or two were retained for a considerable time *en la garde madame*: it appears also that some of the college authorities must have gone on occasion to confer with her in London. Confirming this is a remarkable passage in her draft statutes by which *quia cuius est condere eius est eciam interpretari* she reserves to herself during the whole of her life the right of ejecting any fellow. These facts should be placed, I think, side by side with her firm treatment of the recalcitrant nuns of Waterbeach. These statutes are perhaps the most important matter to be mentioned in the present connexion; for it is still uncertain under what statutes the college was ruled during the first years of its life. The college possesses two copies, both of which have generally been held to be contemporary. One, in book form,[6] with seals of the college and, according to Ainslie, the university (only a fragment now remains of this seal), certainly is not contemporary—it speaks of the foundress as *illustris memorie*, and there are other indications: it and a copy preserved in the University Registry[7] are copies from the same original, and formed the accepted version until the time of Edward VI. The second college document[8] is a large, rough, unfinished indenture, a careless draft or more probably copy, but undoubtedly

[1] See the College Deeds, Saxthorpe, Tilney, Wissenden, and Waresley sections.

[2] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, College, C. 4 and 5.

[3] *Cal. Papal Petitions*, 533; *Papal Letters*, 58. A similar privilege had been secured by bull in 1355 (College, A. 3), but this does not seem to have been registered. The grant was confirmed by the Bishop of Ely in 1365 and 1366.

[4] cp. *Cal. Papal Petitions*, 155; *Papal Letters* (1349), 306.

[5] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, College, D. 5 and 6: she had obtained the messuage in 1363 (College, D. 4).

[6] *Ibid.*, A. 11. [7] Vol. 85, E. 5.

[8] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, College, A. 12. Ainslie points out that Roger d'Aubeny, who is mentioned as dead, was living in 1359; while the chapel, which is mentioned, was licensed in 1366.

contemporary with the foundress. Its date cannot be before, and is probably not much after, 1366. Both begin with a statement that these are the statutes which the foundress drew up and had confirmed by the Bishop of Ely in 1347, but the officials of Ely assure me that no copy is in existence there. The disappearance of all real originals is very remarkable. We must not linger over the terms of these statutes, a matter which belongs more properly to the history of the college. In their final form they follow the general lines of other Cambridge statutes—for instance those of 1339, preserved in the form of an indenture between the Countess of Clare, her college, and the university—and conform to the Merton model. The rough earlier copy, however, has certain points of special interest which disappear later—the provisions of external rectors and of arrangements for French scholars already referred to, and a third curious point in connexion with the position of the dean, which have made Mr. Rashdall [1] suggest an affinity to the Balliol statutes and, particularly, to the Paris as opposed to the Merton model: it may be mentioned that the Countess is said to have founded a college in Paris,[2] though I have been unable to find any evidence of the fact. For us the most interesting points in the statutes are perhaps the minuteness of detail with which college organization (that of servants and so forth) is regulated, the precise arrangements for the admission and conduct of members and officers of the college, and the very careful rules laid down for worship generally, and in particular for the celebration of anniversaries of the foundress's husband, mother and father, herself, and one or two others. The college was, of course, founded *in augmentum cleri* and the course of studies regulated accordingly.

The members of the college lived—as appears from a note on two of the deeds [3]—in University Hostel even before they acquired it from the university; but the college buildings were undoubtedly begun during the foundress's lifetime:[4] and some sections of these buildings have survived the destruction of the nineteenth century, though they are overlaid with modern work. The chapel was also at least begun in her time.[5] The plate, jewels, and adornments with which the Countess enriched her foundation have already been referred to, but deserve a word more here. They may take us on to a general consideration of the Countess's personal possessions, and particularly those material evidences of her which have survived.

[1] *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii, 564-6. The author wrongly assigns the date 1347 to College A. 12.

[2] Ainslie, quoting Wood and Leland: I have not been able to verify this.

[3] Pemb. Coll. Deeds, College, C. 2 and 3.

[4] Willis, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (ed. Clark), i, 132.

[5] *Ibid.*, 135.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 5

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

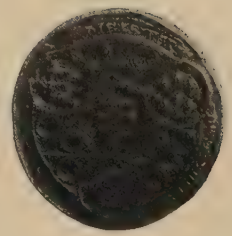


Fig. 6

Figs. 1 and 2. Seal of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. Figs. 3 and 4. Secret seals of Aymer de Valence (the smaller shows at the sides of his own arms charges from those of his first wife). Fig. 5. Seal of the Countess of Pembroke (arms of Valence and of Chatillon of St. Pol). Fig. 6. Secret seal of the Countess (the roundels show the arms of England, France, and Dreux). Figs. 7 and 8. Seal and secret seal of Pembroke College.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1915

Personal Possessions.

In this connexion it is natural to mention the well-known tomb of her husband; but we have nothing to add here to the stock of information on this subject except the fact (which has apparently escaped notice) that the Countess appealed to the king for directions as to the burial and that the interment at Westminster was in consequence of a direct order by the Council.[1]

One of the most obvious classes of the Countess's possessions to survive would be her deeds; hers must have been a marvellous muniment chest, and there is evidence that she kept it very carefully—we have seen one sign of this already, and may note in addition the direction in her will for the return of all letters from religious chapters to their writers and her careful provision concerning the title-deeds of Denny Manor.[2] Unfortunately nothing, so far as is known, has survived of this collection save half a dozen court rolls, as many ministers' accounts (these have been already dealt with), and a few stray deeds[3] and memoranda. Of these last two are worth mentioning, one a document relating, curiously, to the accounts of the Count of St. Pol her father which has somehow been preserved at Pembroke College, the other a set of fragments[4] which have been preserved along with her Inquisitions *post mortem*: two of these are memoranda which were apparently designed for use in the formalities necessary after her death, one a fragment of a household account relating apparently to the early days of her widowhood, for it speaks of black furs purchased in London 'for the funeral of my lord'. One small section of the Denny deeds has survived—a cartulary and court rolls which are spoken of by Cole[5] cannot now be traced—and there is, of course, the fine Pembroke College collection,[6] which contains some admirable seals. We have illustrated here some of the seals most closely connected with the Countess (pl. XXXI).

Turning to other personal possessions we may recall that all those of her husband passed from her possession; there is evidence, however, that during her life she accumulated a considerable amount herself. First there are her books of devotions—one had come from the Queen of Scotland, one from the Sisters of St. Marcel, one 'the Queen gave me'. I suggest that this last is the

[1] App. III, 1: quoted also by Hubert Hall, *Formula Book of Diplomatic Documents*, 100.

[2] App. III, 10.

[3] e.g. a Westmill deed in Rec. Off., Ancient Deeds, C. 6034.

[4] The fact of the filing of these documents along with the Inquisitions *post mortem* should not be neglected in connexion with an administrative point of some importance—the intrusion of the family solicitor (to use an anachronism) into these, nominally, public transactions.

[5] B. M., Add. MSS. 5820, f. 125 b.

[6] The short account of these in Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report*, i, App. p. 69, is only a collection of facts taken from Ainslie's Catalogue.

beautiful Franciscan breviary preserved in the Cambridge University Library; and since M. Meyer has commented[1] on similarities between this and certain books written for the French King Charles, I would conjecture that it was a special gift from the Queen of France; two pages[2] which display her portrait and her arms respectively make it clear that it was written expressly for the Countess.

Next we note that the Countess possessed a great deal of plate—she speaks of 'one of my gold cups', and from the earliest Pembroke inventories[3] it seems clear that the college had of her gift at least nine silver pieces; one of them being the foundress's cup, which is not,[4] unfortunately, the piece preserved now under that name. From the same source, coupled with the will and the Westminster inventories already quoted, we may infer that she made a great collection of costly and magnificent church hangings, cushions, and so forth; I feel convinced that besides those items which were embroidered with her arms some other pieces from the magnificent collection which the college possessed in the late fifteenth century—such, perhaps, as the complete set of altar clothing and vestments of sanguine velvet with peacocks—must have come from her. Certainly she collected relics and images: we have mention, among others, of a gold St. Andrew and a gold St. Peter in her chapel, presumably in London; a silver gilt St. John with a relic (the saint's finger), a silver gilt St. Paul, a gold St. Vincent (again with a relic),[5] and so forth. There was also a fragment of the true cross set in gold, with pearls and stones, standing on a little foot of silver, and she had preserved from her husband's collection a cross of gold and emeralds which William de Valence brought from the Holy Land.

Finally, among personal remains of the Countess we have to reckon her will and statutes, which I should like to emphasize here, although the first at least is not an original, as speaking, to my mind, her authentic spirit: there is also a certain number of original letters and petitions from her,[6] all addressed to the king and mostly connected with the business which we see reflected in the Patent and Close Rolls; the most important of these is the petition, already mentioned, which was written in the early days of her widowhood, and in which she asks advice concerning the place and time of the Earl's burial and the manner of bringing his body by road, because it does not seem to her that this should be done without the king's order *a qui il fust si procheyn et vous ad servi si cum vous savetz*. But of original letters of the Countess also there is a remarkable dearth.

[1] *Romania*, xv, 350: see also Cambridge University Library, *Catalogue of MSS.*, v, 585.

[2] They are not figured here as the chief beauty of the original (the colour and gold) is lost in reproduction.

[3] Pembroke College, Registrum Magnum, vol. i.

[4] See Jones, *Old Plate of Cambridge Colleges*: Ainslie disproved the identification in his *Memoirs*: see also *Archaeologia*, l, 153.

[5] This was given to St. Albans: see above, p. 418, note 1.

[6] See App. III, note.

Finally, in this connexion, I would mention the poem[1] of the Countess's scholar James Nicholas de Dacia, which he wrote in 1363. It is a most remarkable comment upon the laboriousness of the medieval clerk and upon the extent of his scholarship, and has a certain interest as being probably the earliest existing literary work by a member of the University of Cambridge; I identify the writer with James Nicholai for whom the Countess asked a benefice a few years later[2] and the Master James de Denmark for whom she obtained licence[3] to study at Cambridge in 1373.

Personal Relations: Friends and Dependents.

This brings me to my final point—an attempt to gather together various indications, scattered over the matters previously discussed, which may give us some idea of the personal relations of the Countess with other people.

Concerning her husband it would perhaps not be wise to attempt any conclusive inference: this, however, we may note—that the Countess never forgot to associate him with all her religious works; she never omits him; on the college seal he figures by her side, as he is remembered with her in the college prayers; and even in her will, fifty-three years after his death.

Turning to the Court, we have little further to add: we have seen already the gap which occurs, so far as the Countess is concerned, in the records which should give us information of her connexion with it: she appears as a Lady of Queen Philippa on one solitary occasion[4] in 1328—that is to say, when the queen had but newly come from abroad: I can find no subsequent evidence of the Countess being at Court. Similarly she once entertained the little Princess Joan for a time with her foreign governess, Isabel de la Mote;[5] but again there is no sequel. And similarly she was apparently instructed, in 1334, to meet the destined bride of the king's brother on her arrival in England; but once more no particular result is traceable.[6] And again we have seen that there are no grounds for associating her permanently with Queen Isabel. To that gap in the records we may add now another notable omission—Froissart, who spent so long a time in England, and mentions so many English ladies, who twice at least had protectors that were her near relations (the Earl of Pembroke and Guy de Châtillon,

[1] App. IV. [2] *Cal. Papal Petitions*, 533. [3] *Cal. Pat.*, 338.

[4] At the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist she is one of the ladies of the queen's chamber who have *liberaciones* from the king (Exch. Acc., 383/10).

[5] *Cal. Pat.* (1338), 53; and other references quoted above, p. 418, note 8: cp. *Cal. Close* (1337), 94; and Exch. Acc., 389/9. This princess was afterwards sent abroad to marry the King of Spain's son (Pedro the Cruel), but died on the way.

[6] App. III, 9.

Count of Blois), who has something to say of so many of her family—Froissart has no mention of her. All this is not to say that she had no relations with the king; it is abundantly clear that she obtained everything she wanted, administratively speaking;[1] upon him she says, in her will, she puts her trust for all earthly things: nor are there lacking indications that upon one occasion the king passing by visited her in Hertfordshire, that he sent her wine from time to time in their later years, and so forth.[2] But I think the position must be taken that the Countess was, and knew she was, great lady enough to keep up relations even with a king without frequenting his Court. We have suggested two powerful reasons, religious and political, why she should wish to do so.

When we search for evidence of her connexions with her relatives we are equally at a loss; from all the mass of references of all kinds to the Countess we can extract after the Earl of Richmond's death early in her life only two series of references which seem to indicate any connexion other than a business one with her relatives;[3] those are the references to the presence in her train of Richard de Munchensy, who was with her for several years in the first part of her life (going to France with her, for instance, in 1325[4]), and those to Aymer of Atholl, who was with her from as early as 1342 more or less to the end of her life: these were both her husband's kinsmen.

She had one great friend, Elizabeth de Burgo, Countess of Clare. With this lady, about ten years older than herself,[5] who became a widow for the third time soon after the Countess of Pembroke was married, she is associated with some regularity, stopping or dining with her a number of times between 1327 and 1350,[6] and at about the time she founded her college going as far as to Usk[7] to stop with the foundress of Clare. We have here, of course, only one side of the evidence: had the Countess of Pembroke's Accounts survived we might have known more of this friendship.[8] They seem to have exchanged gifts from time to time,[9] and the Countess Elizabeth bequeathed a ring to our Countess in her will.[10]

[1] For instance, in connexion with her numerous transactions in land: cp. the various occasions when Commissions issued upon her complaint of broken parks and so forth: also the action of the king in the case of the nuns of Waterbeach.

[2] Exch. Acc., 396/2, m. 67.

[3] There are continual references to readjustment, in the matter of her dower, with her husband's coheirs, Atholl, Talbot, and Hastings.

[4] *Cal. Pat.*, 200. We find him occasionally acting in the king's service: cp. the payments to him on Issue Rolls 270 and 271.

[5] See G. E. C., *Complete Peerage* (ed. Gibbs).

[6] Exch. Acc., 91/16 and 25: *ibid.*, 93/4.

[7] In September and October 1348 (Exch. Acc., 93/2).

[8] We once (October 1327) find the Countess Elizabeth on her way to Anstey (Exch. Acc., 91/16).

[9] There are a number of examples of this; e. g. robes for Christmas (Exch. Acc., 91/24). Various mentions of gifts and of messengers sent to Fotheringay occur in Exch. Acc., 92/7, 9, and 27, and 94/1.

[10] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 59.

When we turn to the side of the Countess's servants, the knights and others of her suite, her dependents, the clerks for whom she obtained benefices or nominations, a very different state of things is seen: here long lists of names associated with the Countess may easily be compiled, many of them being persons who occur over and over again—Mabel du Bois, who was in her service forty years;[1] Maud Perrot,[2] for whom she secured a monastic pension; John de St. Pol, who was her attorney in 1331[3] and for a number of years after; John d'Engayne, whose association with her covers at least the years 1342 to 1357;[4] Roger de Dersingham, who is in turn witness, attorney, co-trustee and judge in an action based upon a complaint made by herself;[5] and many others. It may be said, of course, that it is this class whose names survive to us because our evidence must be based mainly on the kind of document in which persons of her suite would naturally figure most as witnesses, attorneys, and so forth. But surely some of her charters were of sufficient importance for her to have secured the witness, had she wished it, of her more eminent friends: surely too we might expect, in all the mass of documents that concern her, some references to other classes of those with whom she associated; and what of her will, with not a mention of any one of her own station? When in addition we discover that the executors of her will all appear to be drawn from the classes we have just mentioned save that there is joined to them one who was merely a servant of her chamber; then I think we are entitled to remember that Elizabeth de Burgo, the one friend of her own station whom we have discovered, was the foundress of a college at Cambridge, was one of the chief benefactors of the Friars Minors, and was buried in the church of the Sisters Minoresses.

Side by side with this we may place such evidences as the length of time her servants and dependents remained with her; the extraordinary privilege extended to three of them[6] of sharing with herself and her nearest relations (as no other did) a place in the prayers of her college, as ordered in the statutes; and the curious name applied in her will to her servant William de la Chambre—*mon bien ame Willecok.* We may conclude, in fact, that the Countess was

[1] She is thus spoken of in the College Statutes: she was with the Countess in 1324 (*Cal. Pat.*, 57)

[2] She presumably belonged to the family of this name to whom reference is found in connexion with the Palatinate of Pembroke, and many of whose muniments are scattered amongst the Public Records (cp., for example, Ancient Deeds, D. 2329, the copy of a fine levied in the Palatinate Court in 1297). In 1344 she was granted maintenance in Bergavenny Priory as an act of favour to the Countess.

[3] *Cal. Pat.*, 106: there are numerous other references to him. See above, p. 416.

[4] He witnessed her charter to Denny, dated June 15, 1342 (*Cal. Close*, 540), and is appointed her attorney in 1356 (*Cal. Pat.*, 461).

[5] He appears continually as witness and attorney; acted with her in the transfer to Denny of the manor of Eyhall in 1356; and was a Commissioner of oyer and terminer upon her complaint in 1349.

[6] Mabel du Bois and two members of the college who died while on a mission to the Court of Rome.

thorough in her two preoccupations—her religious life, and the business which was more or less connected with it—to the point of confining her friendship or at least the privilege of intimate association with herself and her work to those who helped her to these two ends.

Conclusion.

Summarizing the Countess's life, after the death of her husband, we find it divided into five well-marked periods. First (from 1324 to 1330), we have her settling down into her life, disposing of various difficulties in connexion with her husband's will and her own dower and property. Then (1331 to 1334) she is in France. Next, remaining in England (1334 to 1352) she founds and sees well established her two great charities—this period would be in her own life from something like her thirty-third to her forty-eighth year. From 1352 to 1357 she is in France again. From 1358 to 1377 she is growing old, adding final touches to Denny and Pembroke and devoting herself to the more meditative side of her religious life.

It has been the aim of the present paper to bring together all possible evidence bearing upon the Countess's own life, her occupations, her connexion with the history of her two countries during the period, and (so far as it may safely be done) her character. She died at Denny, probably on March 16 or 17, in the year 1377.[1]

[1] *De morte comitisse Penbrokie et actibus eius piis:*

Septimo decimo die Aprilis obiit domina Maria de Sancto Paulo, comitissa Penbrochie, exempli singularis femina. Nam adhuc vivens ita ad honorem Dei et ad decorem domus eius, ita in necessitatibus pauperum expendit bona sua ut ipsis ducibus exempla bonorum operum premonstraret. Moriens vero omnem substanciam suam vel servientibus qui ei famulati sunt vel diversis ecclesiis sive pauperibus erogavit . . . Dedit et alias [imagines] quam plures aliis monasteriis ubi oracionum beneficium obtinuerat que singule singulorum martyrum sive confessorum reliquias continebant (*Chronicon Anglie*, Rolls ed., p. 137).

The Inquisitions give three different dates of death.

APPENDIX I

ITINERARY.

THE above is a somewhat ambitious title as unfortunately very few indications have survived: however, it may be convenient to group such as have been found. The references are mainly to Pembroke College Documents, which are arranged under properties (Tilney, &c.). Mention has been made already of the Countess's visits to France (above, p. 409).

1324.	July 31.	London	(Funeral of the Earl.)
	Oct. 3.	Grinstead	(App. III, 2.)
	8.	Blechingley	(*Ibid.*)
1325.	Aug. 20.	London	(*Cal. Close*, 505.)
1326.	July 17.	Higham Ferrers	(App. III, 4.)
1327.	March 13.	London	(*Cal. Close*, 109.)
	29.	Westminster	(*Ibid.*)
1329.	Oct. 18.	London	(*Cal. Close*, 582.)
	Nov. 11.	Northampton	(*Cal. Close*, 581.)
	Dec. 16.	Denny	(App. III, 7.)
1331.	Jan. 10 and 11.	Clare	(Exch. Acc., 91/25.)
1333.	Jan. 1.	Paris	(*Cal. Close*, 104.)
	Nov. 18.	do.	(Rymer, under date 5th Jan. 1335.)
1338.	July.	Fotheringay	(Exch. Acc., 92/9.)
	Oct.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
1342.	Jan. 25.	Denny	(*Cal. Pat.*, 381.)
	May 3.	do.	(*Cal. Close*, 540.)
	June 15.	Westminster	(*Ibid.*)
1345.	Oct. 20.	London	(Tilney, B. 1.)
1346.	Sept. 11.	La Mote	(College, B. 1.)
	Dec. 10.	Denny	(Tilney, D. 4.)
1347.	March 29.	do.	(Burwell, A. 17.)
	April 6.	Hertford	(App. III, 12.)
1348.	June 6.	La Mote	(College, B. 7 and 9.)
1349.	April 20.	Denny	(Saxthorpe, A. 1.)
	Sept. 20–23.	Usk	(Exch. Acc., 93/4.)
	Oct. 22–24.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	Dec. 31.	Anstey	(Waresley, A. 6.)
1350.	Sept. 25 and 26.	Clare	(Exch. Acc., 93/4.)
1351.	Dec. 12.	Cambridge	(College, C. 5.)
1352.	Nov. 10.	London	(Tilney, B. 7.)
1353.	Jan. 8.	Wongham	(App. III, 13.)
1357.	Oct. 8.	Denny	(College, C. 7.)
	Dec. 15.	Hertford	(*Archaeologia*, xxxv.)
1358.	Jan. 10 and 11.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	March 21.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	April 12.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	17.	London	(*Ibid.*)

1358.	April 18.	London	(*Ibid.*)
	20.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	May 1–3.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	5.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	7–10.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	12.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	15 and 16.	do.	(Tilney, B. 9 to 11.)
	24.	Hertford	(*Archaeologia*, xxxv.)
	June 2.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
	Aug. 19.	do.	(*Ibid.*)
1369.	Aug. 8.	La Mote	(Burwell, A. 23.)
1370.	March 16.	do.	(Tilney, D. 5 and 6.)
1372.	April 17.	do.	(College, D. 5 and 6.)
1377.	Feb. 20.	Braxtead	(Will.)
	March 13.	do.	(Codicil.)

APPENDIX II

TESTAMENTUM[1] MARIE DE SEINTPOL COMITISSE DE PEMBROC.

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen. Ie Marie de Seintpol Contesse de Pembroc dame de Weiseford et de Montignac fay sauoir a touz que en mon bon sens et en ma bonne memoire fais et ordene mon testament deuis et ma derraine volunte en la manere qui sensuit Premierement ie donne et recomande lame de moi a mon createur notre seigneur ihu Crist a la douce vierge Marie sa douce Mere et a toute la Court du ciel; Et esliz sepulture a mon corps en leglise des Suers mennes de Deneye dedens leur cuer la ou ma tombe est faite, Et est ma volunte et mon deuis que mon corps soit vestuz et enterrez en habit come une suer du dit ordre; Et la manere de mon enterement ie vueil quil en soit par la volunte et ordenance de mon confessour et de trois ou de deux de mes executours sanz faire coustages outrageux par cause de mon dit enterement; Et vueil et ordene que les debtes de mon trescher monsieur Aymar de Valence nagaires Conte de Pembroc qui dieu face vraie merci dont ie sui executeresse si auant come elles purrount estre trouez et monstrees qui sont deues on Roialme Dengleterre ou par nul deuis de ses ancestres soient paiez et acquites et les moies debtes aussi de quoi ie purroie estre tenue en dit Roialme soient paies par [2]auant[2] et mes tors fais renduz les queux purroient estre monstrez et prouez souffisamment deuant mes executours ou aucuns de eux par persones creables et dignes de foi Item ie deuise et ordene que labbesse et suers de Deneye aient en aide de lurs bosoignes Cent liures; Item ie deuise a la dite Abbesse Cinc marz et a chescune des suers diz soulds et a chescun de freres la demy marc Item ie deuise a la maison de Brusierd pour louurage de lour eglise et des maisons dedens lour enclos Cent marz. Et a suer Emme de Biauchamp Abbesse illeoques quarante soulds et mon breuiaire que iapportai depardela qui fut as suers de Seint Marcel et mon journal en quoi ie dy mes

[1] The text is taken from the Roll of the Hustings Court, where it was proved by the executors, William de Bergh' and William de la Chambre, on Monday next after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 51 Edw. III (Guildhall, Hustings Roll, 105). The other copies are in the Registers, Sudbury, 96 (at Lambeth) and Bokyngham, 150 (at Lincoln).

[2] Inserted above line.

heures; Item parce que iai done a labbesse et covent de Deneye par une lettre seelle de mon seal ascuns ioiaux et reliques et autres choses ie vueil que la livree leur en soit faite. Item ie deuise a mon confessour vint marz et mon petit breuiaire que ma la Royne me dona et a son compaignon cinc marz. Item ie deuise a labbesse et aux suers Mennes de Londres vint marz Item ie deuise et vueil qil soit baille au Priour prouincial des freres de Carme et a deux autres Priours de lordre Cent marz a departir et distribuer aux Couuens de toutes les maisons de la prouince Dengleterre et aux plus poures freres de la dite prouince a chanter et prier pur les ames de mon dit seigneur et de moi et de touz ceux a qui lui et moi sommes tenuz. Item ie deuise au Priour provincial de Augustins et a deux autres Priours de mesme lordre Cent marz pour faire en mesme la maniere. Item ie deuise a la maison des freres de chartreux de Henton' treze marz. Item a trois autres maisons des ditz chartreux Dengleterre a chescune maison dix marz ; Item ie deuise a labbe et Covent de Westm' pour achater rentes davoir un moigne perpetuelement chantant chescun jour en la chapelle pres de la sepulture de mon dit trescher seigneur Monsieur Aymar de Valence que Dieux absoille pour chanter pour mon dit seigneur. et tenir les anniuersaires de lui et de moi trois centz marz; Item ie deuise a la dite [1] abbeye de Westm' pur seruir perpetuelement a leglise vn croix qui a le pie dor et a pierres emeraudes laquelle messire William de Valence apporta de la terre seinte et deux ymages qui sont en ma chapelle lun de seint Pierre et lautre de Seint Andrieu et vn calice dor et deux tapis des armes mon dit seigneur Item ie deuise a les escolers de ma sale de Cantebrig' en aide de lur bosoignes cent marz. Et prie tresdecuer et charge mes executours quil soient aidans et conseillans a mes ditz escolers quil puissent avoir possession des eglises et autres choses que je lur ay done pour meyntenir le nombre et lordenance de lur viure qui est par moi ordeine en lur estatut. Et par ce que iai done a mes ditz escolers par cedule sellee de mon seal ascunes adornemens reliques ioiaux et autres choses, je vueil quils en aient deliurance. Item en descharge de mon tresredoubte seigneur le Roi qui ad fonde et commencie vne abbeye de notre dame de Graces de lordre de Cisteaux pres de la tour de Londres et par sa bonte tout son temps ma este gracieux seigneur en qui sur totes choses terriennes je maffi et masseure principalement et humblement requerant a lui que de sa bonte et grace lui plese des oremais prendre mes bosoignes a cuer et que mes executours puissent auoir recours a lui comme a mon tresgracioux seigneur et sauuerain secours et aide a parfournir ceste ma darrein volunte ie devise a parfaire louurage de lour eglise Cent mars. Item ie deuise que mon dit seigneur le Roi ait un anel de fines pierres qui est merchiez dune bille en remembrance de moi. Si lui prie et requer en euure de charite quil lui plese de sa grant bonte maintenir et aider sa poure maison de Deneye et destre gracioux a mes executours quil puissent parfournir cest mien testament. Item ie deuise a tresreverent pere en Dieu sire Simon arceuesque de Canterbiere la vraie croix qui est en or ou il y a perles et pierres et est sur un petit pie dargent Item a leglise de Seint Pol de londres est ma volunte quil aient a demontrer en la dite eglise vn de mes calices dor sil ne laient en pardeuant et vn ymage de Seint Pol dargent dore. Item ie deuise et ordene que mes executours par le conseil de mon confessour facent a touz mes seruanz de mon hostel solonc le terme et le bon service quil mauront fait et solonc ce quil auront eu de moi plus ou mains ou seront assignez de lur viure paier et doner leur guerdon sanz delay bien et suffisamment Et pur abriger cest mien testament je vuel et ordene que toutes les cedules qui serront trouez en mes coffres seeles de mon seal qui deuiseront acunes choses donees et ottroiez de moi ie vueil que les ditz choses soient deliuerez et enuoiez aux gentz et lieux ou ie les aurai deuisees ; Item ie deuise que mes biens et chatelx qui seront trouez par tout sur mes Manoirs au iour de mon trespas soient departis en chatelx ou en argent aux poures tenans de mes villes et aux poures des villes plus procheins entour aux pucelles aux prisoneres et aux vesues et aux orphelins qui en auront mestier et aux

[1] Inserted above line.

poures religieux solonc le bon auis et conseil de mes executours mon deuis pardevant parfourni. Item ie deuise a mon tresredoubte seigneur le Roi de ffrance une espee que iai qui est sanz pointe et que mon bien ame Willecok de ma chambre la lui porte ou autre qui lui sache dire de quele maniere elle est Item a ma tresredoubtee dame de [1] ffrance [1] la [2] Royne [2] vn ymage dargent dore de Seint Joh'n et la relique qui est le doi Seint Joh'n et mes heures ou je di mes choses les quelles furent a la Royne descosce ; Item ie deuise a freres precheurs de la prouince Dengleterre a departir par les couens cent marz ; Item ie deuise a freres Meneurs de mesme la prouince a departir en mesme la maniere. Cent marz. Item ie deuise aux freres Meneurs de Londres au grant autel vn calice dor et lymage de Seint loys de France avec la relique ; Item ie deuise a lospital de Melton' pres de Grauesend' dix mars Et a hospital de Biggyng' en Anesty dix marz Item ie deuise a mon Neueu Mons' Aymar Dassell' quarante marz. Item ie deuise au Priour de latton' pour louvrage de leglise et en aide de purchacer ascunes terres ou rentes pur mesme leglise Cent marz. Item ie deuise et vueil que en totes les maisons de Religion abbaies ou priorez dommes ou de femmes en Engleterre ou je fui receue en lur fraternitez mes executours envoient et facent sauoir le iour de mon trespas et en checune des maisons facent bailler vn de mes reliques ymages ou vestemenz de ce qui serra de remanant du deuis q iai fait par dessus ou autre chose qui leur tiegne lieu en plus grant remembrance de mon ame et leur enuoient les lettres qui purront estre trouez que iai de lurs chapistres. Item ie deuise que touz mes liz robes draps de lynge et de layne qui appartiennent a ma chambre et a ma garderobe accomply mon deuis desus dit soient donez et departy a ceux de ma chambre et de ma garderobe hommes et femmes a checun solonc son estat vne partie et vne partie aux poures maisons Dieu solonc lordenance et la discrecion de mes executours par le conseil de mon confessour. Item ie vueil et deuise que touz mes escrins soient ouers a la veue de mon confessour et de deux ou trois de mes executours et que checun de mes executours ait dix marz Et ie vueil que mon confessour soit a mettre cest mien testament a execucion' et lui prie que vueille conseiller et aider a mes executours aussi auant que ce ie le nominasse mon executour Item ie deuise et ordene que le residu de touz mes biens soit par lauis et lordenance de mon confessour et de mes executours distribuez et emploiez pur le salu de mame et de touz ceux a queux ie sui tenue. Et pur cest mien testament et darreine volunte executer et accomplir ie fais et ordene mes executours monsieur Johan Knyuet. Sire Arnalde de Pynkeney Sire Johan Shaftebery Maistre Johan Timmie Sire Richard Titeshall' Sire William de Bergh' William Wynter et William de la Chambre. Item ie done et deuise a mesmes ceux mes executours mon hostel oveque toutes les appurtenancez en la paroche de Seint Martyn pres de ludgate en la garde Nicholas de Farindon' de londres a auoir et tenir par deux ans apres mon trepassement pur lour aisement si que de lors il soi venduz par mes ditz executours a parfournir mon deuis et darreine volunte desus ditz. En tesmoigne de quele chose a cest mon present testament et darreine volunte iai fait mettre mon seal a mon manoir de Braxstede en la Contie dessex le vintisme iour de Feurier lan de lincarnacion notre seigneur Mil trois Cens septante siz Et lan du regne mon seigneur le Roi Edward tiers puis le conqueste Cinquante vn

Marie de Seint Pol Contesse de Pembroc Dame de Weysford et de Montignac as touz ceux qi cestes mes lettres verront ou orront saluz Come ie eye otroyes et deuise outre ce quest contenuz en mon testament a frere William Morin mon Confessour et Mestre en diuinite vint marz Sire Arnald Pynkeney quarante liures Sire Johan de Shaftebery vint liures Marie de Wynage quarante liures. Isabelle Roke vint Marz. Margrete Dere vint marz William de la Chaumbre quarante liures Sire Johan de Grymstede Chanoigne par lordenance mon dit Confessour et de mes executours Cynqua[*n*]te marz. William de Radeswell' vint marz Dru de

[1] and [2] marked for transference in MS.

Sakenell' vint marz Iohan Bengeo et a Annore sa femme quarante marz. Robert Bukke diz liures Adam Walkreth diz liures. Ibote de la Chaumbre vint marz Jonette de la Chambre vint marz et a Johan Bernard de la Pestrine diz marz. Ieo voil enchargeant mes executours qils les paient duement en manere desusdite par cestes mes lettres de ma darrein volunte enseales de mon seal Done a mon Manoir de Braxstede le treszysme iour de Marz la[*n*] de la incarnacion notre seigneur Mil Trois Centz sessaunte et sesze—

APPENDIX III

ORIGINAL LETTERS, ETC.

As already noted, very little has survived from the Countess's muniment chest. Her own original charters[1] among the Pembroke College deeds seem to belong rather to the college history, and are therefore not quoted here. Others of her charters exist in copies: such are the Countess's releases to the king in 1325 and 1327 (on the Close Rolls); her indenture and letter in the Holand matter in 1329 (also on the Close Roll); her release to her uncle in 1333 (Patent Roll; printed in full by Rymer); her release to the king in the same year (Close Roll); her foundation charter to Denny (confirmed on Patent Roll; printed in full in *Monasticon*, vi, 1550) and another grant to Denny in 1342 (Close Roll). All these have been referred to in the text and in Appendix I.

A few original letters and petitions[2] to the king and various others have survived and form this Appendix, together with the fragments, already referred to, which are filed with the Inquisitions. There is no evidence that we have in any of them the Countess's own handwriting.

(1) *The funeral of Aymer de Valence.*

Chancery Warrants, I, 1329. No. 6925.

[23–30 June, 1324.]

A nostre Seingnur le Roy prie Marie nadgeres Compayne Mounsieur Aymar de Valence Counte de Pembr' qil pleise a vostre haute Seingnurie de ordener et dire ceo qe vous plest qe seit fet de sun enterrement cest asauer . ou quant' et en quele manere le cors deyt estre mene par chemyn / Kar ne semble mie alui, ne a Cunseil qe ele eyt qe tele chose seit fete sauntz assent et comaundement de vous a qui il fust si procheyn et vous ad serui si cum vous savetz. *Acorde est qe le corps sieit enterre a Westmoster.*

¶ Ensement sire prie la dite Marie brefs si vous plest a viscountes qui ount seisi les chateux sun dit seingnur qe dieux assoile qe y suffrent alui et a soens a leuer des dits biens et chateus ceo qe couent bosoignablement pur lenterrement et ausi pur sa sustenaunce pur le temps qe ele deit viuere des communs biens *Il se tenent a paye de Mille mars qil unt receu de monsieur huwe le Despenser de aprest.*

[1] Used for purposes of dating in App. I.

[2] One of these (Rec. Off., Ancient Petitions, 7897) is fragmentary and has not been quoted. See p. 415.

¶ Ensement sire vous prie la dite Marie qe come certeines terres et tenemens lui seient assingnes en noun de dowere par vostre ordenaunce quil plese a vostre seingnurie comaunder la deliueraunce des dites terres ensemblement oue les issues

¶ Ensement prie la dite Marie qe il plese a vostre haute seignurie Comaunder la deliueraunce de Hegham ferers, thorpwateruille et dautres terres et tenemens en les quex el ad fraunc tenement parmi vostre doun, ensemblement o les issues receus en le men temps

Il unt lu de transcritz de lur chartres au conseil, et le conseil se auisera.

[Note. This petition is endorsed on a writ of Secret Seal addressed to the Treasurer, Chancellor [and Council] (No. 6924 in the same file) dated at Rotherfield the 31st [*sic*] day of June, 17 Edward II.]

(2) *Fragment of a Household Account.*[1]

Inquisitions *post mortem*, Edward III, 262, m. 46.

[? 1–14 October, 1324.]

Fet a remembrer de siex mars resceu de ma dame a veille seint Michel de quele despendu

Lundi Done as ffreres Thomas de Gise et Edmund de Gise .x. s. a humfrei .ii. d. Done au garscon Sieur Peres a sun departir .vi. d. En oef .i. d.

Marsdy

Mescredy — Bailletz a Sir' Peres .vii. d. pur achater pessoun a Grenested . les quex il despendist . illokes.

Ioesdi — A un carpenter qe redresca les postes de la grange . pur sun lower de quatre iors .vi. d.

Vendredi — En oefs . deus deners.

Samady — En vin — vi. d. En despens le garscon .i. d. pur querele . En offr' .i. d.

dymayne — En vn spaude et vn brusket de Muton .iii. d. ob. En Mustard .ii. d. En parchemin .iiii. d. En .i. potell de oille .v. d.

Memorandum . ffet a remembrer de .xxii. s. renduz a sire Peres de Seint Iohan icest dymayne deuant nome de dette qe li fust du de aprest fet a ma dame . deuant. Le dist dymein pae . a vn pelter de Londres parmy la mayne Sire Peres .xxii. s. pur furures noyres al enterrement mun seingnur Le dist dymeyne rendu a Ianni de Gise .iiii. s. et a Peres le Deye .xii. d. ceaux cinck soutz furent enprountetz pur rendre a Symon de Thorp' deuant le Seint Michel.

Lundy. En une corde achate pur les louers de la sale .vii. d. En oefs .ii. d. En cires done sur vn hache a bleschingle .i. d.

Marsdy

Mescredy

Ioesdi — En oefs .i. d. pur i. cent de or .vi. d. pur purtreture de quatres bourses .iiii. d.

Vendredi Done a Ionette de Ailford .ii. s.

Samady. [*Erasure*] Et a mesme sire Peres. pur .i. cent de hareng et .ii. pessons dures achatez a Loundres .xi. d. En oefs .ii. d. En offrendre .iiii. d. En vyn .xii. d.

Dimeyn. Paetz a Roger de la Doune de dette mun Seynur .x. s. En oefs .ii. d.

[1] This fragment is of interest as being the only one of its kind preserved; for its early date (if, as appears, it belongs to the autumn of 1324, two months after the Earl's funeral); and for the place of its preservation. What the Countess was doing in Surrey and Sussex is not clear.

(3) *Trouble over the Earl's property: Westmill.*

Inquisitions *post mortem*, Edward III, 262, m. 19.[1]

[*c.* 1325.]

A notre trescher seignur le Roi monstre Marie de Seint Pol Contesse de Pembr' qe Aymar de Valence nadgaires soun seignur; del Manoir de Westmelne el Countee de Hertford' seignur . purchacea de Richard Thomelyn son tenaunt illeoques ceo qil tint de lui; en le Manoir de Westmelne ensemblement oue la reuersioun des terres qe la mere le dit Richard tient en douware dount elle se attourna au dit Aymar apres ceo le dit Aymar dona le dit Manoir oue les appurtenancez a Richard de Wynneferthing' clerk' a cel entencioun qil refeffast les ditz Aymar et Marie a eux et as hoirs issauntz de eux, Et si issue ne fuit entre eux demorast le droit a Johan de Hastinges et a ses hoirs, le quel Richard auoit le atturnement de la mere le dit Richard thomelyn. apres ceo le dit Richard Wynneferthing' graunta le dit Manoir oue ses appurtenauncez a notre seignur le Roi piere au Roi qore est en manere qe la voulente le dit Aymar fuit perfourne, A qui la mere le dit Richard thomelyn se attourna, surceo le Roi le piere dona le dit Manoir a Marie de Saint Pol a terme de sa vie par sa chartre et apres soun deces a Laurenz de Hasting[es en l]a quele chartre ne fuitmye[2] mencion expresse faite de le[3] douwair', la mere le dit Richard thomelyn; Dedeinz queu temps le dit Richard thomelin se abati[3] en les tenementz qil auoit done au dit Aymar et en sa seisyne quiteclame et les ditez tenementz ensemblement oue la reuersion de la terre sa mere vendist a Iohan de Beltone a qui sa dite mere attourna le quel Iohan apres la decees la dite Mere entra et unqor' de[2] tient[2] le quel douwair' la dite Marie ne poet recouerer pour la omission faite en la chartre nostreseignur le Roi auantdit' issint qe le droit appent au Roi qore est de quei la dite Marie prie a nostreseignur le Roi qil voille comander qe la chose soit enquise par ses eschetours et si le droit soit troue tiel come est susdit qe leschetour seise la dite terre appendant au dowair' et retourne en chancellerie et qi[2] plaise au Roi de faire estat par sa chartre a la dite Marie et a Laurenz de Hasting', issint qe la voulente le dit Aymar puisse estre perfourme—

[*Endorsed in contemporary hand.*] Tangencia W[estm]ilne

(4) *The Earl's property: money due to him.*

Ancient Correspondence, Vol. 36, No. 51.

[? 1326.]

; A noble homme e sage son trescher e bien ame en Dieu Mestre Robert de Baldak' Ercediakne de Midd' e Chaunceller notre seignur le Roi; Marie de Seint Pol Comtesse de Pembr' Dame de Weis' et de Montignak'[4] salutz / e cheres amistez en notre seignur / Cher sire nous vous requerrons si de quer qe nous sauoms qe vous voillez sil vous plest resceuire noz bien ame Clerk' Mestre Iohan de Redeswelle / e sire Iohan de Crosseby noz attourniez a seure execucion deuant vous, pur nous come Executrice du Testament Monseignur qui dieux assoille dune reconnissaunce quele le Priour del Hospital fist a mon seignur auant dit de cink centz et cinquante liueres dont nous suoms ore (?) deuant vous de Leuer deux Centz e Cinquante

[1] As to this and the following two documents (Nos. 1 and 14 in this Appendix) see note on the Inquisitions, p. 425. This one, as appears by the writing, belongs to the early part of Edward III's reign. For the date see *Cal. Pat.*, 153.

[2] *Sic* MS. [3] Written over erasure.

[4] Later in life the Countess seems to have dropped entirely the Wexford and Montignac titles from her address.

liueres [d]es termes (?) qe sont passez qar nous donoms a eux o a Lun de eux plein poair de les dit deners Resceuire e aquitaunce fere auxuit as terres et chateux ala value des dit deners solom fourme de statut resceuire a notre oeps / Et si vous volez Chose . . . . . cher sire qe nous pussions fere, voillez le nous cher sire touz Iours mander fiablement ; e nous le ferroms mult volenters et de quer Notre seignur vous voille garder lalme e le corps Escript a Higham le Ieudi auant la seinte Margarete

Depar Marie de seint Pol Contesse de Pembr' Dame de Weis' et de Montignak'

(5) *The Earl's property : the Castles.*

Ancient Petitions, 14692 (file 294).[1]

[1327.]

A notre seignur le Roi et a son conseil prie Marie qi feust la femme Aymar de Valence nadgairs Counte de Pembrok' qe come ele ad puis la morte son seignur suy en Chauncellerie et en parlement dauoir son dower des terres et tenementz en Monemue des queux son seignur morust seisi et les queux il auoit de doun le Roi par sa Chartre en fee taille sicome poet estre troue par roules de Chauncellerie et auxui par enqueste retourne par Leschetour par le diem clausit extremum en meisme la place / et Maistre Robert de Baldok' adonques Chaunceller tant feust qil vist qe lenqueste feust assez soeffisante . ne lui volut rendre son dower si ele ne monstrast la chartre le Roi de la taille auantdite / que le Chartre ne a[ffer]oit mie a lui de auoir qil vous plese comander en Chauncellerie qe vewe lenqueste auant dite et tenour de la dite Chartre en roules de Chauncellerie si mester soit, son dower lui soit rendu des dites terres selonc droit et reson.

Auxuit prie la dite Marie son dower de Hertford' et de Hauerford' queux son seignur auantdit auoit a lui et a ses heirs du doun le Roi par sa Chartre, en allowance de Cink' Cent marchees de terre, queux le Roi lui feust tenuz a doner pur son seruice sicome poet estre troue par Roules de lauantdite Chauncellerie / et dont Hugh le Despenser ne fuit ne voleit soeffrir qe leschetour apres la mort le dit Counte retournast nules enquestes en Chauncellerie pur ce qil coueitast les ditz lieux et Maistre Robert de Baldok' ne voleit mie resceuire la dite dame a demander son dower des dites villes si ele ne eust monstre la Chartre le Roi du dit doun quele Chartre ne afferoit mie a lui de auoir.

[*Endorsed*] Quant a la premere peticione, soit fait ce qest demande par meisme la peticione.

Quant a la secunde soient quis roulles de Chauncellerie. Et si nulle enqueste soit retorne soit fait bref denquere . et retorne lenqueste et vewes les roulles de Chauncellerie illoeques soit fait droit.

(6) *The Earl's Property : Thorpe Watervill.*

Ancient Petitions, 510 (file 11).

[? *c.* 1328.][2]

A notre Seignour le Roy e a son conseil prie Marie de seint Pol Countesse de Pembr' Come ele tient le Chastel de Thorpwateruill' oue les apartenaunces du don notre seignur le Roy Edward piere notre seignur le Roy qore est par sa Chartre . dont la Reversion est a notre

[1] For this petition see Close Roll of 1366 (*Calendar*, p. 275). With it are here filed copies from the Patent and Charter Rolls.

[2] Cp. *Cal. Close*, 582 : and next number in this Appendix.

dit seignur le Roy / e vn Robert de Holand' ad suy e sieut de Iour en autre v.. de la querele ou il estoit de tut ostee dauoir bref pur ses terres auoir en ostant la dite Marie du Chastel susdit prie la dite Marie a notre dit seignur le Roy qe nul bref ne soit a lui graunte ne a nul autre par quoi ele soit du dit Chastel oustee; santz estre apele en Court par due proces solom la ley e le custume del Roialme

[*Endorsed*] ffiat

(7) *The Same.*

Ancient Correspondence, 38, No. 203.[1]

[1329.]

; Al honurable Piere en Iesu crist . Sire Henri par la grace de dieu Euesque de Nichole; et Chaunceller Dengleterre; Marie de seint Pol Countesse de Pembr'. Dame de Weys et de Mountignak; toutes honurs et reuerences. Cher sire il vous remembre bien Coment dame Mahaud qe fuit la femme Monsieur Robert de Holaunde . et Monsieur William la Zouche de Haringeworth' se obligerent a nous en Mille liures . dargent par reconnissaunce faite deuaunt vous en vostre place le vendredi veille de seint Martin darrein passe. Et la dite Mahaud et Monsieur Rauf Basset seignur de Drayton' . en autres Mille . liures dargent . par reconnissaunce faite deuant vous; en meisme le iour. Des queux deux[2] Mille liures. nous auoms resceu par la meyn la dite Mahaud Mille . Marcs . dount lui auoms faite acquitaunce . en la quele acquitaunce; la manere de la soute des Mille . Marcs auantditz plus pleinement est comprise. Les queux . Mille Marcs sire vous prioms; qe vous voillez allouer . a les ditz . Mahaud William. et Rauf . en partie de soute de deux Mille liures susescriptz; solom le purport; de la dite acquitaunce. Notre seignur vous voille garder lalme et le corps. Escript a Deneye . le . xvi . Iour . de Decembre.

[*Addressed*] Al honurable piere en dieu Leuesque de Nichole et Chaunceller Dengleterre.

(8) *The Earl's Property: Goods and Chattels.*

Ancient Petitions, 3265 (file 66).

[? 1332.][3]

A notre seignur le Roi monstre Marie Countesse de Pembr'. Executrice du testament Aymar de Valence iadis Counte de Pembr' . qe come notre seignur le Roi son piere apres le deces le dit Counte occupa par le counseil et male voillaunce de sire Hugh' le Despenser . et dautres qe entour lui furent ses biens et ses Chateux . cest assauoir. Ioialx vessel dargent ournementz de Chapele / toute sa garderobe / Chiuaux . grauntz et petitz. Armures / Estor vyf et mort Bledz / profitz de gardes et des mariages . . dettes qe lui furent dues tanque a la Mountaunce; de .xx. M li. et de plus / les queux notre seignur le Roi susdit; recuit deuers lui . tanque la dite Marie Executrice et ses Coexecutors furent einsi menez; qe lur couendroit relesser au Roi; les ditz biens et chateux; por pardoun auoir des prestz de Garderobe faitz au dit Counte et despenduz en guerres Messageries / dettes / et despences faites en les seruices les Roys Layel et le piere notre seignur le Roi qe ore est. Des queux choses si le dit Counte eneust acompte en sa vie; le Roi lui eust du mult plus graunt sume de deniers; qe les prestz

[1] See *Cal. Close*, 581, 582.

[2] Inserted above line.

[3] The grant to the Countess by the Earl of Richmond seems to have been connected with compensation in this matter: see p. 413.

de Garderobe ne amountent / qar il despendi tut le soen en les seruices les Rois susditz . et ce qil poait cheuir. Si auant qe quanque remist des biens le dit Counte vers la dite Marie Executrice ne ses biens propres ne porroient suffire de rendre ses dettes / noun pas a dysme denier qe vient sur lui en demaunde par obligaciouns et reconissaunces Par quei prie a notre seignur le Roi la dite Marie / qe de sa bone grace lui voille assigner et restorer ascune sume couenable en deniers ou en chatel a sa plaisaunce / en allouance des biens et chateux susditz qe demorrerent a son piere dount elle poet estre aydee a rendre les dites dettes / en alleggeaunce des almes notre dit seignur le Roi son piere; et leuauntdit Counte.

[*Endorsed*] Monstr' lettres du pardoun dont la peticion fait mencion.

Ancient Petition 3266 *is an exact reproduction of the foregoing by the same hand; but has added at the end:—*

Et autre foitz ad *la dite Marie ceste chose *[1] mys auant a counseil qad este; ma[*is nule*] respounse ne poait[2] auoir

[*Endorsed*] Coram Rege petat Responsionem Coram Rege . . Coram Rege .

(9) *The Countess employed by the King.*

Ancient Correspondence, Vol. 38, No. 137.[3]

[1335.]

A treshaute tresnoble et tresexcellent prince Monseignur le Roy Dengleterre Montresredoute seignur come vous me Comandastes par vos lettres entour la touz seynz qe ieo fuse geytant la venue de la Dameysele Despaynge[4] Et alasse contre luy a Douuere et venise en sa Cumpaignye de uers les parties Deuerewik'; Moun tres redoute seygnur plese vous sauoir qe de ceo temps en sa tanque a quaresmeperuant; iay demore en certaigne place sanz mohosir mouer . pur perfourner votre comandement Et endementers ieo suy assoigne par votre seruice de vant voz Iustices en votre Commun Bank' en plee de terre vers eleyne qi fu la femme Thomas de Cleytone, quele terre et parcele del Manoir de Temple Neusom en le Countee Deuerewik' dont la Reuersion apent a vous Montresredoute seignur si vous suplie et requer quil vous plese Comander votre lettre de la targe au Chanceler que ieo puse auoir brief' de garantie a vos Iustices de Commun Bank' de la soygnie auant dite, Moun Tresredoute Seygnur ieo me recomande a vous si humblement come ieo puis, et prie a douz iesu crist quil vous doint bone vie et longe et meyntigne et encroisse votre bone estat Escript' a votre Manoyr de Deneye le xix^me^. Iour Daueril

—Par la votre humble et obeissant Marie * de Seynt Poel *[5] Countesse de Pembrok'—

[1] * to * written over an erasure.

[2] Written over erasure.

[3] This letter suggests that it had been taken down from dictation by a not very intelligent scribe.

[4] Presumably Maria, daughter of Fernando de España (or de la Cerda), Señor de Lara, a grandson of Alfonso X, King of Castile. She was contracted to be married, by contract confirmed 28 Sept., 1334 (*Cal. Pat.*, 23), to the king's brother John, Earl of Cornwall; but it fell through apparently, for she was contracted in April 1335, and afterwards married, to Charles d'Evreux, Comte d'Etampes. Previous matrimonial schemes for the Earl would have allied him directly with the Countess of Pembroke's own family (*see* Rymer). I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Watson for this note.

[5] * to * inserted above the line.

(10) *Charities: the Alienation of Denny.*

Chancery Warrants, I, file 231 (9523).[1]

[1336.]

Notre seignur le Roi ad grauntee a Marie de Seint Pol Contesse de Pembr' / Le Manoir de Deneye el Contee de Cantebr' / oue fees et toutez autres appurtenancez et toutez maners de franchises a auer et tenier a lui et a ses heirs pur touz iours, pur le bon seruice qelle lui ad fait et pur deus Centz et Cynqante liures quex elle ad paie au Roi par la mayn Henri Euesqe de Nichole Tresourier Dengleterre, et outre ad grauntee a la dite Marie qelle puisse le dit Manoir oue fees et les appurtenances et les franchises susdites / doner graunter oue tiele ch[arg]e de Chanteries et almosnes affaire comme ele voudra / as soers Menouresses de Waterbeche en le dit Contee / et qelles puissont le dit Manoir resseuire del doun la dite Marie oue la charge susdite / ou santz charge comme la dite Marie vouldra / a tenier en peur et perpetuel almosne a tous iours / et qe[2] les chartres et autres Mounmentz qe notre seignur le Roi le Piere auoit des hospiteliers de le doun du dit Manoir soient renduz a la dite Marie / et qelle aye bref au Tresourier et a les Chamberlayns dauoir touz les chartres et les autres Mounmentz qe sount deuers le Roi touchantz le dit Manoir / et quant elle aura le dit Manoir a les Seurs[3] sus dites done qe sel doun soit conferme par la chartre le Roi—

(11) *An Appropriation for Denny.*

Ancient Petitions, 12153[4] (file 244).

[1347.]

A notre seignur le Roi prie Marie de seint Pol Contesse de Pembrok qe li plese de sa grace doner conge a Labbe et couent de seint Andreu de Vercellen' / de doner et granter a la dite Marie vn Mees et vne Charuee de terre ou les apportenances en Chastreton' el Countee de Cantebr' / ou Lauoweson de Leglise de la dite ville de Chastreton' / qils tenont de vous en chef / et en propres vs / dil doun de vos ancestres. Et doner auxi conge a la dite Marie / qele puisse le Mes et Charuee de terre . et Lauoweson susdites ou les apportenances / du dit Abbe et Couent resceuoir / et meismes celles . Mes / Charue de terre et auoweson ou les apportenances / doner et granter / a Labbesse et seurs Minorisses de Deneye; et les ditz . Mes . Charue de terre et auoweson . ou les apportenances a elles approprier a tener en propres vs a elles et a lour successours a touz iours . [en pur et perpetuel almosne *struck through*]. Et doner auxi conge a Labbesse et seurs auantditez . qelles puissont . le Mes . Charue de terre et auoweson susditez ou les apportenances . de la dite Marie resceuoir / a tener en propres vs . a elles et a lour successours a touz iours [en pur et perpetuel almosne *struck through*]. Sanz fyn faire . sur certeines almosnes et Chanteries sicome la dite Marie voudra ordeiner; et ou meismes les graces et ffranchises . qe les ditz Abbe et Couent . les tenont et ont tenuz;

(12) *A Loan.*

Ancient Correspondence, Vol. 40, No. 34.[5]

[1347.]

Trescher amy, Come Iohan de Coupland est tenuz a nous, en Cent liures, de les nous paier ore a ceste Pasch'. Par reconnissance fete en la Chancellerie . et le dit Iohan nous ad

[1] The writ describes the enclosure as a petition of the Countess: it might be better described as a memorandum; whether submitted by the Countess or drafted at the Chancery or Privy Seal Office from her petition is not clear.

[2] Inserted above line.

[3] Inserted above line.

[4] This petition is written on paper. For the date see *Cal. Pat.*

[5] *Written on paper.* For date see p. 414.

mande, qil veut tantost paier, mais qe nous faceoms retrere la dite reconnissance par quei nous auoms[1] enuoie . notre ame valet Ianekyn de Grenewey portur de cestez . de resceyuour les deners susditz . si vous prioms trescher amy . qe quant notre dit valet vous dirra qil ad resceu les Cent liures auantditz . qe vous voillez fere retrere la dite reconnissance. Notre seignur . cher amy soit tout temps garde de vous . Escrip[t'] a . Hertford . le . vj . iour . daueril.

; Par Marie de seint Pol Contesse de Pembrok';

[*Endorsed*] A notre trescher amy. Mestre Iohan' de Vfford. Chanceller Dengleterre

(13) *A Journey to France.*

Ancient Correspondence, Vol. 49, No. 94.

[1353].[2]

Au treshaut e tresnoble e tresexcellent Prince son trescher et treshonurable seignur monseignur le Roy Dengleterre / Trescher Seignur pur le tresgrant desir qe nous auoms de sauoir bones noueles de votre estat; le quel notre Seignur voille touz Iours faire tiel; come notre quer desire et nous dount grace del reuuoir a ioye escrisoms nous pardeuers vous si vous Requerrons trescher seignur tant e si de quer qe nous sauoms et osoms qe par votre humilite le nous voillez faire assauoir par le portour de ceste lettre; e si souent qil vous plerra, qar trescher Seignur de tant susmes nous a ese . quant nous enaioms bones noueles Et de notre estat trescher seignur sil vous enplest sauoir par votre humilite; la mercie notre Seignur nous estiens on assez bone saunte quant ceste lettre fuit faite; ce qe notre Seignur vous voille touz Iours otroier bien e longement Trescher e tres honurable seignur quant vous nous auiez done votre bon congie depasser depardela pour noz busoignes si treismes nous pres de Douere . ou nous auoms domorre oyt Iours ou plus en atendant notre conduyt del Roy de ffraunce; et auoms entendu trescher seignur qe puys la date des lettres qe vous nous feistes fere a voz gardiens de Douere qil nous soffrissent passer la votre bone merci . ont il eu autre mandement depar vous, si qe nous ne purrions mie passer; si pleinement qe nous quidiens; par quei nous nous enhardissoms trescher seignur de renuoier a vous . si vous Requerroms trescher seignur tant come nous purroms et osoms; qe si votre volunte soit uncore qe nous passioms; qe il vous plese rest [. . . . . .] as voz ditz gardiens del passage de Douere qil nous soeffrent passer / et les chiualers qe sont en notre compaig [. . . . . .] gentz nos grantz Chiualx e autres e notre hernois . santz destourber ou arester / ou cerchier nules de noz c [. . . . .] gentz Et ce qil vous enplerra fere trescher seignur nous voillez sil vous plest mander par voz lettres / e par le porto . . [. . . . . .] Et si vous volez chose vers nous trescher seignur qe nous pussoms faire voillez . . nous sil vous plest mande [. . . . . .] votre volunte; come acele qest obeissante e apparaillee del faire anotre poair Notre seignur vous voille garder [. . . . . .] e le corps Escript' a Wongham as oytaues de Tyffaigne

Depar la votre sil vous plest; Marie de seint pol Contesse de Pembr'

(14) *Property* (*? a page from a Cartulary*).

Inquisitions *post mortem*, Edw. III, 262, m. 20.[3]

Fait a remenbrer que le Manoir Danesti oue les appurtenances fiez et leglise. / Et le Manoir de Messedenn' et leglise. / Et petite Hormade et leglise furent pourchaciees par

[1] Inserted above line.

[2] See p. 410.

[3] Written in a formal, almost a book, hand on a piece of parchment shaped and ruled like a page: possibly taken from some kind of cartulary. The corrections seem to be in a later hand. For the date cp. above, No. 3.

Monsieur Emard' de Valence Conte de Pembrok' qui diex absoille . de dame Iohanne de Veer sa cousine germainne et de ses hoirs . la quele dame iohanne fu fille dame dyonise de Montchanisi ; qui auoit partie des dites terres . deritage de par son pere . . Et de puis le dit Conte pourchassa en Westmelle a .ii. liues de pocriche . terres de pluseurs gens auec leglise . . Et enuiron le .xvi. an du regne le Roi . pere le Roi qui ore est . . le dit Conte donna tous les Manoirs dessusditz oue leur appurtenances . a .j. sien chapellain appelle sire Richard Wynneferthing' a qui il saffia pour refeffer li et sa Compaingne Marie de saint pol Contesse de Pembrok et lour hoirs de leur corps ensemble et autres quil voudroit . qui[1] ne furent mie[2] nommez ne nulle fin nen fu faite viuant le dit Conte. Pour quoi apres ce que diex ot faite sa uolente du dit Conte . les Eschaeteurs du Roi entrarent es dites terres. Et le dit sire Richard poursui de les rauoir et quil eust congie de les donner . si fu entreulz[3] acordee quil les donrroit au Roi. Et le Roi les donna auant et en fit chartre tele comme il appert ainsi que la dite Marie les a . et tient toute sa vie . . Et en cas que leritage appartiengne au Roy monseigneur . . la dite Marie supplie quil [li *struck through*] plaise [a mon dit seigneur *inserted above line and struck through*] que les ditz manoirs de Westmelle de Messedenn' et de Hormade oue leur appurtenances . puissent estre estendues par brief ou [*erasure*] sauoir la value que il[4] valent maintenant. Et que sur sa bonne grace . elle puisse faire gre de leritage et auoir congie de les emploier au seruice de nostresigneur de pruer [*sic*] pour lame de son dit signeur le Conte . et [pour *struck through*] le bon estat de mon[5] dit[5] [signeur *in margin*] le Roi et [pour les ames d *struck through*] au[tres] signeurs et dames ses amis. Et pour elle

[*a third of the page left blank*]

Le Manoir et la signorie de Bywelle en la Conte de Northumberlond' . soloit valoir par an plus de . iiii lb. dont monsieur Raulf de Neuuille en plaide le Wast Marie de saint pol Contesse de pembrok' Contre raison et bonne foi pour li faire perdre ou laisser pour moinx la moitie . . Si voudroit la dite Marie baillier a monseigneur le Roi tout son estat du viage sur sa bonne grace : dauoir la reuersion de Westmelle . de Messedenn' et de petite Hormade[6] en tele maniere comme il pourroit estre acorde se il li plaisoit.

APPENDIX IV

THE POEM[7] OF JAMES NICHOLAS DE DACIA, SCHOLAR OF THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE, WRITTEN IN HONOUR OF AYMER DE VALENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE, OF PIOUS MEMORY; FINISHED IN 1363.

[Selections.]

The first part of the poem consists of thirty-two kinds of tortured hexameters and elegiacs: the subject *Mors*. It is called *de distinccionibus et diuersis generibus metrorum*. A few examples are given.

The first six sections include ordinary hexameters and varieties of more or less simply rhyming ones. The following are specimens of the verse in some of the remaining parts. Section 9 is of ordinary elegiacs.

[1] Written above *les quelx* struck through.
[2] Written above *point* struck through.
[3] *Sic* MS.: written over erasure.
[4] Written over erasure.
[5] Written over erasure.
[6] She never retained this reversion.
[7] British Museum, Cott. MSS., Claudius, A. 14.

Sect. 7. Twenty lines beginning with *si* and *dum* alternately and ending with *quid inde* and *nichil inde.*

8. Mors, heu mors, quid agis, quid tante funera stragis?
Vulnere peste magis laceras nos ulcere plagis . . .

10. Mors liuore lita sub fraudibus est stabilita.
Decipit ut recolo viribus arte dolo . . .

12. Prospicias et precipias dum magnus haberis.
Forte luas et morte ruas dum stare videris . . .

13. Sixteen lines doubly rhyming and in which every word begins with *m.*

14. Morte minante dolemus, peste grauante iacemus,
Bella parata videmus, nos precor ergo paremus . . .

16. Est clamor crescens augente timore timorem,
Est amor algescens pandente tremore tremorem . . .

18. Trudit, deludit mors subdola nos quasi stultos,
Incedit, ledit teneros iuuenes et adultos . . .

19. Mors secat, odit, init, vetat, excipit, illico finit
Federa, iura, locum, gaudia, verba, iocum.
Gaudia, verba, iocum vetat, excipit, illico finit:
Federa, iura, locum Mors secat, odit, init . . .

20. Mors dabit insultus singultus sicque tumultus.
Occultus nostis hostis magis est truculentus.
Contentus . . . . . .

21. Aspera, prospera, prelia, pignora, predia, plausum
Applicat, abdicat, efficit, inficit, eripit, orbat . . .

22. Mors faretram gestans penetrat te pernice telo.
Telo pernice te penetrat gestans faretram Mors . . .

24. Mors terit, hunc ferit, hunc gravat, hunc cavat, hunc populatur.
Hic ruit, hic luit, hic tacet, hic iacet, hic lacrimatur . . .

There are also various figures—triangles, squares, etc., formed by hexameters.
A description of Tartarus:—

Hinc sitis, inde fames, fletus, stridor, calor, algor.
Omne genus mortis ibi militat, omne periclum.
Vulneribus diris anime misere lacerantur:
Dampnant dampnati dampnatos et maledicunt.

The second part is an eulogium of Aymer de Valence.

The poem of about seven hundred lines is made up entirely of indiscriminate praise of the Earl and, occasionally, of his relations: it is full of conceits, plays on words, and curious rhymes; such as *nec obit sed obedit* and *vulpes* rhyming with *procul pes.*

It begins:—

Anglia da gemitum, singultum, Francia fletum;
Gallia da strepitum, genus omne dolore repletum.

Mortis dampna fleo, gens mecum plangat habunde:
Conqueror ista Deo quia non est spes aliunde.

Speaking of the Earl and his father it says:—

Iustus uterque fuit et uterque probus reputatus:
Dignus erat proauus, abauus, atauus, tritauusque.

Of his wife:—

Coniunxit binos Deus hunc cum coniuge digna.
Laudibus illa decens, deuota, perita, benigna:
Cui felix nomen arrisit, ut ecce Maria
De Sancto Paulo, quam confouet alma sophia;
De Pembrok comitissa, potens, bene morigerata,
Nobilis et sapiens a pluribus est reputata.
Hec uiduata viro se gesserat ordine miro,
Mundo saphiro, niuee similata papyro.

It complains of the Earl's death, though with an apology (*si fas est inclamo Deum*):—

Rex pie pacifice cur tantum iam properasti
Tollere de mundo comitem quem semper amasti?
. . . . . .
Salua pace tua tardare magis potuisses

(until the Earl had had time quite to vanquish the Scots).

But

Anglia mesta scio possit deplangere amare,
Cur? quia de medio cecidit flos; nescio quare.

The Earl is described as brave, simple, honourable, religious, fragrant with virtue as a rose in spring; loyal, generous, and prudent; a sweet-smelling tree, of which death has taken the fruit and flower, leaving only the bark. His limbs, features, senses, and gestures corresponded; one fault perhaps there was:—

Ut fatear verum corpus tulit ille procerum.
Nam modus est procerum corpus bene habere procerum.

He is compared in turn to Hippolytus, Aeneas, Bartholomew, Parthenopeus, Priam, Croesus, Pyrrhus, Apollo, Cato, Naso, Jupiter, Amphitryon, Jonathan, Absalom, Job, Simeon, Achilles, Paris, Ulysses, Cicero. He fought *Erculeo gladio* and in war *adamas Adamarus erat.*

Magnus cum magnis, simplex cum simplice vixit,
Agnis agniculus; cui consimilis modo vix sit.

Of his reputation it is said:—

Anglia, Francia, Flandria, Cancia quem reputabunt;
Gallia, Wallia, Tuscia, Prucia magnificabunt.

Of the day of his death:—

Illa dies nox atra fuit, nec digna vocari
Illa dies, sed turbida nox poterit reputari.

Of death itself and the Earl's death:—

Mors mala, mors peior, cunctis mors pessima rerum.

and

Vincitur a Morte victus sic vincit honeste.

. . . . . .

Vicit enim carnem, vicit Mortem quasi Martem;
Mundum deuicit et vicit demonis artem.

and

Magnus erat, modo maior erit maiorque deinceps;
Ante bonus, melior nunc, optimus ammodo princeps.

The poem concludes with a mention of the date of his death, obscurely wrapped up but afterwards explained (it is the same as that already given); and with a final prayer.

XIV.—*The Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury.* *By* Ralph Griffin, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 24th June, 1915.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century extensive building operations were undertaken at Canterbury Cathedral. The more important of these were the rebuilding of the nave and the erection of a new chapter-house. At Canterbury, as at Gloucester, the cloister was to the north of the nave, and as the chapter-house was erected to the east of the cloister it was necessary to reconstruct in some measure the roof of both the south and east walks, but the opportunity was taken to construct an arcading on each side of the cloister garth, and to throw a vaulted roof across from the arcade to the walls. This work was in hand during the time of Prior Chillenden—prior from 1391 to 1411—and he proceeded in the cloisters with a brutal disregard for the beautiful work left behind by his predecessors, whose walls he used so far as they served him. The prior had been munificently assisted by a wealthy archbishop, viz. Archbishop Courtenay, who died the 31st July, 1396.

The archbishop's will has been printed at length in *Archaeologia Cantiana* (xxiii, p. 55) by our Fellow Mr. L. L. Duncan. It is long and very interesting. In it there is this provision:

> Lego ducentas libras et plus juxta disposicionem executorum meorum et secundum informacionem ministrandum per eos pro nova factura sive constructione unius pane claustri ab hostio palacii usque in ecclesiam se rectotramite extendentis.

The archbishop's palace was adjoining the north-west tower, so it appears that he intended to provide for the expense of the whole of the south walk of the cloisters from the door of his palace to the door into the Martyrdom. He calls that walk a 'pane', which word seems to have been used in this sense about cloisters and to have come to be an English word now found in Murray's great Oxford Dictionary, where a quotation will be found from the will of Henry VI, who uses this word in this sense and as an English word, about the cloisters at Eton. The sum named by the archbishop of £200 is a large one, but it is to be observed that he gives his executors discretion to spend even more in the work, and it is probable that they took a lively personal interest

in it, as the arms of some of them may be found in other panes of the cloisters, as well as the arms of many relations of the archbishop. Some of his legatees may have used part of the legacy left them by the archbishop in furthering the work, seeing that their arms may be found also in the cloisters.

The executors whose arms are certainly to be found are John Frenyngham and Robert Hallum, but it may well be that some of the unidentified shields are those of other executors.

The archbishop's legatees who may be noticed are 'my sister Dangayne'; 'my brother Philip'; 'my brother Peter'; 'my sister Anne de Courtenay'; Walter Causton; Hugh Lutterell; Hugh Stafford; Walter Gibbes; Henry Brony; John Culpeper; and John Boteler; and of the bishops: Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London; John Bokingham, Bishop of Lincoln; William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester; Edward Stafford, Bishop of Exeter.

Another large contribution came from Frater Johannes Schepene, who is commemorated in the cloisters by his picture on a shield, on the border of which is an inscription, which extended runs thus:

> Frater Johannes Schepene cum adjutorio amicorum suorum contribuit ad fabricam claustri centum libras cujus anime propicietur deus. Amen.

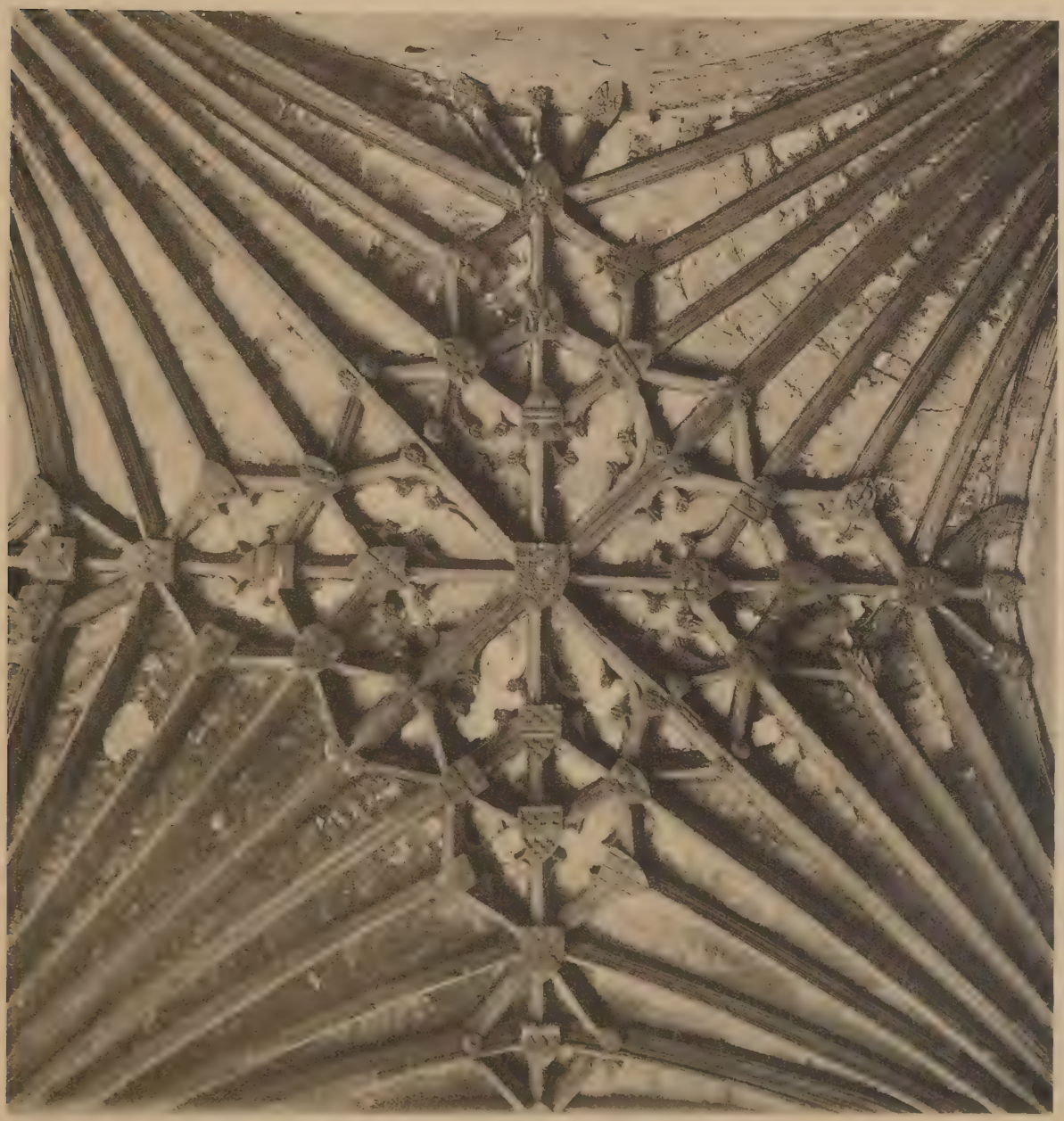
It will be noticed that S in the name is reversed, and as the inscription was long, the last three words had to be represented by letters only (plate XXXIII, fig. 10).

The figure shows a nice example of the habit of the monks, and brother John holds in his hand a book, possibly his book of offices.

According to A. 162 (a manuscript to which allusion will be made later on) the shield was coloured blue, the brother's habit was black, and his hair was golden. But the manuscript is in error in suggesting that he was holding a golden chalice. At the side of the face is the word 'proper', referring to the lips.

Prior Chillenden in laying out his new cloister divided each pane into ten compartments, thirty-six in all. Each compartment forms approximately a cube, the height being 15 ft. to 16 ft. and the breadth and length being the same. The vaulting is somewhat elaborate, formed by ribs springing from beautiful, slender, clustered columns, and running up to two horizontal members, which divide each compartment in direction of its length and its breadth.

The nineteenth compartment is shown in the illustration, which shows the shields which form bosses at almost every intersection. The shields vary somewhat in size, but the relative proportion has been preserved in the separate photographs of the various shields, which have all been taken as nearly as possible from the same distance.



Compartment 19 of the Cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral.

It is not surprising that the Tudor heralds were interested in these shields, and have recorded some of them in their manuscript notes.

One Richard Scarlett, who seems to have been an assistant to John Philipot, has left some manuscript notes taken at Canterbury, now in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 1366). At folio 8 is this entry:

> In the roofe of the Cloysters these rare coats following amongst a number of others as well nobles, bishops, and others.

He then tricks 75, giving a blazon of 13. He gives no names.

The next manuscript is the one alluded to already. It is in the Society's collection, and is marked no. 162. It is hereinafter referred to as A. It came to us from Dr. Thorpe. It is described in the Society's Catalogue as probably of the time of King James I. This is certainly the latest date that can be ascribed to it. It may well be Elizabethan, and contemporary with Scarlett's. It is also much more full, for it tricks 683 shields. It assigns colours to 79. It puts names to some of the shields. It describes the shields, starting from the Martyrdom door and going to the north.

Hasted borrowed the manuscript from Dr. Thorpe, and took a remarkably exact copy of it. He does not seem to have added anything by way of colour or name, though he must have known both in many cases. His copy is now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 5479). This same volume also contains a copy made by Hasted of a manuscript then in the possession of Joseph Edmondson, the herald. This copy is hereinafter referred to as Ha. The original of this is a manuscript (hereinafter referred to as C.) in the handwriting of John Philipot, Somerset herald. It appears to have been copied, and Edmondson's manuscript was a copy, for Hasted would not of his own motion have added numerous names and blazons which do not exist in Philipot's original manuscript, which belongs now to our Fellow Dr. F. W. Cock, who has most kindly allowed me to examine it. The portion relating to the cloisters begins on folio 7, which is headed:

> These be the Armes which are fixed on the Roofe of the Cloysters of the most beautifull Cathedral Church of our Saviour Christ in the Citty of Canterbury and collected by me the second day of March Anno Domini 1613.

Then follow 690 shields in trick. To seven only are there any indications of colour. If, as Philipot wrote, he collected all these shields in one day in March, it is not surprising that his record is tolerably inaccurate.

Before leaving the manuscripts it is necessary to state what shields are shown in them which do not now exist in the cloisters. Their probable position can be located by observing the shields by which they are surrounded. To begin with the Thorpe MS., no. 162, there appear:

1. A shield quarterly; 1 and 4, *arg., a cross engrailed gu.*; 2 and 3, *chequy or and az., a bordure gu.* A., fol. 30.

   This was in compartment 10, and appears to be Green of Drayton quartering Mauduit.

2. In the same compartment 10: *arg., on a chief gu., three lions rampant or.* A., fol. 29.
3. In the same compartment 10: *per chevron embattled or and az., three martlets counter-changed.* A., fol. 29.
4. In the same compartment 10: *az., a swan arg., beaked and membered gu.* A., fol. 28^{b}.
5. In compartment 11: the see of Canterbury *impaling* Morton. A., fol. 27^{b}.
6. In compartment 14: *arg., on a chevron gu., three garbs or.* A., fol. 23^{b}.
7. In compartment 17: quarterly; 1 and 4, *a fess between three garlands*; 2 and 3, *on a chevron gu., between three tuns a chess rook or.* A., fol. 19^{b}.

   This appears to be Cressel of Frognal quartering Winter of Worthington, Leics.

8. In compartment 10: Wainfleet. A., fol. 15.
9. In compartment 26: *on a bend three eagles displayed.* A., fol. 11^{b}.
10. In compartment 26: *a chevron between three mullets pierced.* A., fol. 11^{b}.
11. In compartment 26: the see *impaling* Bourchier and Lovaine quarterly. A., fol. 9^{b}.
12. In the same compartment a shield quarterly of six: 1, *a chevron sa.*; 2, *a bend engrailed gu.*; 3, *vt., a fess between two chevrons or*; 4 as 3; 5 as 1; 6 as 2. A., fol. 11.

    Scarlett shows of the above no. 4 (at fol. 8^{b}) and no. 6 (at fol. 10).

C., fol. 7, shows no. 2 (but gives the field as ermine) and no. 4; also no. 5 at fol. 8. At fol. 8, in compartment 12, it shows a shield of *three stags passant.* At fol. 9 it shows no. 6, but gives no colours. At fol. 11 it shows a shield quarterly: 1 and 4, *a fess between three roses*; 2 and 3, *a chevron between three tuns.* Compare no. 7 above. At fol. 14 is a shield in compartment 29 of quarterly: 1 and 4, *a bend engrailed in sinister chief a mullet*; 2 and 3, *on a bend three escallops.* At fol. 15 it gives no. 8 above, and at fol. 16 no. 9, as well as an extraordinary shield of two sheep (?) and a canton.

The manuscript denoted as Ha. is a copy of a copy of C., so gives nothing that is not in the latter.

Some of these shields may have been lost by the breaking off of the shield forming the boss, but it is more probable that they were merely shields painted on bosses which had no carving on them. Probably this was done long after the carved shields were in existence, for none of them, judging by the style of the workmanship, can be so late as Archbishop Morton (1487–1500).

Leaving the manuscript authorities, it is now necessary to refer to the only printed book which describes these shields, which, despite much criticism, has never been displaced. In 1827 appeared a work by Thomas Willement (afterwards a Fellow of this Society) entitled *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral.* It was sumptuously printed in quarto, and a large-paper copy was presented to the Society by the author and is in our Library. At page 70 the account of the cloister shields begins and continues up to page 148. The shields are in many places blazoned, but Mr. Willement does not quote any authority for the colours he assigns. He describes the shields by compartments, starting from the door into the Martyrdom, and proceeding to the west down the Courtenay pane, and so round. Unfortunately he does not seem to have had any system of plotting the shields in any compartment, and this led to his describing some of them twice over, as he in fact admits he thinks has happened in his introductory remarks at page 70. The result is that twelve shields numbered 22, 45, 57, 120, 178, 296, 374, 499, 678, 695, 713, and 766 have not been found, while 503 is in compartment 24.

All these shields which have not been found in the compartments indicated have been found elsewhere except nos. 57 and 766, and these appear to be mere misdescriptions of nos. 77 and 729. On the other hand, twenty-six shields have been found which are not described by Mr. Willement. It must be admitted that some of his descriptions are not very accurate, and it is probably this that induced Mr. Streatfeild to make an attack on the book which will be noted later on. But some allowance must be made for the difficulty of seeing the shields at all in certain lights, and having regard to the date of its publication the work is a remarkable one. It shows that the author fully appreciated the artistic merit of the shields themselves, which appreciation was not very common in 1827. It shows further that the author had spent an immense amount of pains in identifying the shields. He missed none of the manuscript authorities which could assist him, and made full use of all the county histories and other printed authorities which were then in existence. The result is that his notes are of very considerable value. He printed part of Scarlett's notes in an Appendix, but did not include the portion of those notes relating to the cloisters.

A good deal of discussion has arisen on the question whether the shields were coloured with their proper tinctures. Mr. Willement is of opinion that they were, for he says they 'were undoubtedly emblazoned in their proper metals and colours, for considerable indications are yet visible[1]; and the whole, in its original perfection, must have given that extraordinary splendour of effect which is peculiar to the rich colours and judicious contrast of heraldic combinations'.

Mr. Streatfeild, however, in his *Excerpta Cantiana*, published in 1836,

[1] It is to be observed that this was printed before the whitewash and everything else was cleared away in the 'restoration' of 1835.

vigorously combats this view, for after some caustic comments on the various inaccuracies of Mr. Willement's work, he says, referring to the traces of colour then remaining:

> There can be little doubt of this having been the work of poor Nowers the herald-painter. The arms of Dean Bargrave foisted into the cloister manifestly prove that it was meddled with in his time. Francis Nowers had married Hester Bargrave, a daughter of the Dean; and I can imagine him indulging his propensity, for it was not more his profession than his taste, upon the few coats on which there is an appearance of colour and appealing to his father-in-law with 'There, Mr. Dean, how glorious would the vaulting look if you would emblazon the whole!' The family of Nower (for they varied the spelling) was long respected in the county, having intermarried with Dering, with Toke, with Master, and with Taylor of Shadoxhurst. They bore, as appears by monuments as well as by Francis Nower's edition of Gwillim, 1660, *argent two bars and in chief three crescents gules* which belonged to an ancient and knightly house of that name; but probably the chain of evidence to so remote a period was interrupted, as John Nower of Ashford, Esq., altered the field from argent to ermine by grant of Bysshe in 1663. Francis Nowers was much employed during the Commonwealth, and probably on that account was an object of much petty persecution on the part of Sir W^m^ Dugdale after the Restoration, and his edition of Gwillim, which is especially valuable to a Kentish collector, unjustly neglected. He died in 1670, being burnt in his house in Bartholomew lane, with two of his children and two servants.

This amusing if discursive passage, it will be observed, all hangs on the statement that Dean Bargrave's arms had been 'foisted' into the cloisters. The facts are very simple about this.[1] In the year 1638 the Chapter caused the vanes to be placed on the four pinnacles of the great tower, and decorated one of them with the arms of Archbishop Laud. This pinnacle, early in 1639, was —to the huge delight of the Puritans—blown down, and fell through the roof of the first compartment of the cloisters. The damage was restored, and it was no doubt then that the arms of the Dean, who possibly paid for the repair, were placed on a shield over the Martyrdom door, where they still are. The suggestion, then, that they were 'foisted' into the cloisters falls to the ground, and with it the whole of the gravamen of the charge. I yield to no one in admiration for the Rev. Thomas Streatfeild, but in this instance I do think he has rather allowed himself to be carried away by his imagination, and that his conclusions are not quite established.[2]

[1] The whole story is to be found in Messrs. Woodruff and Danks's valuable *Memorials of the Cathedral, etc.* (8vo, 1912), at page 322.

[2] Mr. Streatfeild's copy of Mr. Willement's book is now in the collection of Dr. Cock, F.S.A., and he has kindly allowed me to use it freely. It gives clear evidence of the care with which Mr. Streatfeild inspected and noted all the shields in the cloisters. It is adorned by some of his tricks of shields. The beauty of his drawings of arms is well known to all who have used his manuscripts in the British Museum.

The question of the painting of the shields is further discussed in an article in *The Genealogist* (vol. v, p. 168), written by Messrs. Greenstreet and Russell. They differ in opinion about the painting, though they allude—

> to the opinion which was held by those distinguished Kent archæologists, the late Mr. T. G. Godfrey-Faussett and Mr. Streatfeild, namely, that there was no colouring on the shields when originally put up, but that paint (still remaining) upon a few had been surreptitiously introduced by a knavish herald painter of comparatively modern days in order to suit the shields in question to the bearings of certain families in which he was interested.

Messrs. Greenstreet and Russell further attack Mr. Willement for not quoting from the manuscripts which give—

> the devices then to be seen upon many of the shields since broken off the bosses of which they once formed the special ornament. The position of the shields was readily traced by one of us in 1876, not only by their absence, but by the fractured condition of the carving in those precise spots. Yet Mr. Willement says nothing whatever as to this evident loss of some of the arms, and although there are still many shields in the Cloisters now entirely blank, he makes no mention even of these, though he could not but have known that at some former time they were charged with arms described, or most of them, in these written accounts, for he cites one of the undernamed manuscripts, in which several of them are recorded.

The nature of this attack may be gauged by the fact that not only does Mr. Willement allude to one of the manuscripts, but he alludes to all that Messrs. Greenstreet and Russell cite, and he also alludes to A. 162, which they do not seem to have known of, and of the existence of which they would have become aware if they had read his valuable notes. The shields that are noted in these manuscripts which do not now exist have been collected above, and probably were for the most part simply painted on the bosses, and were so painted at a date long subsequent to the date when the carved shields were executed. None of the carved shields can be so late as Archbishop Bourchier, much less can they be of the time of Archbishop Morton. Messrs. Greenstreet and Russell assign to them the date *temp.* Henry V to Henry VII. They do not perceive that many from internal evidence must be *temp.* Henry IV. There are many shields in the manuscripts which are not now in the cloisters and never were there. They are simply existing shields misdrawn, and sometimes quite ludicrously misdrawn. This can easily be seen by comparing the manuscripts with a set of photographs of the shields. Messrs. Greenstreet and Russell no doubt had no photographs. If they had had, they might not have complained so much of Mr. Willement for omitting to record all the shields in the manuscripts.

As a matter of fact, a good many of his blunders are derived from the manuscripts, rather suggesting that he took a careful copy of them all, and worked by them rather than by the actual shields.

To collect now a few of the references to these shields in early printed books, it is well to start with the earliest in date.

William Somner, in his *Antiquities of Canterbury, etc.* (4to, London, 1640), says at p. 179, when treating of the cloister:

> The South pane or quarter whereof, somewhat more beautified than the other three, I take to be that which Abp. Courtney (as was shewed before) tooke order by his will to be made, and hath his armes set up about the entrance to it at the west end. As for the many other armes thicke set about the Cloister, by the way, I suppose them to be theirs that were benefactors in their time, either to the Church or Monastery or both.

In the *Historical Description of the Cathedral, etc.*, usually assigned to Duncombe[1] (Canterbury, 8vo, 1772), it is said on p. 73, in the description of the cloisters:

> In building the Cloyster, Chillenden was assisted by Abp. Arundel and by the contributions and assistance of many other persons, whose arms, according to the custom of those times are visible on the roof of them. Abp. Courteney's arms are at the entrance at the west-end. There are about 740 escutcheons in the whole, which were originally painted in their proper colours but a few years ago were all white-washed.

Gostling, in his *Walk in Canterbury* (first edition, 1774), says (p. 107) of the vaulting in the cloisters: 'at the intersections of these ribs are abundance of escutcheons, with the arms, I suppose, of benefactors to the church, about seven hundred and forty in number.'

In the errata the number is corrected to 683. And in the same way, in the second edition of the *Historical Description* cited above, the number is altered to 683, following Gostling. This second edition was published in 1783, and there cannot be much doubt that Dr. Thorpe had shown his manuscript to Gostling, who corrected the number to 683 from that manuscript. This number has been with parrot-like persistence repeated in various books since, and even by Felix Summerly and Mr. Brent, though Willement had shown that there were many more in existence.

A good deal of the controversy that has arisen about these shields has been due to a dispute about what were the actual charges on many of them. It seemed obvious that any such disputes would cease if an exact photographic reproduction could be secured. An examination of the cloisters with this view

[1] Really it was by John Burnby. See *Arch. Cant.*, xxiii, 37.

led to the conclusion that besides being works of extraordinary merit from an artistic standpoint, various shields of the series illustrated one another in such a way that a reproduction of the whole was desirable, and that it would be unwise to limit the work to a selection only. Moreover, the state of the surface of the shields gives cause for great anxiety. The cloisters were at one time no doubt in part glazed, and after the glass was destroyed the shields were protected by whitewash, even if not by paint. The thorough scraping off of whitewash in the last century left the surface of the stone subject to all the currents of air which arise in a building constructed as the cloisters are, and the result has been that the shields themselves show that it is high time to obtain an exact record of the charges on them, ere their state gets—as it is to be feared it must—even worse. But the reproduction of upwards of 800 shields presented itself as being in any case a long and expensive undertaking. Luckily the writer, who is connected by birth with Ospringe, was able to enlist the assistance of two members of the Kent Archaeological Society, both amateur photographers of distinction, and both connected with Ospringe, viz. Mr. C. H. Drake and Mr. William Whiting. They entered enthusiastically into the matter, and introduced Mr. T. R. Hodges of Meon, Fleet, Hants, another amateur photographer of the same calibre as themselves, who luckily was able to give much more time to the work than they could. Mr. Walter Stunt of Lorenden, Ospringe, another member of the Kent Archaeological Society, kindly undertook a general direction of the photographic work, and the benefit derived from his ripe experience and advice has been very great indeed. The result has been a series of photographs which leaves little to be desired. It is only right here to add that we were much indebted to the Dean and Chapter for their encouragement of the work, as they permitted free access at all times to the cloisters, and, considering the problems of light which arose, the question of the time of day when any particular shield was photographed—for no artificial light was used—was of importance. Hearty thanks must also be given to Mr. James M^c^Clemens, the sub-sacrist, and his staff of vergers, who were unwearying in their kind attention, and showed that no trouble was too much for them to take to assist a work in which they showed their constant interest.

It was thought better to work by the numbers assigned to the various shields by Mr. Willement. His arrangement was not an ideal one, but as it was in print it was more convenient for the student to adhere to it and supplement it where necessary.[1] The shields vary in size, but as the photographs have all been taken from the same distance the proportions are observed in the photographs. That

[1] This has been done by assigning to those shields which are not noticed in his book a letter of the alphabet followed by a numeral indicating the compartment. Thus A.[33] is a shield not noticed by Willement which exists in compartment 33.

no question might arise as to position of blank shields in the future, a separate photograph was taken of each compartment complete, sufficiently large to enable each shield to be distinguished with a magnifying-glass. A complete series of the photographs has been deposited, by permission of the Dean and Chapter, in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury, and there is also a complete series in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, as well as in the British Museum, and at Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum) and Oxford (Bodleian).

The shields are not always at first sight easy to read. The work of three or four different artists can be traced in them, and two or three of them so adorn their ordinaries by ridging, hollowing out, and chamfering that it is not at all times easy to tell whether they are intended to be voided or cotised. Careful comparison solves most of these difficulties, but in some cases there still remains a doubt as to the way in which the shield should be described. Before proceeding to describe each shield in detail it may be well to deal with one or two series together. And first—

The Royal Arms.

The only form of the royal arms which is found in the cloisters is France (modern) *quartering* England, so that none of them can be of earlier date than 1405. But there are many interesting 'differences' added to the royal arms, and the whole collection is worthy of consecutive study.

Those shields that exhibit simply the royal arms without any difference must all be assigned to Henry IV, who reigned from 1400 to 1412. He was only son of John of Gaunt by his first wife Blanche, younger daughter and coheir of Henry Duke of Lancaster, by Isabel, daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont. John of Gaunt by this marriage had also two daughters. The elder, Philipe, married the King of Portugal (shields nos. 734 and 811). The younger, Elizabeth, married, first, John Earl of Huntingdon, second son of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. This marriage explains shield no. 653. She married, secondly, Sir John Cornwall, K.G. (shield no. 767).

Returning now to Henry IV, the shields nos. 157, 688, 724, 758, and 809 show his arms, as does the great boss no. 473. See also A.[22] His first wife was Mary de Bohun, younger daughter and coheir of Humphrey Earl of Hereford (no. 1). She died in 1394, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, leaving six children. In 1403 Henry IV married again. His second wife was Joan of Navarre, daughter of Charles II, King of Navarre. See shields nos. 718 and 773. There was no issue of the second marriage.

The six children by the first marriage were:

1. Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. He bore the royal arms with a label of three argent. Shields nos. 190, 199, 750, B.[22], and C.[22]

2. Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son. He bore the royal arms with a label of three points ermine. Shields nos. 183, 202, 385, and 751. He married the widow of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, Margaret, third daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. Shield B.[33] She was buried at Canterbury with her two husbands in St. Michael's Chapel.

3. John Duke of Bedford, third son of Henry IV, bore the royal arms with a label of five, two of Brittany and three of France. Shields nos. 165, 200, and 759. He was not married before the cloisters were finished.

4. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, fourth son. He differenced with a bordure argent. Shields nos. 169, 172, 201, and 760.

5. Blanche, elder daughter of Henry IV, married Lewis Duke of Bavaria.

6. Philipe, younger daughter of Henry IV, married in 1405 Eric, King of Denmark and Norway. Shields nos. 748 and 768.

John of Gaunt by his second wife, Constance of Castile, had one child only, a daughter, Catherine, who married Henry, son and heir of John, King of Castile. Shield no. 774.

The illegitimate children of John of Gaunt were:

1. John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset. Shield no. 497. He married Margaret, third daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and sister and coheir to Edmund Earl of Kent. She remarried Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV, as mentioned above.

2. Henry Beaufort, afterwards Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester. Shield no. 415.

3. Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Nevil.

4. Joan Beaufort, who married, first, Robert Ferrers of Wem, and secondly, Ralph Nevil, first Earl of Westmoreland. Shield no. 644.

John of Gaunt's younger brother, Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, bore the royal arms of France and England quarterly with a label of three points, on each point three roundels, as at no. 184. His elder son by Isabel of Castile, Edward second Duke of York, used his father's arms sometimes differencing with a bordure charged with castles. He married Philippa, daughter and coheir of John Lord Mohun of Dunster (no. 672), but died without issue, and his younger brother Richard of Coningsborough, Earl of Cambridge, became his heir. He used his father's arms differencing by a bordure charged with lions (nos. 191 and 500). His marriage to Anne Mortimer is shown at no. 762. Edmund of Langley had a daughter Constance, who married Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, before 1400. See nos. 675 and 770.

The Arms of England.

Thomas of Brotherton, the elder son of Edward I by his second wife, Margaret of France, bore the arms of England with a label, usually of five points. It appears at no. 664. He had two daughters and coheirs, but only the elder, Margaret, is represented by shields in the cloisters, as her daughter married John Lord Mowbray, which explains no. 673 and no. 161, though in the latter case the label, possibly by error, is only of three points. Margaret's grandson Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, married a niece of Archbishop Arundel (no. 763 and no. 650), which Thomas used the arms of Thomas of Brotherton in right of his mother, daughter and heir of Margaret, elder coheir of Thomas of Brotherton, by her marriage with John Lord Segrave. See nos. 663 and 667.

Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, was the younger son of Edward I by his second marriage, and he also bore the arms of England differencing with a bordure *argent*. His only daughter and eventual heir, Joan, known as the Fair Maid of Kent, married Thomas Holland, K.G., who was summoned as Earl of Kent in her right in 1360, but died that year. These Hollands from this time abandoned their family arms (semy of lis a lion rampant guardant) and adopted the coat of Edmund of Woodstock, and this appears on four shields in the cloisters (nos. 278, 496, 755, and 756). Others exhibit many of the marriages of the daughters of the house (nos. 666, 769, 771, 772, B.[31], and E.[33]).

The third son of the Fair Maid was John Holland, created Duke of Exeter, who married Elizabeth, sister of King Henry IV (*supra*, p. 457). He differenced with a bordure of France (nos. 181 and 653). One of his daughters married Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal (no. 652).

The arms of England, differenced by a label of France, also appear in the cloisters at no. 481 and at A.[31] This difference was adopted by the Dukes of Lancaster, descended from Edmund Crouchback by his second wife Blanch, daughter of Robert, younger son of Lewis, King of France. Her grandchild Eleanor married, first, John second Lord Beaumont (no. 683), and, after his death marrying Richard Earl of Arundel, was mother of Archbishop Arundel (no. 752).

Arundel.

The Archbishop bore the arms of Fitzalan and Warenne quarterly with a bordure engrailed for difference, as in nos. 11, 14, 39, 414, 583, 690, 749, and C.[23], though in one case (no. 12) the bordure is omitted. The coat without difference occurs at nos. 1, 189, 393, 427, 493, 650, 655, 659, 752, 755, 763, 764, D.[23], E.[23], and A.[33], while Fitzalan quartering Maltravers is at nos. 230, 279, 409, and 416.

Beaumont.

The arms of this family occur alone at nos. 35 and 249, and quartering Comyn at no. 682; but they usually bore a quartered coat with the arms of Jerusalem in the first and last quarters, putting their own arms in the second and third. This quartered coat is at nos. 255, 322, 677, 679-681, 683-685, 687, 698, 699, 705, 753, and when a difference is desired to be made it is noted by placing it as in no. 680, on the shoulder of the lion or by a label over all, as in no. 681. The great Beaumont boss, no. 676, omits the family arms altogether, placing the arms of Jerusalem on the family badge of an elephant. This badge also occurs at no. 3.

Courtenay.

There are two shields in the cloisters charged with three roundels without any label. These are nos. 302 and 597. They are both assigned by Mr. Willement to Courtenay. The Courtenays of Devonshire usually used this charge with a label *azure*, and there are numerous shields in the cloisters with this label. The Archbishop's label is not usually in the cloisters differenced in any way (see nos. 5, 38, and 87), though in one case a mitre appears on each point (no. 9). The label is plain in nos. 56, 386, 442, 485, and 765, the last shield being certainly that of Sir Edward Courtenay, the Archbishop's nephew. See also A.[2]

There is a *crescent* on each point of the label in no. 10, and *three crescents* on each point in no. 50.

There is a *lozenge* on each point in no. 64.

There is a *cinquefoil* on each point in no. 70.

There are *three lis* on each point in no. 75.

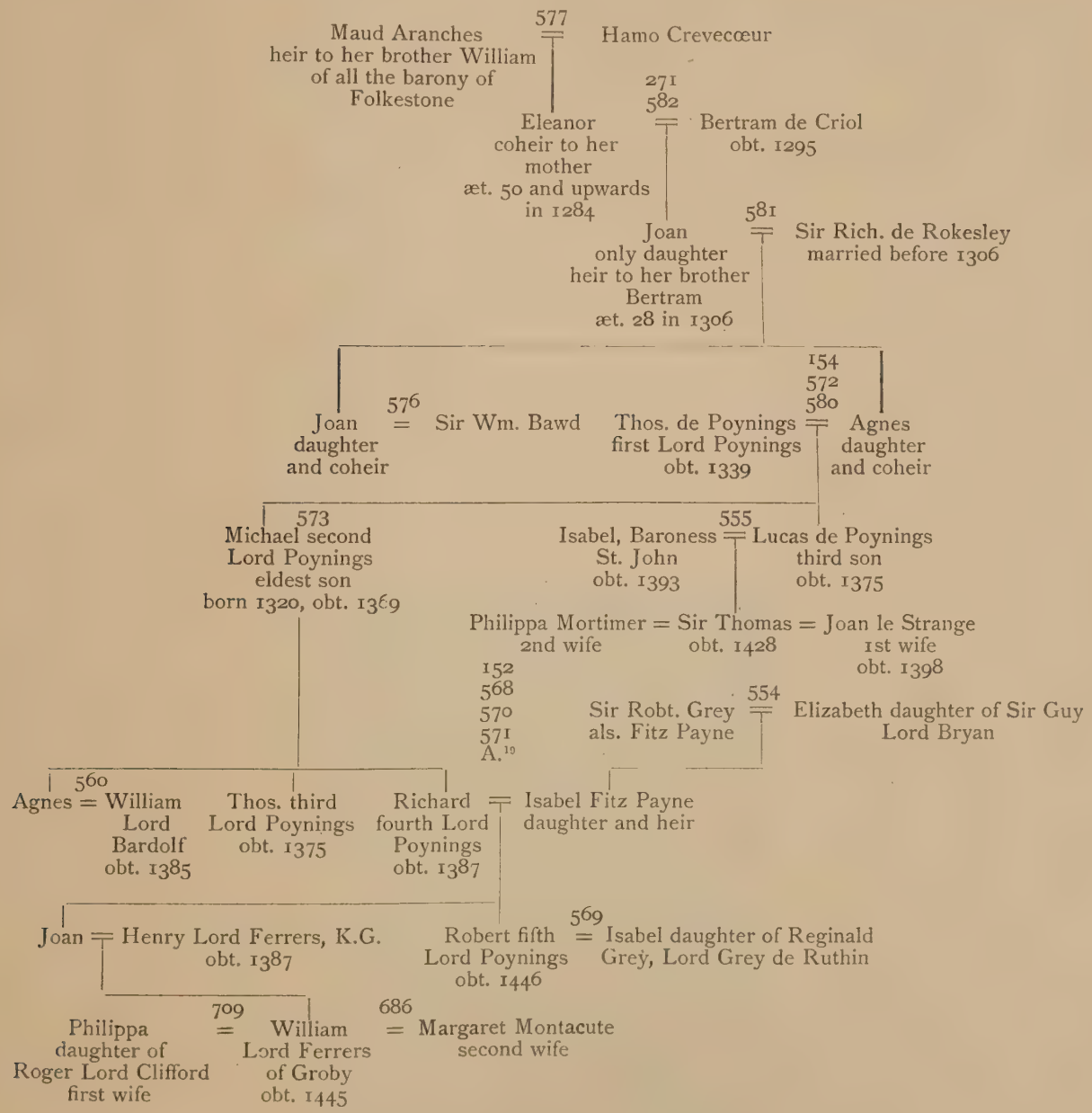
There are *three gouttes* on each point in no. 86.

There are *three roundels* on each point in nos. 125 and 147.

There are *three annulets* on each point and a *bend* over all in no. 137.

Poynings.

The shields in the cloisters illustrate the following pedigree:


577
Maud Aranches heir to her brother William of all the barony of Folkestone
Hamo Crevecœur
271
582
Eleanor coheir to her mother æt. 50 and upwards in 1284
Bertram de Criol obt. 1295
581
Joan only daughter heir to her brother Bertram æt. 28 in 1306
Sir Rich. de Rokesley married before 1306
154
572
580
576
Joan daughter and coheir
Sir Wm. Bawd
Thos. de Poynings first Lord Poynings obt. 1339
Agnes daughter and coheir
573
Michael second Lord Poynings eldest son born 1320, obt. 1369
555
Isabel, Baroness St. John obt. 1393
Lucas de Poynings third son obt. 1375
Philippa Mortimer 2nd wife
Sir Thomas obt. 1428
Joan le Strange 1st wife obt. 1398
152
568
570
571
A.[19]
554
Sir Robt. Grey als. Fitz Payne
Elizabeth daughter of Sir Guy Lord Bryan
560
Agnes
William Lord Bardolf obt. 1385
Thos. third Lord Poynings obt. 1375
Richard fourth Lord Poynings obt. 1387
Isabel Fitz Payne daughter and heir
Joan
Henry Lord Ferrers, K.G. obt. 1387
569
Robert fifth Lord Poynings obt. 1446
Isabel daughter of Reginald Grey, Lord Grey de Ruthin
709
Philippa daughter of Roger Lord Clifford first wife
William Lord Ferrers of Groby obt. 1445
686
Margaret Montacute second wife

The shields no. 567 (Poynings impaling Talbot) and no. 579 (Poynings impaling Northwood) are not placed in the above pedigree. Lady Aton (no. 158) was no doubt the Margaret whose seal is noted, *s. v.* Aton, in the new edition of the *Complete Peerage*. She was daughter of Michael, second Lord Poynings.

Places and Kings.

The following arms of places and kings occur in the cloisters :

Bohemia. 223, 722.
Canterbury. 139.
Castile. 721, 774.
Cinque Ports. 6.
Constantinople. 731.
Denmark. 748, 768.
Ethiopia. 732.
Evreux. 718, 773.
France (alone). 733.
Ireland. 726.
Jerusalem (alone). 743.
King Alexander. 737.
King Arthur. 7, 26, 62, 739.
King Edmund. 7, 26, 62, 739.
King Edward the Confessor. 25, 740.
King Ethelbert. 119, 727.
King Haco of Norway. 700.
Leon. 721, 774.
Lifeland (Livonia). 746, 768.
London. 115.
Man. 257, 610, 725.
Navarre. 718, 773.
Norway. 745, 768.
Portugal. (?) 700, 734, 811.
Provence. 730, 735.
Rome. 223, 722.
Saxony (?). 746, 768.
Scotland. 728.
Sweden. 747, 768.
Thrace. 723.
Wales. 719.
Wales, The Prince of, badge. 197, 494.

Shield no. 119.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF EACH SHIELD IN THE CLOISTERS, BY COMPARTMENTS, STARTING FROM THE DOOR OF THE MARTYRDOM AND GOING WEST AND SO ROUND.[1]

Compartment 1.

1. A bend cotised between six lions rampant, *impaling* quarterly: 1 and 4, a lion rampant; 2 and 3, chequy. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 14.

A., fol. 2, calls this Bohun Earl of Hereford, and colours dexter coat *az., a bend arg. cotised or, between six lions rampant or*; and the sinister *quarterly*: 1 *and* 4, *gu., a lion rampant or*; 2 *and* 3, *chequy or and az.*

W. blazons as A.

This is Bohun impaling Fitzalan and Warenne quarterly, and is for Humphrey de Bohun, twelfth earl of Hereford, who married in 1362 Joan, daughter of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and sister of Archbishop Arundel. Joan Countess of Hereford, according to the *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, sealed with these arms till 1407. Of the daughters and coheirs of Humphrey and Joan, Mary the second daughter married as his first wife Henry IV, and was mother of all his children. The elder daughter and coheir Eleanor married Thomas of Woodstock, and her brass is in Westminster Abbey. Observe that Archbishop Courtenay's mother was a Bohun.

This shield is in compartment 33 (A.[33]), not noticed by W., and also over the lavatory in bay 23 (D.[23]).

2. On a pale a sword erect; on a chief three roundels.

A., fol. 1[b], tricks and colours *or, on a pale gu., a sword erect, or; on a chief az., three bezants.* The arms are those of Dean Isaac Bargrave (1625–1642). In the grant by Camden in 1611 to John Bargrave of Patricksbourne the sword is *arg.*, hilt *or*. Stowe MS., no. 707.

The shape of this shield, which is quite unlike the shape of the others in the cloisters, denotes its more recent origin. Its appearance in this compartment is explained above, p. 453.

Compartment 2.

A.[2] A shield charged with three roundels, a label of three; supported by two monkeys.

This is no doubt for Courtenay. See no. 5.

This shield is not noticed by W.

B.[2] A helmet with mantling surmounted by a cap of estate, on which is standing a lion guardant, the whole surrounded by deeply cut foliage.

This beautiful boss, though the lion does not appear to be crowned, is no doubt referable to the king or some member of the royal family. It is not noticed by W.

[1] The abbreviations used in this list are: A., the MS. numbered 162 in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries; C., the MSS. in the possession of Dr. Cock; Ha., the copy of a MS. made by Hasted, now Add. MS. 5479; S., a roll of Richard II, *c.* 1377, emblazoned by Messrs. A. P. Harrison & Sons [? 1848], apparently the same roll as that cited in Papworth's *Ordinary* as S.; W., the *Heraldic Notices, etc.*, by Thomas Willement (1827).

COMPARTMENT 3.

3. A castle on the back of a couchant elephant.

A badge of Beaumont. See no. 676.

4. An angel holding a shield charged with a cross.

W. says *sa., a cross arg.*, and assigns to St. Augustine's Abbey.

5. An angel holding a shield charged with two coats impaled; *dexter*, a staff ensigned with a cross patty surmounted by a pall; *sinister*, three roundels, a label of three.

A., fol. 30. The arms of Archbishop Courtenay: here are no crosses on the pall as at nos. 38 and 87.

W. misdescribes. See no. 9.

A.[3] Here is a boss, not noticed by W., of the holy lamb holding a cross, surrounded by deep-cut foliage.

COMPARTMENT 6.

6. England dimidiating three ships' hulls in pale. The Cinque Ports.

W. describes as *per pale gu. and az.; on the dexter, three demi lions passant gaurdant, or, conjoined with as many demi hulks of galleys on the sinister, arg.*

7. Three crowns.

A., fol. 30. C., fol. 7, ascribed to King Edmund. Ha., fol. 14.

W. describes as *az., three crowns or, two and one,* and ascribes it to St. Edmund.

The same coat is sometimes ascribed to King Arthur.

8. A star within the horns of a crescent in clouds. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 11.

W. notes this as a badge of the early princes of the house of Plantagenet. It is probably a badge of the house of Mortimer. The crescent is edged with pearls, and this feature distinguishes the carving of nearly all the crescents in the cloisters.

COMPARTMENT 7.

9. The see of Canterbury *impaling* three roundels, a label of three, each point charged with a mitre, with *infulae*. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 6.

The see is usually blazoned (as by W.) *az.; an episcopal staff, in pale, or; ensigned with a cross patty arg.; surmounted by a pall arg., edged and fringed or, charged with four crosses patty fitchy sa.* It has been suggested that it is not the see but the indication of the dignity of an archbishop. See no. 430 and the paper there cited. The coat occurs fifteen times in the cloisters in nos. 5, 9, 12, 14, 19, 38, 39, 87, 414, 553, 583, 716, 749, and on a shield over the lavatory C.[23] The crosses on the pall are not fitchy in nos. 9, 12, 414, 553, 749, and in the lavatory shield, while in no. 5 there are no crosses on the pall. The archbishops whose coats are impaled by the see are: (1) St. Thomas, (2) Courtenay, (3) Arundel, (4) Chicheley. Though the coat of Sudbury occurs frequently, it is never impaled by the see.

The coat impaled here may be blazoned from a window in Maidstone Church (noted in C., fol. 38) as *or, three torteaux; a label of three az., each point charged with a mitre arg.* This is the only place in the cloisters where Archbishop Courtenay's coat is differenced by mitres. In the other cases, viz. nos. 5, 38, and 87, no mitres are shown. The counterseal of the archbishop's hospital of St. Mary and All Saints at Maidstone, founded 1393, bore a shield showing the same coat as this boss, which may therefore be intended for that hospital and not for the archbishop, though the archbishop himself sometimes used a seal showing the mitres.

A., fol. 30, omits the mitres, but Scarlett, fol. 7, notes them, and colours the label *az.* and the mitres *arg.*

10. Courtenay; each point of the label charged with a crescent. The top of the shield has been broken off.

W. blazons *or, three torteaux, two and one; on a label of three points az., as many crescents arg.* There is, however, only one crescent.

A., fol. 30, draws correctly, and gives colours *or three torteaux, a label of three arg., on each point a crescent*, but gives no colour for the crescents.

C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, omit the crescents.

It may be noted that in shield no. 50 there are three crescents on each point.

Compartment 8.

11. Fitzalan and Warenne quarterly (as in no. 1), all within a bordure engrailed.

W. blazons as in no. 1, and so does A., fol. 30, both giving the bordure as *arg.*

This is the coat of Thomas Arundel, archbishop from 1396 (when he succeeded Courtenay) till 1413, when he died. He was the third son of Richard, fifth Earl of Arundel, by his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster (no. 752). The second son, Sir John Arundel, marshal of England, married Eleanor, granddaughter and coheir of John Lord Maltravers (no. 230). Of the archbishop's sisters, Alice married Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent (no. 755); and Joan was wife of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (no. 1); while of his nieces Elizabeth became the wife of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (no. 650), and Margaret of Sir Richard Lenthall (no. 764).

Compartment 9.

12. The see, *impaling* Fitzalan and Warenne quarterly.

No doubt for Archbishop Arundel, though the engrailed bordure is here omitted. W. does not notice this.

A., fol. 30, gives tinctures.

The shield is borne by three angels.

13. A cross.

A., fol. 30, draws as if it were the Priory.

W. blazons *arg., a cross gu.*, and ascribes to St. George.

Compartment 10.

At the south-west angle.

14. The see, *impaling* no. 11. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 15.

A., fol. 28b. W. says as no. 12, which is not so.

15. Seven mascles conjoined: three, three, and one.

A., fol. 29b. C., fol. 7, query Braybroke. Ha., fol. 14, colours *gu., seven mascles arg.*, and says Ferrers of Groby.

W. blazons *gu., seven mascles conjoined or; three, three, and one*, and ascribes to Ferrers.

Both the Ferrers and the Braybrokes (who bore the field *argent* and the mascles *gules*) were connected with Kent, and there is no shield in this compartment that would lend any assistance in determining to which of the families this shield should be assigned. The coat occurs eight times in the cloisters: nos. 15, 403, 423, 479, 686, 699, 703, 709.

16. Quarterly, in the first quarter a mullet pierced.

A., fol. 28b. C., fol. 7, Veere. Ha., fol. 14.

W. blazons *quarterly gu. and or, in the dexter chief a mullet arg.*, and ascribes to Richard de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died 4 Henry V. He notes that the Veres held the manor of Badlesmere, co. Kent, by descent from one of the coheirs of Giles Lord Badlesmere, *temp.* Edward III, and retained it for some time afterwards.

It may be added that the Veres assumed, without legal right, the title of Barons Badlesmere as if to accentuate their connexion with Kent. The shield may be assigned, as W. does, to the eleventh earl, who was K.G. He succeeded to the title in 1400, and died in 1417. The coat occurs ten times in the cloisters: nos. 16, 59, 76, 289, 387, 436, 521, 684, 704, 708. The mullet is not pierced in no. 76.

17. On a cross five eagles displayed.

A., fol. 29, blazons *gu.; on a cross arg., five eagles displayed az.* C., fol. 7, notes 'qr. Diggs of Diggs court in Kent'. Ha., fol. 17.

W. makes the birds *sa.*, as does Papworth; and C., fol. 5, notes a coat so coloured in the windows of Newington (next Sittingbourne) Church. In the list of Kent gentry in the Cottonian MSS., Faustina E. ii (printed by Mr. Greenstreet in *Arch. Cant.* xi, pp. 394–7), no. 177 is 'Thomas Diks. *g.* cross *ar.* thereon fyve eglets *s.*' The Digges were of Digges Court in Barham long before 1400. John Digges was sheriff in 1401, and W. suggests he is the person whose shield is here. A branch of the family was settled at Newington by Sittingbourne, and this shield in brass (the eagles double-headed) remains in the church there. W. says the family had held the manor of Hackington, which may be a misprint for Nackington, in which place they certainly held lands. W. adds that several of them were buried in the cathedral.

18. Fretty.

A., fol. 29, draws and colours *az., fretty arg.* C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14. W. blazons *sa., a fret or*, and assigns to Maltravers.

Az., fretty arg., would be Etchingham, and this is a very probable attribution of the shield, as the family held property in Kent at Lydd. Joan, daughter of William Echyngham of Echyngham, married Sir Arnold Savage, the Speaker.

19. The see of Canterbury, *impaling* three beckets. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 2.

A., fol. 29. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

Arg., three beckets proper, the arms of St. Thomas of Canterbury, archbishop 1161–1170.

20. Crusily fitchy, and three lucies hauriant.

A., fol. 30. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, 'q. Lucie of Lucie in Kent'.

W. suggests Heringod, a well-known Kent family, but they always bore six fish and crosses patty, and not fitchy. Philipot's suggestion of Lucie is probably correct. That family held the manor of Lucies in Newington next Sittingbourne, and in the church there C., f. 5, notes *az., crusily, and three lucies hauriant or*; and fol. 35, in a window at Goodneston next Wingham, *az., crusily, and three lucies hauriant arg.*

21. A cross potent engrailed. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 12.

Scarlett, fol. 8. A., fol. 30. C., fol. 7, assigns to Brenchesley. Ha., fol. 14.

W. blazons *az., a cross potent engrailed or*, and assigns to Sir William Brenchley, a justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1406. W. quotes in full the inscription formerly on a tomb in the nave of the cathedral for the judge and his wife Joan, who died in 1453, after having built in 1447 the small chapel outside the south wall of the nave, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, afterwards known as Neville's Chapel, improved away in 1787. The Brenchleys were of the parish of that name in this county, where they owned the manor of Moatlands. W. copies from Hasted the doubtful statement that the wife of Sir William was the heiress of the Benendens. See under no. 36. He was quite a distinguished judge. He was created K.B. in 1400.

22. W. here inserts *a chevron inter three dogs' heads erased*, which does not exist in this compartment. Cf. no. 68.

23. A chevron between three cups (?). Pl. XXXVI, fig. 3.

A., fol. 29^{b}. C., fol. 7, draws as cronels of spears, as does Ha., fol. 14. As drawn by Scarlett, fol. 8, they may be anything.

W. blazons *sa., a chevron inter three cups or,* and ascribes to Odiarne. He adds *vide tailpiece, no. 3,* but this does not seem to exist in his book.

No connexion between the county and the family of Odiarne has been traced. If the objects are cups or pots, the shield has some resemblance to a shield found on bells at Canterbury dated *c.* 1400. Stahlschmidt, *Church Bells of Kent*, p. 22.

24. Ermine, three lozenges.

A., fol. 29b. C., fol. 7, no ermine tricked. Ha., fol. 14, tricks as *arg., three lozenges gu.*, and calls de Campania. W. follows this description and ascription.

It is probable that the coat should be blazoned *ermine, three lozenges gu.*, the arms of the family of Helles. These arms were, according to C., fol. 23, in the windows of Woodnesborough Church, and are noted on fol. 41 as the arms of 'Julian Hils', who married Roger Manston of St. Lawrence in Thanet. See also *Arch. Cant.*, xv, 14.

25. A cross patonce between five martlets.

C., fol. 7, assigns to Edward the Confessor. Ha., fol. 14. W. blazons *az., a cross patonce inter five martlets or.*

26. As no. 7.

A., fol. 29.

27. Three butterflies.

A., fol. 29. C., fol. 7, draws as bats, as does Ha., fol. 14.

W. *az., three butterflies or, two and one,* and ascribes to Muschamp.

Members of this family held property in Kent at least as early as *temp.* Edward III. For instance, by a fine in 1368 (Feet of Fines, 42 Edw. III, no. 1714) John Muscham of Leigh acquires property there; and in 1370 John Muskham and his wife Margery acquire further property there from Adam atte Brugge, the vicar of the parish (Feet of Fines, 44 Edw. III, no. 1818).

28. A cross between, in the first and fourth quarters, a sword erect, and in the second and third a crown; on the cross a mitre.

Scarlett, fol. 8. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *gu., on a cross, or, a mitre; in the 1st and 4th quarters a sword erect proper; in the 2nd and 3rd a crown or,* and ascribes to Battle Abbey. (No colour assigned to the mitre.)

These arms were in the windows of Hawkhurst Church, built by an abbot of Battle, and luckily were noted by Mr. Streatfeild before they were improved away in 1849. His blazon is *arg., on a cross gu., between two swords erect gu., hilts or, in the 1st and 4th quarters, and two crowns or in the 2nd and 3rd, a mitre arg. garnished or.*

29. A lion (?) rampant. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 3.

A., fol. 28b. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W. describes as a lion rampant.

This extraordinary animal is quite unlike the lions carved in the cloisters, and is probably not intended for one. For what animal it is intended it is difficult to say. Compare the animals in no. 288.

30. A fess dancetty between four crosses crosslet in chief, and six in base.

A., fol. 28b. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

All these manuscripts draw billets instead of crosslets, and have led W. to misdescribe the shield and assign it to Diencourt.

The shield is no doubt for Engayne (*gu., a fess dancetty between ten crosslets or*), and it occurs again at no. 88. According to C., fol. 38, this shield with the fess *argent* and six crosslets impaling Courtenay was in the windows of Maidstone Church. The Courtenay label was charged with

three roundels on each piece. This was no doubt for Sir William Engayne, who married Catherine Courtenay, the widow of William Lord Harrington. She had a legacy under Archbishop Courtenay's will, and according to Hasted had property at Sandling by Saltwood.

31. Guttée, on a chief, three crowns. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 10.

A., fol. 28b, ascribed to Coloign. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W. blazons *arg., guttée de sang, on a chief az., three crowns or,* and ascribes to Kyngton.

W. does not support his ascription with any authority. The connexion with the county of the family of Kington appears to be that Richard de Kyngtone was almoner and executor of Archbishop Walter Reynolds, and Brother John Kyngton was commissary for the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church in 1413. The suggestion in A. that the arms are those of the family of de Coloign, long connected with the county and seated at Milgate in Bearsted, is more probable.

32. A chevron between three dogs.

A., fol. 28b.

W. describes as *arg., a chevron . . . inter three talbots sa.,* but does not ascribe.

The dogs do not look much like talbots. It may be noted here, as elsewhere, how the chevron fills the shield. A family of Allen who held property round Sittingbourne bore *or, a chevron between three dogs sa.,* and this coat may be intended for them.

33. A chevron between three crows. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 10.

Scarlett, fol. 8. A., fol. 30. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W. blazons *arg., a chevron sa., inter three crows proper,* and assigns to Sir William Cromer of Tunstall, Lord Mayor of London in 1414 and 1424.

That this is the shield of Cromer is very probable, though that family more often used the chevron engrailed. The shield as carved is a notable instance of how the sculptor filled the shield with the charges. In this case he has turned the dexter crow so as to perch on the side of the shield as the sinister one does on the chevron. The birds may be compared with those in nos. 19, 121, and 215. The shield is an example of canting heraldry.

34. A crosier between two lucies hauriant.

Scarlett, fol. 8. A., fol. 29b. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

As was to be expected, this is the coat of an abbey founded by a Lucy, viz. Lesnes Abbey, of which the correct blazon is *gu., a crosier or, between two lucies hauriant arg.* See vol. xv of the *Proceedings of the Woolwich Antiquarian Society,* 1910, p. 135, and *Lesnes Abbey* by A. W. Clapham, p. 31. This shield is at no. 305 in compartment 18.

35. Semée de lis, a lion rampant.

A., fol. 29b.

W. blazons *az., semée de lis a lion rampant or,* and ascribes to Beaumont.

This blazon and ascription are probably right. As to the connexion of the Beaumonts with the cathedral and the county, see the notes on the shields nos. 676 *seqq.* in compartment 31.

36. Brenchley (as no. 21), *impaling* three crescents a canton.

A., fol. 22b. Scarlett, fol. 8; C., fol. 7; Ha., fol. 14, all draw the shield as if charged with three crescents, and on a canton a cross potent engrailed.

W. ascribes the impalement to Batisford, and blazons it *arg., three crescents, two and one, gu., a canton sa.,* saying it existed in the windows of Brenchley Church.

According to *Arch. Cant.,* xxviii, 229, this coat is in the windows of Nettlestead Church, where the impalement is coloured *arg., two crescents sa., a canton gu.* Mr. W. E. Ball (*l. c.*) explains with a pedigree that this shield shows the arms of Sir William Brenchley, the judge, and his wife Joan, she being one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir William Batisford, who resided at Benenden in Kent. Hasted is probably wrong in saying Sir William Brenchley married

a Benenden. She may, of course, have been a first wife, but there is no evidence to support the allegation.

The coat of Batisford occurs in the cloisters at nos. 447, 448, 545, 552, 806, and A.[23] Joan Batisford survived Sir William Brenchley for many years. She seems to have been wealthy, for in the subsidy in 13 Hen. IV for Sussex she is found to hold in that county manors named Godyng, Bokholt and Bixle, and Vernthe and other lands worth £37 per annum. Her will (1453) is at Canterbury. She disposes of a manor of Tatlynbury Derynges and her other lands in Kent. She desires prayers for the souls of Dame Elizabeth Lewknor, Thomas Hoo, Esq., John of Codyng the elder, and John of Codyng the younger. She leaves her nephew Thomas Hoo, Esq., the manor of Southye. She also refers to Sir William Fyneux.

37. A bend sinister, on a canton a leopard's face.

Scarlett, fol. 8, gives the colour of the bend as *or*. A., fol. 29^{b}, gives colours *sa., a bend sinister or, on a canton arg. a leopard's face or* (sic). C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, both draw bend dexter and put the canton in the sinister. They give no colours, but add 'q. Isaac of Kent'.

W. blazons as A., but makes the face *gu.* and assigns to Isaac. He copies from Hasted various statements about the Isaacs, who no doubt owned a considerable property in Nonington, Beaksbourne, and Patricksbourne, though their name does not appear in the list of persons who paid aid to knight the Black Prince in 20 Edw. III. A variation of the coat is at nos. 42 and 43, and it is curious that Hasted omits to notice that the bend is always sinister.

38. Archbishop Courtenay.

A., fol. 29^{b}.

Here the crosses on the pall are patty fitchy. See no. 5.

39. Archbishop Arundel (as no. 14).

A., fol. 29^{b}. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, omit the bordure.

W. says as no. 12, which it is not, for here is a bordure engrailed, and the crosses on the pale are patty fitchy.

40. A talbot sejant, a bordure engrailed.

A., fol. 29^{b}, colours the field *sable* and the dog and bordure *argent*. C., fol. 7, ascribes to Simon of Sudbury. Ha., fol. 14.

W. blazons *sa., a talbot sejant within a bordure engrailed arg.*, and ascribes to Sudbury.

The coat occurs again, nos. 211 and 316. It is remarkable that in no case in the cloisters, and, if W. can be trusted, in no case in the cathedral, do these arms occur impaled by the see, but it does not seem doubtful that the general ascription of them to Archbishop Sudbury is correct.

41. Three crescents.

A., fol. 29^{b}. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W., *gu., three crescents or*, and ascribes to Monins. He states that the family was of Dover, and was related to the most eminent in the county, and quotes a will of 1471. The name of John Monyn no doubt appears amongst the names of those who paid aid to knight the Black Prince. John Monyn of Dover appears in a fine of 1370 (Feet of Fines, 44 Edw. III, no. 1344), buying land in Mongeham, so that the attribution of these arms to that family is quite justified. On the other hand, it may be noted that a Kentish family of great wealth, the de Hadloes or Handlo, bore this coat, which appeared in the windows of Sheldwich Church (C., fol. 31) as *gu., three crescents arg.*

42. As no. 37, but with three crescents added on the bend. Pl. XXXV, fig. 6.

Scarlett, fol. 8. A., fol. 29. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, drew as if the canton was charged with a star and crescent.

W. blazons as no. 37, but makes the crescents *gules*, and inadvertently makes the face *of the second* instead *of the third*. He ascribes to Isaac, and no doubt it is a variant differenced to indicate a branch, but which branch it is impossible at present to determine.

43. No. 68, *impaling* no. 42.

Scarlett, fol. 8b, draws the chevron as between ducks' heads. A., fol. 29b, makes them lions' heads; and W., misled by Scarlett, describes them as birds' heads.

Shield no. 43.

44. (?) Two bars.

W. blazons *gu., two bars arg.*, and ascribes to John Foxley, Constable of Queenborough Castle.

The shield is now almost entirely defaced. See no. 143.

45. Not found.

W. describes as no. 19, and calls it Archbishop Becket.

COMPARTMENT II.

46. On a chevron three lis.

A., fol. 28b, gives field as *gules*. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W. blazons *gu.; on a chevron arg., three fleurs de lis sa.*, and ascribes to Cobham.

In the Kent Roll (printed in *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, iii, 344) the shield is ascribed to Sir Thomas Cobham, and see *Arch. Cant.* xv, 15. The shield occurs again at no. 179, close to nos. 164 and 168, which show other shields of Cobham, the common feature in all being a *chevron*. Mr. J. G. Waller says (*Arch. Cant.* xi, 56) that Sir John de Cobham, the judge who died in 1300, was the first who changed the Cobham arms by substituting on the chevron, for the lis *azure*, lions rampant *sable*. But possibly this was only a difference, as the shield with the lis still appeared in the Kent Roll (1317–27) and the Parliamentary Roll (1272–1307). In no. 164 are seen on the chevron the three stars which replaced the lis in the shield of Cobham of Sterborough; while Cobham of Rundale continued to use the lis, as the coat of *gu., on a chevron or, three lis sa.*, is in the windows of Nettlestead Church for a daughter of that house. While, then, the field remained always *gules* and the chevron *or*, the charges varied with the different houses, but were always *sable*. There is no authority quoted by Mr. Waller to show that the lis were ever *azure*. Cobham of Blackburgh differenced with eagles; Cobham of Chafford with crosslets; and Cobham of Beluncle with crescents.

See also Sir William Hope's *Stall-plates, etc.*, no. xxxii.

47. Ten fleurs de lis.

Scarlett, fol. 8b. A., fol. 28b. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, both 'q. Fulke Peyforer'.

W. blazons *arg., ten fleurs de lis az., four, three, two, and one*. He adds that Fulke Peyforer, sheriff, 43 Hen. III, was buried in the church of the Grey Friars, Canterbury. In 21 Edw. I, by the death of Ralph de Esling, the Peyforers became possessed of the manor of Eastling by descent from his daughter and heir.

The Peyforers bore the lis *sable*, while the Potyns bore them *azure*. Both families more usually bore six lis and not ten. The Lenhams of Lenham also bore six lis. The Peyforers were extinct before the reign of Henry IV, so that if this shield is theirs it suggests their connexion with Cobham and Barrey (no. 53).

48. Ermine, a bend vairy. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 11.

Scarlett, fol. 8b, omits the ermine. A., fol. 28b. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, both assign to Apulderfeld of Challock.

W. blazons *ermine, a bend vaire*, and ascribes to Apulderfield without comment.

Philipot in his church notes in Kent (Harl. MS. 3917) records in a window in Warehorne Church *ermine, a bend vairy or and gu.*, with underneath this inscription: Johēs de Apulderfeld me dedit.

C., fol. 40, records the same coat in Challock Church.

This coat is, no doubt, that of Apulderfield of Challock. They seem to have been a younger branch of those of Cowdham, and bore a bend vairy *or and gules* to distinguish them from the branch of the family of Lynstead who bore a fess vairy of those colours.

49. Three bells.

Scarlett, fol. 8b. A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, show a canton ermine, and say 'q. Porter'.

W. blazons *sa., three bells arg.*, and says one of the family of Porter was carver to Henry V, and captain of Vernon in Normandy.

In 1314 Henry le Porter and his wife Julian bought property in Canterbury (Feet of Fines, 7 Edw. II, no. 267), and the name constantly occurs in fines about property in Canterbury after that.

50. Courtenay; on each point of the label three crescents.

A., fol. 28, draws the crescents as roundels or annulets. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, omit the charges on the points.

W. incorrectly says as no. 10.

C., fol. 38, notes this coat, the crescents being *argent*, as in the windows of Maidstone Church.

Papworth, p. 1049, gives this coat, the crescents being *or*, for Sir Hugh Courtney, citing the roll of Calais bannerets printed by Mores, 1749.

51. An inescutcheon and a quarter sinister. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 9.

Scarlett, fol. 8b. A., fol. 28b. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, draw the quarter as dexter.

W. describes incorrectly.

All attempts to trace this extraordinary coat have failed.

52. A chevron vair or vairy between three crowns. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 8.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, omit to indicate the vair.

W. blazons *gu., a chevron vaire inter three crowns or*, and ascribes to Folman.

There is no reason why this should be the coat of Folman, and it may equally be ascribed to the family of Mayhew, who bore a coat as blazoned by W. That family has been long connected with Kent. Simon Mayhiewe and Alice his wife appear in a fine of lands in Sittingbourne and Milstead in 1386 (Feet of Fines, 9 Rich. II, no. 514).

53. A fess between six fleurs de lis. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 3.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, 'q. Barrey'.

W. *arg., a fess inter six fleurs de lis sa.* Barrey.

The family of Barrey had property in Sevington, and were of standing in the county. They adopted *sable* lis like the Peyforers. Richard Barrey was lieutenant of Dover Castle *temp.* Henry IV, and this is probably his shield. It occurs again nos. 502, 565 (a crescent for difference), and 131 (an annulet for difference).

C., fol. 4, notes in Milton Church by Sittingbourne a coat of *arg., a fess gu. between six lis sa.*, which corrects W.'s blazon.

54. Three chevrons between three buckles.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 7. Ha., fol. 14.

W. in his margin draws the buckle, not very correctly. He gives no blazon or inscription.

This shield occurs on the stone frame of the iron gates leading to the north aisle of the choir. A careful examination of that, though it is not much more distinct than the shield in the cloisters, leads to the conviction that the objects are buckles and not letters, M. The shield has not at present been identified.

55. Semée of crosslets fitchy and three crescents.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, both give the field as *sable* and the charges as argent.

W. blazons *gu., semée of cross croslets, three crescents or*, and ascribes to Gorney. He omits to notice that the crosslets are *fitchy*, and he gives no reason for his ascription.

It seems most likely that the shield is that of Sansaver of Tramhatch in Charing. That manor seems to have belonged to the Herts of Faversham, and Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Hert, married first Sansaver and secondly Spigurnell. This shield appears on the seal of Elizabeth Spigurnell, 1390. If this is the coat of Sansaver, the field is more usually *azure* than *sable*, as given in C.

Shield no. 55.

56. A plain coat *impaling* three roundels, a label of three.

A., fol. 28.

W., a plain coat *impaling* Courtenay.

It is possible that in this compartment the blank shield was to have been carved with Cobham, to show the match between John de Cobham (the founder) and Margaret Courtenay, daughter of Hugh Earl of Devon.

57. Not found.

W. describes as a fess engrailed between three castles.

None of the manuscripts gives such a coat, and it is probably a misdescription of no. 77.

58. A castle *quartering* two bars nebuly. Pl. XLI, fig. 11.

A., fol. 27^{b}.

W. blazons *quarterly*: 1 and 4, *or, a castle az.*; 2 and 3, *barry nebuly of six, or and sable*; and considers that it is Sanchet *quartering* Blount.

It seems more probable that the shield is Oldcastle *quartering* Delapole. Sir John Oldcastle married Joan Delapole, granddaughter of Sir John de Cobham. She was heiress both of her father and her grandfather, and her fourth husband was Sir John Oldcastle, whose arms were *arg., a castle sa.* This coat is quartered by Cobham of Cobham at no. 379. The arms of Sir John de la Pole, the lady's father, were *az., two bars nebuly or*, and these arms appear on her brass, still at Cobham. On some later brasses at Cobham the coat of the younger branch of Delapole (as at no. 160) for some reason appears (see *Arch. Cant.* xi, p. 107).

Sir John Oldcastle married Joan Delapole in 1409, and was in serious trouble with the orthodox in 1413, so that it is improbable that his coat would have appeared in the cloisters after that date. He was burnt in 1417. He is not mentioned, nor do his arms appear on his widow's brass. He was summoned to Parliament, and describes himself as Lord Cobham. This was *jure uxoris*, and is the reason why in no. 379 the Cobham of Cobham coat is placed in the first quarter.

59. Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 27^{b}. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol 15, do not show the mullet as pierced.

60. A cross engrailed.

C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15, assigns to Hawte.

W. blazons as *arg., a cross engrailed gu.*, and assigns to the Dalingrigges, who owned the manor of Burleigh in Charing.

The principal Kentish family who bore an engrailed cross was that of Haute: *or, a cross engrailed gu.*

61. Per chevron three gouttes, in chief a crescent.

A., fol. 27^{b}, colours the gouttes in chief and crescent as *or*. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, give colours *per chevron arg. and sa., three gouttes counterchanged.* No colour given to the crescent. They assign to Crosby.

W. blazons *per chevron arg. and sa., in chief two guttée, in base a cross croslet fitchée, counterchanged.*

If W. had not blundered in the description he would have known it was Crosby. See no. 256.

62. As no. 7.

A., fol. 27^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. says as no. 26: St. Edmund.

It may be noticed how the shield in sinister base has been cut so thin that the rib of the vaulting shows.

63. Ermine.

A., fol. 27^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. assigns to Brittany.

Here the rib runs into the chief (cf. no. 62).

Scarlett at fol. 4 notes in the Chapter House in his coat armour Joannes Durwuxd (?), the arms being ermine. The name unfortunately is quite illegible. W., p. 155, prints it as Durnvyd...

64. Three roundels, a label of three, on each point a lozenge.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, omit the lozenges.

W. blazons *or, three torteaux; on a label of three points az., as many lozenges arg.*, and assigns to Courtenay. There is, however, only one lozenge.

65. Ermine, a bend engrailed. Pl. XLI, fig. 1.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. gives no colour, and does not assign the shield.

It may possibly be intended for Farningham, though the bend is not usually engrailed (see no. 81).

66. A cross.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *gu., a cross arg.*, and assigns to Stephen de Penshurst, Lord Warden *temp.* Henry III, whose daughter and coheir married Henry Cobham of Rundale.

As other shields in this compartment are connected with the Cobhams, the ascription is quite probably right.

67. Two chevrons and a quarter.

A., fol. 28. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15, assigns to Keriel.

W. blazons *or, two chevronels and a quarter gu.*, for Criol.

The arms of the great family of Criol or Keriel were in the windows of the church of Ash next Sandwich with the blazon given by W. C., fol. 2, notes there one of the family in his tabard of arms. They had property in various parts of Kent. A full account of them will be found in *A Corner of Kent*, by J. R. Planché, 1864.

68. A chevron between three dogs' heads erased. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 8.

A., fol. 27^{b}, draws as lions' heads, and so do C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15.

See nos. 22 and 43, and compare no. 207.

69. Three arrows erect, points down.

A., fol. 28, colours arrows *gules*. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *gu., three arrows or, barbed and feathered arg.*, and ascribes to Hales of the

Dungeon, near Canterbury, and of Hales Place, Halden. He adds that Sir Robert Hales was Lord Prior of St. John of Jerusalem and Lord Treasurer *temp.* Richard II.

The family of Hales has been connected with the county till quite recent times. When the cloisters were erected their principal seat was at Halden, and they did not come to the Dungeon till a much later period.

70. Three roundels, a label of three, on each point a rose or cinquefoil.

A., fol. 27ᵇ. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, omit the cinquefoils.

W. blazons *or, three torteaux, on a label of three points az. as many annulets arg.*, and ascribes to Sir Peter de Courtenay, K.G.

The ascription would no doubt be right if they were annulets, but they are not.

71. A chevron engrailed between three roses.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 28. C., fol. 8. H., fol. 15.

W. describes the chevron as voided. He was misled by the habit of this sculptor of hollowing out the centres of his ordinaries: as an example of this habit reference may be made to the cross engrailed in the well-known coat of Bourchier as rendered at no. 93.

72. A chevron between three chess-rooks.

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8, gives colours *arg., a chevron between three chess-rooks sa.*, and names 'q. Anlebie'. Ha., fol. 15, the same, but he copies Anlebre for Anlebie.

W. draws the chess-rook in his margin.

Here again the chevron is hollowed out and ridged. The ascription in C. of the coat as coloured to Anleby of Yorkshire is justified by Papworth, p. 406, who also assigns it to Rokele.

73. A fess between three escallops.

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

It may be suggested that this is the shield of St. Lo, a family connected with the Courtenays and the Beaumonts, who bore *gu., a fess between three escallops arg.* It occurs again nos. 229, 270, 284, 332, and 510. There is in *Testamenta Vetusta* (Nicolas) a will dated 1411 of Margaret Courtenay, Lady St. Lo. She died after her husband, John St. Lo. The rib of the fess is here very marked, but not so marked as in the work of another carver in nos. 270, 284, and 332, where the fess almost looks as if cotised. In no. 510, the work of yet another sculptor, the fess is absolutely flat.

74. A bend engrailed.

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *arg., a bend engrailed gu.*, for Colepeper.

This sculptor suggests the curve of the shield by giving a slight curve to the bend.

The coat occurs again nos. 100, 247, 620, and 630, and several times in compartment 29, though unnoticed by W. It is quartered by Hardreshull at no. 216. John Colepeper was one of Archbishop Courtenay's legatees.

75. Courtenay differenced with three lis on each point of the label.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 27.

W. blazons as Courtenay, a label of France.

In Scarlett's account (fol. 7) of the windows of the Archbishop's Hall in Canterbury he gives the colour of the lis as argent. It is possible that they were derived from the shield of the Hollands. Hugh de Courtenay married Maud, daughter of Thomas Holland. This Hugh was son of the archbishop's eldest brother Hugh. Both the Hughs died before the second Earl of Devon, and so did not succeed to that title. The old coat of Holland was *az., semée de lis, a lion rampant guardant arg.*

76. Vere (as no. 16, but the mullet is not pierced).

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

77. A fess engrailed between three garbs; on the fess a crescent.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 27^{b}, colours the garbs *gules* and crescent *or*, but does not indicate any other colours. C., fol. 7, and Ha., fol. 14, show the fess not engrailed.

W. blazons *gu., on a fess engrailed, inter three garbs arg., a crescent sa.*, and assigns to Schepey, but does not give his authority.

The shield is that of Kelsham of Kelsham in Headcorn, and was, according to C. (fol. 40), in the church there impaling both Fitz John and Tenton. The manuscript does not record the colours, but Philipot in his *Villare Cantianum* (London, 1659), p. 183, says that the arms were *sa., a fess engrailed arg., between three garbs or.*

78. As no. 60.

C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *arg., a cross engrailed sa.*, which Hasted has misled him into ascribing to Corby. That family bore *arg., a saltire engrailed sa.*, and not a cross. Robert de Corby acquired it by grant from Robert de Morley, 6 Jan., 22 Edw. III. Robert de Morley says in the grant that the right to these arms came to him by inheritance after the death of Mons. Baldwin de Manoires. The grant is printed in Camden's *Remains* (fifth edition, 1637, p. 219).

79. A saltire counter embattled, in chief an escallop.

Scarlett, fol. 9, omits the escallop. A., fol. 27^{b}.

This coat occurs four times in the cloisters; here and at nos. 334, 350, and 694. In no. 323 the escallop is charged with an annulet. The coat without the escallop is at nos. 341, 342, 698, and 706.

80. A chevron between three crosses moline.

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *arg., a chevron gu., inter three crosses moline sa.*, and ascribes to Wyke, but does not give any reason for so doing.

This shield is on the brass of William Gulby, *ob.* 1439, in Orpington Church. In Glover's *Ordinary* it is blazoned *az., a chevron or, between three crosses moline arg.* The coat occurs again at nos. 118 and 210. No. 118 is probably by the same carver, but no. 210 is by another, who makes the chevron look almost as if voided, and his crosses are carved much smaller, so that the shield is not so well filled.

81. Ermine, a bend.

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *ermine, a bend gu.*, and ascribes to Isley.

The shield as blazoned by W. was, according to C. (fol. 38), in the windows of Maidstone Church, and is the shield of Frenyngham or Farningham. A member of this family, John de Frenyngham, was a stockfishmonger of London, and bought a good deal of property in Kent. In 1340 (Feet of Fines, 14 Edw. III, no. 469) he was buying land at Farningham. Another John de Frenyngham, possibly his son or grandson, was taking a leading position in the county towards the end of the fourteenth century. He was one of the executors of Archbishop Courtenay. The Isleys eventually succeeded to the Frenyngham property as heirs of entail, and quartered this coat. Their own was *ermine, a fess gu.*, which does not appear in the cloisters. Among the blocks prepared by Mr. Streatfeild for his projected history of Kent (now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries) is one of a seal of John de Frenyngham, 49 Edw. III, reproduced in *Arch. Cant.* iii, pl. v, no. 1, and another of a seal of John Isili, 25 Edw. III (*ibid.*, pl. iii, no. 4).

82. A cross between twelve crosses crosslet fitchy.

A., fol. 27ᵇ. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons, *gu., a cross arg., inter twelve cross croslets fitchée or*, and assigns to Brockhull of Saltwood, who was sheriff 2 Edw. III, and married Ida, the daughter of John Kirriel or Criol.

W. is not quite accurate. Thomas de Brockhull was sheriff 6 and 7 Edw. III. But it is not necessary to assign this shield to so early a member of the family. It seems more likely that it is for Thomas Brookhill, whose brass yet remains with these very arms in the north aisle of Saltwood Church. He died in 1437, and, judging from the shield which remains in the slab, he married Joan Fyneux. She was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, and not her husband as suggested by W. It is to be observed that a careful examination of the shield on the brass shows that W. is correct in assigning different colours to the cross and to the crosslets, as the cross only is prepared to receive the white metal for *argent*, and the crosslets are left plain for *or*. In compartment 12 is a shield (A.[12]) not recorded by W., which shows this coat with the cross engrailed, a difference probably adopted by the other branch of the family of Calehill in Little Chart, which is confirmed by the feoffment of the property there to John Darell, which is sealed with such a coat.

83. A fess between three (?) cups, on the fess a mullet pierced. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 3.

Scarlett, fol. 9, draws these objects as bells. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, do likewise, and also omit the mullet. A., fol. 27.

W. blazons *arg., on a fess inter three acorn cups az., a mullet or*, and assigns to Athull, but gives no reason for so doing.

84. A chevron between three pears.

A., fol. 27ᵇ. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *sa., a chevron inter three heads of garlic arg.*, and assigns to a well-known Kentish family of Garwinton.

The arms appear to be *az., a chevron arg. between three pears or*, for Orchard.

Compartment 12.

85. A cross patty between three crowns.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *gu., a cross pattée inter three crowns or*, and assigns to Langham, without giving any authority for so doing.

86. Courtenay; on each point of the label three gouttes.

A., fol. 27.

W. blazons *or, three torteaux, a label of three points az., each charged with as many guttée arg.*, and assigns to Courtenay.

This, according to Scarlett (fol. 7), was in the Archbishop's Hall with the gouttes *argent*.

87. Archbishop Courtenay (as at no. 38).

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

88. Engayne (as no. 30).

A., fol. 27. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, draw the crosslets as billets.

W. blazons the fess and crosslets *argent*, and assigns to Watevile, but gives no reasons for so doing.

The coat is that of Engayne (see no. 30).

89. A saltire charged with a mullet *quartering* a cross flory.

A., fol. 27; C., fol. 8; and Ha., fol. 15, all omit the mullet.

W. blazons *gu., on a saltire arg., a mullet sa.*, quartering *gu., a cross patonce or*, and assigns to

John Nevill, Lord Latimer of Danby, [only] son of John Lord Nevill of Raby, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter [and heir] of William Lord Latimer. Summoned to Parliament 5 Hen. IV, and died 9 Hen. VI, *s. p.*

It will be observed that this John Lord Latimer (*jure matris*) differenced with a mullet *sable*, while his elder brother (of the half blood) Thomas Lord Furnival (*jure uxoris*) differenced with a martlet of that colour, seen in no. 91.

90. Barry of six, a label of five.

A., fol. 26b, shows a label of three. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *barrée of six arg. and az., a label of five points gu.*, and assigns to Grey.

In S. assigned to M. Henry Grey de Wilton.

91. On a saltire a martlet.

A., fol. 26b. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons as no. 89 and the martlet *sable*, and assigns to Thomas Nevill, Lord Furnival. See nos. 89 and 779. This Lord Furnival died 1406–7.

92. In chief two mullets pierced, in base a bird.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 26b. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *per chevron sa. and arg., in chief two mullets pierced, in base a bird*, and assigns to Plurenden of Plurenden in Woodchurch, which manor by an heiress came to Engham.

There is no indication of *per chevron* on the shield. C., fol. 36, notes the shield as blazoned by W., the charges being counterchanged, as in Nonnington Church, where the Enghams had property. It may be suggested, however, that the shield in the cloisters is for St. Gregory's Priory in Canterbury, in which case the bird would be a becket.

93. A cross engrailed between four water bougets.

A., fol. 26b. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *arg., a cross engrailed gu., inter four water budgets sa.*, and ascribes to Bourchier.

This shield may be for Sir John, Lord Bourchier, K.G., died 1400, or for his son Bartholomew, who died 1409, whose daughter carried the barony to Stafford (see no. 391).

94. A fess chequy between six crosses patty (? fitchy).

A., fol. 26b, does not show the fitchy. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16, assigns to Boteler.

W. blazons *gu., a fess chequée arg. and sa., inter six crosses patée fitchée in the foot, or*, and assigns to Thomas de Faversham, 'justiciarius', who owned the manor of Graveney, which was afterwards held in 1408 by John Botiller in right of his wife. He appears to have adopted her arms.

It is observed, however, that these were the arms of Boteler of Wemme at a much earlier date, and there is a good deal of doubt as to what were the arms of de Faversham. The manuscripts are somewhat conflicting, and there is the difficulty that Borges or Burgess bore a very similar coat. See *Arch. Cant.*, xi, 397. The better opinion seems to be that de Faversham bore crosslets in chief and none in base. This coat may have been adopted by Borges. Philipot in his church notes (Harl. MS. 3917) records at fol. 65 in Graveney Church the arms of de Faversham in the east window of the north chancel as being *arg., a fess chequy or and gu., and in chief three crosslets gu.* It seems almost certain that in the cloisters the crosses are not fitchy. The sculptor has carved crosses patty and adorned the end of each arm of the crosses by little spikes. And see 786. John Boteler was a legatee of Archbishop Courtenay.

95. Quarterly: (1) and (4) an orle; (2) and (3) a fess between three crescents.

A., fol. 26b. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *quarterly (1) and (4) or, an orle az., (2) and (3) arg., a fess inter three crescents gu.*, and assigns to Robert, Baron Ogle of Bothall. In 7 Hen. IV he entailed the castle and manor of Bothall, which had come to him from his mother, the daughter and heir of Sir Robert

Bertram of Bothall, on the heirs male of his body, on condition that they bore the name of Ogle with these quartered arms.

The coat occurs again no. 791, close to no. 786, which resembles no. 94 in this compartment.

96. Ermine, a chief.

A., fol. 26, draws the chief quarterly *or and gu.*, *in the first quarter an annulet gu.*, and against the lower part of the shield writes 'mesuitur (*sic*) nam obliterabatur'. C., fol. 8, draws the chief quarterly. Ha., fol. 16, does likewise.

W. blazons *az.*, *a chief ermine*, and ascribes to Seyliard.

There is no trace now of the quarterly divisions in the chief which would make the coat that of St. Nicholas, of the Isle of Thanet, or of the Pekhams of Wrotham. Without the quarterings and with the chief *gules*, the coat may be that of Morteyn.

97. A lion rampant.

A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15, blazons *gu.*, *a lion rampant arg.*, and ascribes to Mowbray.

W. adopts the same blazon and ascription.

This is the first of a magnificent series of renderings of single lions rampant which are found in the cloisters. The variation in the work of the various sculptors is interesting to trace. For convenience of reference the numbers of ten of such shields are here collected. They are nos. 408, 444, 457, 484, 491, 533, 551, 643, 775, B.[23]

98. Barry nebuly of six, *quartering* flory, a lion rampant guardant.

A., fol. 26^{b}, draws the quartered coat as *ermine*, *a lion rampant.*

C., fol. 8, omits the lis, as does Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *quarterly* (*1*) *and* (*4*) *barrée nebulée of six, or and gu.*, (*2*) *and* (*3*) *az.*, *semée de lis, a lion rampant gaurdant arg.*, and ascribes to John Lovel, whose mother was Maud, cousin and heir of Sir Robert Holland, which John had summons to Parliament till 1414, when he died.

W. is not quite accurate, for Maud was granddaughter and heir of Robert, the second Baron Holland (died 1373), being daughter of his eldest son, who died before his father. She carried the barony to her husband, John, ninth Baron Lovel of Tichmersh, who died 1408. Her son, the tenth baron, died in 1414, having married Eleanor, daughter of Lord Zouche of Haryngworth (see no. 401). That John Lord Lovel and his wife Maud were munificent donors to the Cathedral works appears by the fact that their effigies were in the windows of the Chapter House.

99. On a chief, two mullets pierced.

A., fol. 26^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16, ascribes to St. John.

W. blazons *arg.*, *on a chief az.*, *two mullets or*, *pierced gu.*, and ascribes to John Lord Clinton who had inherited the manor of Folkestone from William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon.

As John Lord Clinton died in 1397 it is probable that this shield is for his grandson and heir, Sir William, summoned as Lord Clinton from 1399 to 1430.

100. Colepeper (as no. 74).

A., fol. 26^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg.*, *a bend engrailed gu.*, and assigns to Chidcroft of Lamberhurst.

That family was quite extinct, it would seem, at the time when the cloisters were erected, and it is more probable that this coat is that of one of the Colepepers, who quite possibly derived it from a Chidcroft alliance.

101. Six escallops.

A., fol. 26^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *gu.*, *six escallops arg.*, *three*, *two*, *and one*, and ascribes to Scales.

Robert Lord Scales, summoned to Parliament from 1396 to 1400, was son of Roger Lord Scales, by Joan, daughter and heir of John de Northwood. He had a sister Katherine, married

to Sir Arnold Savage, the younger, of Bobbing, and the canopy of Sir Arnold's brass at Bobbing is semée of escallops. C., fol. 22, notes an effigy of the Lord Scales in a window in Ashford Church.

102. A lion rampant, tail forked.

A., fol. 26.

W. blazons *a lion rampant, queue forchée, ermine*, and ascribes to Sir Thomas Cawne, whose monument remains in Ightham Church, and is illustrated by Stothard, p. 59.

There is no ermine on this shield, and as Sir Thomas died before 1377 there is little reason for finding his arms in the cloisters. The coat of Burghersh was *gu., a lion rampant, tail forked or*, and there is every reason to think this is the coat of one of that family (see no. 674).

103. A cross engrailed, in fess point a rose. Pl. XL, fig. 13.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 26^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *or, on a cross engrailed gu., a cinquefoil arg.*, and ascribes to a son of Sir Edmund Haute, whose sepulchral stone in the nave of the cathedral had arms on it exactly like those above, and the date 1408.

The so-called cinquefoil is clearly a rose. This shield is on a brass at St. Lawrence, Thanet. C. (fol. 41) notes these as the arms of Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Hawte, who married Nicholas Manston, Esquire (no. 512). Edmund Haute, who died in 1408, by will left £10 to the church, and desired to be buried in Christ Church at Canterbury, 'where the Prior of the same shall please'.

104. A chief ermine.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. says 'as no. 96', but this is not so.

This may be the coat of Seyliard of Seyliard in Hever, who bore *az., a chief ermine*. It will be noticed how large the chief is, so that the shield almost looks as if it were *per fess*. The arms used by Seyliard were probably derived from the de Hevers. One of the charters of Cumbwell Priory is a grant *c.* 1200 of William, son of Walter de Hever, with a beautiful seal, showing an ermine chief. It is illustrated in *Arch. Cant.*, vol. vi, at p. 210.

105. Billety, a lion rampant.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 16, mistake the billets for ermine spots.

W. blazons *arg., billettée a lion rampant sa.*, and ascribes to Delaplanche.

This coat occurs again no. 691; impaled by *a cross moline*, no. 693, and quartered by that coat (nos. 265, 325). Compare no. 694, where the billets are difficult to see, and nos. 696 and 697, where they are invisible.

106. A lion rampant, crowned.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *purpure, a lion rampant crowned or*, and assigns to Pashley of Pashley, in Ticehurst, Sussex, who held the manor of Evegate in Smeeth.

In the *List of the Gentry of Kent*, printed in *Arch. Cant.* xi, p. 397, the arms of Sir John Pashley are given as *purp., a lion rampant or, crowned and armed gu.* It may be added that C., fol. 39, records a shield of *or, a lion rampant sa., crowned arg.*, in a window of Ickham Church, with the name Thomas de Ba underneath.

107, 108. On a chevron three roses.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *az., on a chevron or, three roses gu.*, and ascribes to Rossell, but gives no authority to support the ascription.

The shield is probably that of Sir Robert Knolles, *gu., on a chevron arg., three roses gu.* He was a great benefactor to Rochester Bridge, in the building of which he took a prominent part

with Sir John de Cobham. It was finished 15 Rich. II, and of it Hasted could say 'this is *the present bridge*, a noble and useful work'. This does not refer to the one now in existence. Sir Robert was duly prayed for in the chapel at the east end of the bridge. He died 8 Hen. IV. A full account of him is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The shield occurs again at no. 798. Observe that no. 112 is also in this compartment.

109. Paly of six.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *paly of six, or and sa.*, and ascribes to Strabolgi, who acquired Chilham Castle by marriage with Isabel, coheir of Robert de Chilham.

This coat was one of the banners on the brass (now mutilated) in Ashford Church to the Countess of Athol, died 1375.

110. A cross and bordure, on the bordure fourteen annulets.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. says fifteen annulets.

It is noticeable how the sculptor has rendered the cross so that it almost looks as if voided. The shield occurs again at no. 240.

111. A cross between four leopards' faces. Pl. XLI, fig. 10.

A., fol. 25^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *sa., a cross arg., inter four leopards' faces or*, and assigns to Dover Monastery.

It is to be observed that Walter Causton was Prior of St. Martin's, Dover, from 1392, and his successor was John Wotton. Both are mentioned in Archbishop Courtenay's will.

112. On a chevron between three birds, as many mullets pierced. Pl. XLI, fig. 8.

Scarlett, fol. 9. A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 16.

W. does not blazon, but points out that, according to Harl. MS. 3917, the arms were once in Northfleet Church, on the monument of William Wandeford (*d.* 1420), and wife Alice.

The manuscript referred to consists of notes on churches in Kent by Philipot, Somerset Herald. The shield of arms in brass was found by Thomas Fisher, F.S.A., *c.* 1800, under the indent of a lady, in the north aisle of Northfleet Church. He carefully notes that the field and mullets are white. William Wangford and Eleanor, his wife, were prayed for at the chapel at Rochester Bridge, and part of the bridge estates is stated to be 'his place at London in Cornhill at the Shafte was given and mortyzed by William Wainford to the value of twelve marcs above all reprises'.

113. A cross crosslet ermine.

A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *gu., a cross croslet, ermine*, and ascribes to Atleese, who held the manor of Sheldwich. The brass of Sir Richard atte Lese, who died in 1394, the last of his family, is in Sheldwich Church. He was sheriff 1368, and knight of the shire in 1366. His wife Denis survived him. One of the coheirs married a Norton, and the Nortons adopted this coat.

114. A fret.

A., fol. 26^{b}. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *gu., frettée, ermine*, and ascribes to Sir William de Aynsford, sheriff *temp.* Henry I.

There is no trace of ermine, and the Eynsford family had long been extinct in 1400. The coat is probably Audley or Maltravers.

The frets and the fretty in the cloisters vary much with the sculptor. Some, like the present one, are simply a fret; others are as clearly fretty; while many can be assigned to either, assuming, which is not the fact, that there is any difference. The clear frets are nos. 114, 127, 238. The clear fretty are nos. 291, 365, 390, 445, 501, 517. The intermediate stage is illustrated in nos. 389, 434, 476, 480.

115. A cross, in the first quarter a sword erect.

A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, both omit the sword.

W. blazons *arg., a cross gu., in the dexter chief a sword erect of the last*, and assigns to the City of London.

It is natural to find the City arms in this compartment with nos. 112 and 116.

116. Frenyngham (as no. 81).

A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *ermine, two bendlets*, and does not assign to any family.

Following the manuscripts this has been described as a bend. It gives rise to some doubt, because the sculptor has so decorated his bend with ridges that it could be described as a bend cotised, and as two bends. The probability of its being simply a bend is that it can then be assigned to John de Frenyngham, a citizen of London: see no. 81.

117. A bend, a label of three.

A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *az., a bend or, a label of three points gu.*, and ascribes to Scrope.

The shield of Columbers is *sa., a bend or, a label of three arg.* That family was closely connected with Kent, and was related to the Cobhams. They were probably, however, extinct before 1400.

118. As no. 80.

A., fol. 26. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 15, draw as if *on a chevron a cross patonce.*

A.[12] A cross engrailed between twelve crosslets fitchy.

Scarlett, fol. 9[b]. C., fol. 8. Ha., fol. 15.

W. does not notice.

See no. 82.

Compartment 13.

119. See illustration on page 462.

A., fol. 24[b], describes.

W. blazons *gu., diapered with raised foliage forming three roundels, or; on the first a lion rampant arg.; on the second a dragon saliant of the last; on the third in base a demi-king regally crowned and vested proper;* and assigns to King Ethelbert, buried at Reculver.

This same boss occurs at no. 727, and also in the undercroft. A similar shield is on bells in Kent. Stahlschmidt, *Church Bells of Kent*, p. 11.

120. Not found. W. describes as no. 106.

121. Three beckets.

A., fol. 25[b]. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *gu., three herons arg., two and one*, and assigns to Heron, of the manor of West Greenwich.

The birds are very unlike herons, and it is more probable that it is the shield of St. Thomas of Canterbury: see no. 19.

122. A bend, a bordure engrailed.

A., fol. 25[b]. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., a bend and bordure engrailed sa.*, and assigns to Knyvet.

The ascription is probable, as the Knyvetts, *c.* 1400, held the manor of Newington Belhouse, near Hythe.

123. Three crescents, a bordure engrailed.

A., fol. 25ᵇ. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *gu., three crescents arg., a bordure engrailed or,* and ascribes to Holowe.

The same coat, with the bordure ermine, is at no. 602. W.'s ascription is probably derived from Glover's *Ordinary,* where the shield is stated to be Rauf Holowe, Kent. This is one of the numerous variants of Hadlow. The de Hadloes bore three crescents, and possibly the other three-crescent coats in the cloisters, nos. 55 and 602, are derivatives from the coat of that family, once of prominent position in the county.

124. Three roses.

Scarlett, fol. 9ᵇ. A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *az., three roses or, two and one,* and assigns to Cosenton of Cosenton in Aylesford, which manor they held from the family of Ros, who bore the same arms differently tinctured.

This shield is on the brass of John Cossington, 1426, at Aylesford, Kent, a full account of which is in the *Trans. of the Monumental Brass Society,* vol. vi, p. 295. The shield occurs again at nos. 263, 488, and 595.

125. Courtenay; on each point of the label three roundels.

A., fol. 25ᵇ. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 16, have nothing on the points.

W. blazons *or, three torteaux, two and one, a label of three points az., each charged with as many plates,* and ascribes to Philip de Courtenay, Admiral of the seas towards the south and west, son of Hugh second Earl of Devon. These arms are on his seal on a deed 15th Feb., 47 Edw. III.

In the Society's collection of seals is one of this Philip, as lord of Powderham, with these arms. He was sixth son of the second earl and younger brother of the archbishop. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake.

126. A chevron between three cauldrons, within a bordure charged with thirteen annulets; on the chevron a martlet for difference.

Scarlett, fol. 9ᵇ. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 16, both draw the cauldrons as if lions' heads erased.

W. blazons *arg., on a chevron inter three cauldrons gu., a martlet or; all within a bordure engrailed sa.,* and ascribes to Montboucher.

The shield is no doubt that of Montboucher, notwithstanding W.'s slip in describing it. The shield occurs again at nos. 156 and 226, and in each case the bordure is charged with thirteen annulets. The Montboucher coat was originally three pots; then there was added for difference a *bordure sa., bezanty* of Cornwall. Yet a further difference is the chevron found in the cloisters. Bertram Montboucher, who died 6th Feb., 1415, had property in Sussex.

127. A fret *quartering* ermine, a chevron.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9, omits ermine, as does Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, gu., a fret or* (Audley); *2 and 3, ermine, a chevron gu.* (Touchet), and assigns to John Touchet, Lord Audley of Heleigh, who died in 1409.

The family had property at Postling.

The shield occurs again, nos. 238 and 476.

128. Three escallops, a bordure engrailed.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

The arms may be those of William Strickland, Bishop of Carlisle, 1400–19, who bore *sa., three escallops a bordure engrailed arg.*

129. A cross flory.

A., fol. 24ᵇ. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., a cross fleurée gu.,* and assigns to the Brockets of Ebeney in Oxney.

It is to be observed that Hasted, vol. iii, p. 547, gives the shield as *or, a cross flory sa.*

130. As no. 60.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *or, a cross engrailed gu.*, for Haute-of Haut's place in Petham.

See no. 78.

131. A fess between six fleurs-de-lis, on it an annulet for difference.

A., fol. 24b. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., on a fess gu., inter six fleur-de-lis sa., an annulet,* and ascribes to John Barrey of the Moat in Sevington, sheriff 46 Edw. III.

It would seem, however, more probable that this should be ascribed to Sir William Barrey, who was a younger son. He was sheriff in 1393. Or the coat may be for Richard Barrey, lieutenant of Dover Castle, *temp.* Henry IV. See no. 53.

132. On a chevron three keys, crowned.

Scarlett, fol. 8. A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., on a chevron per pale gu. and sa., three keys erect or, crowned of the last.*

See no. 133.

133. Three keys, crowned. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 10.

Scarlett, fol. 9b. A., fol. 24b.

W. blazons *gu., three keys erect or, crowned of the last, two and one.*

It will be convenient here to collect all that can at present be ascertained about these shields, nos. 132 and 133, and the similar shields in the cloisters. No. 133 does not appear again, but six keys are at no. 557. No. 132 occurs again at nos. 559 and 795, and with a label of three at nos. 151 and 556. There is no indication on any of them of any division of the chevron per pale, but Scarlett notes in St. Peter's Church, Canterbury, a monument to Thomas Ikham and his wife Joan, on which appears no. 132 as blazoned by W., and sa., six keys, 3, 2, and 1, or. C., fol. 26, records both these coats in that church. In both manuscripts is noted a memorial to William Ikham, citizen and bailiff of Canterbury, who died 25th July, 1424. It is to be observed that they also note in this church various coats of Poynings and allied families. See also note to no. 557.

Hasted, vol. iv, p. 656, collects notices of the good deeds of Thomas Ickham, sacrist of the monastery of St. Augustine's, who died in 1391.

W. observes, 'It is rather curious that the arms above are generally found accompanied by those of Poynings, and the crowned key appears to have been used by that family as a badge at an early period. On a seal of Sir Michael de Poynings, dat. 33 Edw. III, is introduced outside of the shield a key erect crowned.'

The inference seems irresistible that the family of de Ickham, who no doubt originally came from Ickham, close to Canterbury, settled in St. Peter's parish under the protection, possibly in the service, of the Poynings, and acquiring wealth in trade, and standing by serving the office of bailiff of the city, adopted arms containing keys in various arrangements.

Another point to be noted is that in Jenyn's *Ordinary* a shield of *gu., three keys erect or,* is assigned to Sir Walter le Baud of Essex. These are not the usual arms of le Baud, which appear at no. 576, but the family of le Baud was connected by marriage with that of Poynings.

134. A chevron between three merchant's marks. Pl. XL, fig. 1.

Scarlett, fol. 9b. A., fol. 24b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. does not give colours or any ascription.

135. A crown enfiled by a sword erect. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 1.

Scarlett, fol. 9b. A., fol. 24b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. gives no colours or ascription.

136. A chevron engrailed between three garlands. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 8.

Scarlett, fol. 9b. A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. gives no colours or ascription.

In Glover's *Ordinary, arg., a chevron between three wreathed chaplets sa.*, is ascribed to Sir Richard de Hoo of Kent. Thomas Hoo the younger, of the city of Canterbury, was buried in the cathedral in 1407. See no. 36.

137. Courtenay; on each point of the label three annulets, over all a bend.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 16, omit the annulets.

W. blazons *or, three torteaux, two and one; a label of three points, each charged with as many annulets arg., over all a bendlet*, and merely ascribes to Courtenay.

In W.'s blazon the indication *azure* is omitted after the label, and no colour is suggested for the bendlet.

Sir Peter de Courtenay, K.G., sealed with three annulets on each point of his label, and they appear *argent* on his stall-plate, as they do on the stall-plate of his eldest brother, Sir Hugh, one of the founders of the order. Sir Hugh's only son died *s. p.* 1373, and Sir Peter *s. p.* in 1405.

138. Two lions passant.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *gu., two lions passant arg.*, and ascribes to Strange.

This coat occurs again at nos. 392, 648, 657. In no. 657 it is clearly Strange of Knockyn. The shield as blazoned by W. is in S. and in the roll alluded to by Papworth as S., and in the Rouen Roll; but in other rolls the colours are reversed.

139. Three beckets; in chief, a lion passant guardant. Pl. XXXII, fig. 4.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., three Cornish choughs proper, two and one, on a chief gu., a lion passant gaurdant or*, and assigns to the city of Canterbury.

This is an early instance of the city arms, which naturally appear along with those of the citizens in this compartment. The arms are clearly compounded from the arms of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the arms of England.

140. Three swans' necks erased.

Scarlett, fol. 9b. A., fol. 25. C., fol. 8, and Ha., fol. 16, draw as eagles' heads.

W. does not blazon, and gives no ascription.

This shield occurs again at no. 236. There seems no doubt that it shows the arms of Colley[1] of Canterbury. In the list of Kent arms printed in *Arch. Cant.* xi, p. 394, no. 180 is Robert Collay, *sa., three swannes heads rased arg.* As early as 1358 John Colley and his wife Margaret are buying a considerable property in Deal, Northbourne, and Sholden (Feet of Fines, 32 Edw. III, no. 1212). In 1396 John Colley gets a grant of £15 due to the king for the escape from the gaol of the king's castle at Canterbury of John Spryng, Roger Twesden, and John Pelham. In 1405 there is a licence for half a mark paid in the hanaper by John Colley, parson of the church of St. Peter, Canterbury, for Thomas Ikham and Thomas Poldre to grant to him in mortmain a vacant plot of land in Canterbury for enlarging the churchyard. This John, who was rector of St. Peter's, seems to have died 22nd Feb., 1408. Scarlett notes in St. Mary Magdalene's Church [Burgate] in Canterbury a shield of *sa., a chevron between three swans heads erased arg.*, no doubt a variant of the coat in the cloisters.

[1] In the discussion that followed the reading of the paper the Rev. E. E. Dorling, F.S.A., pointed out that the arms were allusive, *trois cols de cygne*. I have also to acknowledge many suggestions from him since this paper was in type which I have been able to incorporate in the notes to the various shields, thereby much adding to their value.

141. A chevron.

C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *or, a chevron gu.*, for Stafford.

The shield is almost entirely destroyed.

142. A lion passant reguardant, between seven crosses patty fitchy. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., a lion passant regaurdant sa., inter seven crosses gu.*, and ascribes to Higham of Patricksbourne. He notes that Aymer Hegham, Esq., who died 5th Apr. 1411, was buried in the nave of the cathedral, quoting Scarlett's manuscript.

Scarlett notes that the only shield remaining on the slab was a chevron or, between three leopards' faces. This might have been *az., a chevron between three leopards' faces or*, for Loverick; see no. 219. W. does not note that the crosses are *patty fitchy*.

C., fol. 37, notes in Littlebourne Church, as for Hegham or Higham, *arg., a lion passant reguardant sa., between six crosslets fitchy gu.*

143. Two bars.

A., fol. 25, draws as gemels. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. does not blazon or assign.

The ridging of the bars has led to the error in A. A coat of two bars appears in the cloisters elsewhere. At no. 508 is one with the bars, as here, in relief, while at nos. 406 and 426 they are incised. A distinction may be intended. According to S. and the roll alluded to by Papworth as S., John de Foxley bore *gu., two bars arg.* He was the first governor of Queenborough Castle 36–50 Edw. III.

144. A chevron between three roses.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons as *arg., a chevron inter three cinquefoils gu.*, and assigns to John de Beavor, who held a manor in Ashford *temp.* Henry II.

In the first place the objects are not cinquefoils but roses, and in the second it is improbable that the cloisters should be decorated with the shield of a family not known in Kent since *temp.* Henry II, if indeed at all. See note (*ee*) on page 261 of Hasted, vol. iii. It seems more probable that the coat is that of Wadham: *gu., a chevron between three roses arg.* It occurs again at no. 264.

Sir William Wadham, a judge whose main seat was in Somerset, was owner of the manor of Crixall in Staple. He was constantly in commissions with Sir William Brenchley, Sir William Rikhill, and other Kentish judges. A daughter and heir of Sir William Wadham married, as his first wife, Sir William Fogge. See pedigree opposite p. 125, *Arch. Cant.* v.

145. On a fess a lion passant.

Scarlett, fol. 9^{b}. A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., on a fess sa., a lion passant of the field*, and ascribes to Garrard of Sittingbourne.

The same coat is at no. 777, carved by another sculptor, and the variation of rendering is instructive. As to W.'s ascription, it seems doubtful whether that family was connected with the county so early. It certainly had not come into any prominence, and it may be suggested that the coat is that of Hoese or Hussey (*or, on a fess sa., a lion passant arg.*). See no. 149.

146. A sixfoil ermine.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, put a bordure engrailed.

W. misdescribes, and does not name.

This, though in fact carved as a sixfoil, is probably intended for *az., a cinquefoil ermine*, for Astley.

147. Courtenay of Powderham (as no. 125).

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, leave the points blank.

148. Four lozenges in pall, on a canton a crosier. Pl. XLI, fig. 12.

A., fol. 24^{b}, blazons *arg., four lozenges in pall gu., on a canton gu. a crosier or.* C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons as A., and ascribes to Boxley Abbey.

Boxley was one of the largest and most important of the abbeys of Kent, and it is interesting to have an exact record of what the arms are. They have frequently been quite misdescribed.

149. Two bars; in chief, three roundels *quartering* per pale indented, a chevron. Outside the shield four sickles.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, draw as if the first quarter only.

W. blazons *quarterly 1 and 4, sa., two bars arg., in chief three plates* (Hungerford); *2 and 3, per pale indented gu. and vt., a chevron or* (Heytesbury); and ascribes to Sir Walter Hungerford, K.G., and points out that the shield is placed on a square panel, each corner bearing a sickle, which appears to have been originally the badge of Heytesbury. Among other decorations to the Hungerford Chapel in Salisbury Cathedral is found a shield *per pale gu. and vt., charged with a sickle arg., the handle gu.* The Hungerfords sometimes used as a badge a sickle and a garb united by a golden cord; the latter they derived from Peverel, whose arms were *az., three garbs or.* The Hungerfords subsequently bore as their crest *a garb per pale or and gu., between two sickles erect.*

W.'s useful note may be supplemented by a reference to Sir Walter Hungerford's stall-plate, no. xlix, in Sir William Hope's reproductions. See his remarks thereon. Sir Walter's mother was daughter and heir of Sir Edmund Hussey of Holbrook (see nos. 145 and 320). Scarlett records that in the south cross-aisle of the cathedral was Lord Hungerford in his parliament robes, garnished about with sickles, the handle *or*, the blade *argent.* His shield is on the cornice of the tester of the tomb of Henry IV.

This is the only shield placed on a square panel in the cloisters. The experiment was not such a success as to lead to any repetition.

150. A fess between two chevrons.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *or, a fess inter two chevrons sa.,* and ascribes to Lisle.

151. As no. 132, with a label of three points.

A., fol. 24^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons as he does no. 132, *with label az.*

There is here no indication of *per pale.* See remarks at no. 133.

152. Barry of six, a bend *quartering* three lions passant, a bend.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *quarterly, 1 and 4, barrée of six or and vt., a bend gu.* (Poynings); *2 and 3, gu., three lions passant in pale arg., a bendlet az.* (Fitz Paine).

See page 461. Poynings as blazoned is in old stained glass in St. Peter's, Canterbury.

153. A cross ermine.

A., fol. 24^{b}, omits the ermine, as do C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons, omitting the ermine, and calls Vesci.

In some old rolls Sir Robert de Cobham is said to bear *gu., a cross ermine.*

154. Poynings (as no. 152) *quartering* a fess between six lions rampant.

A., fol. 24ᵇ. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons Poynings (as no. 152) quartering *az., a fess gu., inter six lions rampant arg.* (Rokesley).

See page 461. Rokesley as blazoned is in old stained glass in St. Peter's, Canterbury.

155. On a chief two mullets of six pierced.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17, draws mullets of five.

W. blazons *arg., on a chief gu., two mullets or, pierced vt.*, and assigns to St. John.

The ascription is probable, as Lucas de Poynings married Isabel, daughter of Hugh St. John, sister and heir to her brother Edmund. See no. 555 and p. 461.

156. Montboucher (as no. 126), without the martlet for difference. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 7.

A., fol. 25. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *arg., a chevron inter three pots gu., on a bordure sa. thirteen bezants*, and ascribes to Montboucher.

The charges on the bordure are more like annulets.

A.[13] A bend, and on it a saltire engrailed. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 3.

A., fol. 24ᵇ. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, draw as if a cross engrailed.

This extraordinary and very interesting shield is not noticed by W. As drawn in A. the angles formed by the members of the saltire are divided by arrow-heads, some vestige of which seems still to remain on the shield, which is in a position rendering it very difficult to photograph. It may be intended to charge the bend with a mullet, and over that a saltire engrailed.

It can only be suggested that this shield is intended for Sir Stephen le Scrope, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who married Milicent, daughter and coheir of Robert Lord Tiptoft, or for his son Stephen, of Castlecomb, Wilts., who, though not of age in 1413, was engaged to marry a daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, L.C.J. The Lord Deputy was third son of Richard le Scrope.

Compartment 14.

157. France *quartering* England.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, az., three fleurs de lis or; 2 and 3, gu., three lions passant gaurdant in pale or*, and ascribes to the king.

See page 457.

158. Five bars; on a canton a cross flory.

A., fol. 24, gives colours *arg., five bars gu., on a canton az., a cross flory or.* C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, draw six bars.

W. blazons *or, five bars az., on a canton gu. a cross patonce or*, and ascribes to Sir Gilbert Aton, Lord Vesci, who granted the manor of Eltham Maundeville and other lands of William de Vesci to Geoffry le Scrope de Masham.

That grant was at a much earlier date. The shield occurs again in no. 793 by a different sculptor. It may be observed that Thomas Lord Poynings by will (1374) leaves legacies to 'Lady Bardolf my sister and to Lady d'Aton my sister'. See Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, and *supra*, p. 461.

159. A fess between six crosslets.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *gu., a fess inter six cross croslets or*, and ascribes to Beauchamp.

It is more probable that in this compartment it is for Peverel of Castle Ashby (*gu., a fess arg., between six crosslets or*), as on the brass of Joan Delapole (1434) at Cobham. Her father, Sir John Delapole, was son of Margaret, sister and coheir of John Peverel of Castle Ashby. The next

shield, no. 160, is a Delapole shield, and this compartment has Cobham shields also. It is further to be noticed that when this coat appears in the cloisters again at no. 486 it is close to Delapole (no. 478) and Braybrooke (no. 479), while at no. 654, close to Fitzalan, it is more probably Beauchamp.

160. A fess between three leopards' faces, *quartering* on a bend three pairs of wings.

A., fol. 23b. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, az., a fess inter three leopards' faces or* (Delapole); *2 and 3, arg., on a bend gu., three pair of wings conjoined of the field* (Wingfield).

See the note on no. 58 and on no. 159. The coat occurs again at no. 479.

161. England; a label of three *quartering* a lion rampant.

A., fol. 24. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, gu., three lions passant gaurdant, in pale or, a label of five points arg.* (Brotherton); *2 and 3, gu., a lion rampant arg.* (Mowbray); and assigns to the Mowbrays, who held the manor of Ryarsh *temp.* Edward I to *temp.* Edward IV.

It is true that Thomas de Brotherton, son of Edward I, usually bore a label of five points, and indeed this coat is so carved at no. 672. But here there is only a label of three points, possibly by mistake of the sculptor, for a label of five occurs in every other shield. See nos. 664 and 763. Further, Margaret Duchess of Norfolk, daughter and eldest coheir of Thomas de Brotherton, sealed with a label of five. She had, by John Lord Segrave, a daughter and heir Elizabeth, who married John Lord Mowbray.

162. Ermine on a bend . . .

A., fol. 24, draws on the bend two chevrons point to point. C., fol. 9, draws more like two hayforks handle to handle, as does Ha., fol. 17.

W. simply says as no. 48, and ascribes to Apuldurfield.

The shield is certainly not as no. 48, though the sculptor may have intended to represent here a bend vair. The shield is one of the problems of the cloisters, and as such is shown in the illustration. Mr. Streatfeild's drawing of it is in *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 16.

Shield no. 162.

163. A chevron.

W. blazons *or, a chevron vt.*, and ascribes to William de Inge, who held the manor of Ightham till 15 Edw. II.

The ascription is improbable, as the shield was carved *temp.* Henry IV, unless the Cobhams derived their chevron from the family of Inge.

164. On a chevron three stars.

A., fol. 23b, notes the stars are pierced. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *gu., on a chevron or, three estoils sa.*, and ascribes to Cobham.

That is correct if qualified as Cobham of Sterborough. See no. 46. This shield occurs again at nos. 177 and 445.

165. The royal arms (as no. 157), with a label of five, two of Brittany and three of France.

A., fol. 22, draws a plain label of three.

W. says *over all a label of five points per pale ermine and az., semée de lis or*, and ascribes to Bedford.

No doubt for John Duke of Bedford, K.G., son of Henry IV. See page 458.

166. A lion rampant, a bordure engrailed.

W. blazons *gu., a lion rampant and bordure engrailed or,* and ascribes to Talbot.

As the same blazon with *arg.* for *or* gives the cōat of Grey, it is difficult in any case to assign this shield with confidence. It occurs again in nos. 225, 567, 778. Here, close to a Mowbray shield, it is probably for Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, who married Katharine, daughter of John Lord Mowbray.

167. Crusily and three boars' heads couped.

A., fol. 23.

W. blazons *arg., crusillée, three boars' heads couped gu., two and one,* and assigns to Thomas Swinburne of Smeeth, sheriff to Henry IV.

The sheriff who kept his shrievalty of Kent at Thevegate, in Smeeth, was Sir Thomas Swinbourne, whose magnificent brass bearing these very arms is at Little Horkesley in Essex, in which county he held much property. How he came to be sheriff of Kent does not appear, unless he had married a widow of a Pashley, the family who owned Thevegate. He died in 1412. From his brass he would appear to have married a Scott.

168. Three chevrons *quartering* quarterly; in the second and third quarters a fret, over all a bend.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 16.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, or, three chevronels gu.* (Clare); *2 and 3, quarterly arg. and gu., frettée or, a bendlet sa.* (Despencer); and assigns to the Clares, who held the castle and town of Tonbridge.

Hugh le Despencer, the younger, in 1306 married Eleanor, eldest daughter and coheir of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Her descendants bore the Clare chevrons in the first quarter, as that family was of such high distinction. This shield occurs again at no. 244, and the quartered shield of Despencer alone at nos. 218 and 389.

169. The royal arms (as no. 157), with a bordure.

C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. says the bordure is *argent,* and ascribes to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of Henry IV. The shield occurs again at nos. 172, 201, and 760.

The ascription is supported by the *Booke of St. Albans* and by Sandford.

170. A saltire engrailed; on a chief, a lion passant guardant. Pl. XLI, fig. 6.

Scarlett, fol. 10, makes the chief floretty. A., fol. 23, does not make the lion guardant. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 14.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

A similar shield occurs in S. and in the roll referred to by Papworth as S., with field ermine. It is assigned to W. de Ermine, and is blazoned *ermine, a saltire engrailed and a chief gu., on the chief a lion passant guardant or.* There is, however, now no trace of ermine in the cloisters.

171. Three fusils in fess.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *arg., three fusils conjoined in fess gu.,* and ascribes to Montacute.

This shield occurs again at nos. 303, 646, 670, 799, and A.[24]; and quartering Monthermer at nos. 232, 686, and 771.

172. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (as no. 169).

A., fol. 23[b]. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, draw as if England alone in a bordure

173. A maunch, *quartering* barry of eight, an orle of martlets.

A., fol. 23[b]. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, or, a manche gu.* (Hastings); *2 and 3, barrée of ten arg. and az., an orle of martlets gu.* (Valence).

John de Hastings of Bergavenny married Isabel, one of the sisters and coheirs of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and had with her the manor of Sutton Valence. See no. 569.

174. Barry of six, on a chief two pallets between two gyrons, over all an inescutcheon.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *barrée of six or and az., an inescutcheon arg., on a chief of the first three pallets inter two girons of the second,* and ascribes to Mortimer.

Philippa, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, married John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, and had the manor of Sutton Valence (see no. 173) in dower, and held the manor till 2 Hen. IV. The shield occurs again no. 301, and frequently with De Burgh (see no. 187). Compare no. 489.

175. A fess between three crosslets fitchy.

A., fol. 23b. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *az., a fess or inter three cross croslets fitchée arg.*, and ascribes to Pix.

But the family of Pix, originally of Hawkhurst, was unknown till Tudor times. The shield occurs again at no. 339.

176. On a chief three roundels.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *or, on a chief gu., three plates,* and ascribes to Camois.

Thomas Lord Camoys, K.G., who married Elizabeth Mortimer (no. 174); and see D.[33]

177. Cobham of Sterborough (as no. 164).

A., fol. 23b, C., fol. 9, Ha., fol. 17, all draw the stars as mullets.

178. Not found; but W. describes as *gu., on a chevron or three escallops sa.*, and ascribes to Cobham. There is no such shield now in the cloisters.

179. Cobham of Rundale (as no. 46).

A., fol. 23b. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *gu., on a chevron or, three fleurs de lis az.*, and ascribes to Cobham. The tinctures being different from those he gives under no. 46 renders it doubtful if the present blazon is not wrong.

180. A bend between six martlets.

A., fol. 23b. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *arg., a bend inter six martlets gu.*, and ascribes to Furnival, but does not support the ascription with any reasons.

It is more probable that the coat is *or, a bend between six martlets sa.*, for Luttrell. See no. 268.

181. England; a bordure of France. Pl. XXXV, fig. 5.

A., fol. 23b. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. describes wrongly.

This is the coat of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, who married Elizabeth, sister of Henry IV. It occurs again at no. 649, and impaled at nos. 652 and 653.

The shield is a triumph of artistic sculpture, though it is unfortunately damaged at the sinister top corner.

182. A cross chequy.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, both draw as chequy a cross.

W. blazons *az., a cross chequée arg. and gu.*, and ascribes to Cockfield.

The shield occurs again at nos. 258 and 346. In the latter case it is close to no. 339, which is as no. 175.

183. The royal arms (as no. 157), a label of Brittany.

A., fol. 23, C., fol. 9, Ha., fol. 17, all omit the ermine.

W. says the label is *of three points ermine*, and ascribes to Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV.

He married Margaret Holland. He was slain at Baugé in 1421, and was buried at Canterbury. The shield occurs again at nos. 202, 385, and 751, and impaling Holland at B.[33] See p. 458.

184. The royal arms (as no. 157), with a label of three points, each charged with three roundels.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, omit the roundels.

W. blazons *with a label of three points arg., each charged with as many torteaux*, and ascribes to Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, killed at Agincourt.

He bore the same shield as his father, Edmund of Langley, whose stall-plate is no. xliii, who died in 1402, if indeed this shield does not actually refer to the father. It does not occur again alone, but impaling Mohun at no. 672 for the second duke and his wife, and at nos. 675 and 770 for his sister, impaled by the arms of Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, her husband.

185. A saltire.

A., fol. 22^{b}. C., fol. 9, and Ha., fol. 17, draw as if voided.

W. blazons *or, a saltire sa.*, and ascribes to John Dering of Westbrooke, who died in 1425, the first of the family to assume these arms. He married Christian, daughter of John Haute.

The sculptor has so ridged his saltire that it might well be considered as voided, as recorded by C. It seems probable that it is not so, and is intended for Nevil (*gu., a saltire arg.*) rather than for Dering, a family of little standing in the county when the cloisters were built, even if it had assumed the saltire, which is quite improbable.

186. Crusily and three cinquefoils.

A., fol. 23. C., fol. 9, draws as *sa., crusily fitchy and three cinquefoils arg.*, and adds a note 'q. Sepham', and underneath this note 'Crocheman', and then, partly in trick, *sa., three cinquefoils and eight crosslets fitchy arg.* Ha., fol. 17, draws the crosslets as fitchy.

W. blazons *sa., semée of cross croslets, three cinquefoils arg.*, and ascribes to William de Sepham, who died seized of Sepham in Shoreham, 13 Edw. III.

The family continued in the county till a much later date, but they seem always to have borne their crosslets *fitchy*, and the shield in the cloisters is as probably Darcy (*az., crusily and three cinquefoils arg.*).

187. A cross, *quartering* Mortimer (as no. 174).

A., fol. 22^{b}. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons as if de Burgh (*or, a cross gu.*) was in the second and third quarters (as it usually is), and ascribes to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

He married Philippa, daughter and heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. Her mother Elizabeth was daughter and heir of William, son and heir of John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. It is not surprising to find the arms of so powerful a family, derived through a royal alliance, placed in the first quarter of the shield, though usually it is in the second and third quarters, as at no. 372.

188. On a chevron three lions rampant.

A., fol. 23^{b}. C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *gu., on a chevron or, three lions rampant sa.*, and ascribes to Cobham.

See no. 46.

189. Fitzalan *quartering* Warenne (as in no. 1).

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons as at no. 1, and ascribes to Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Admiral of England, who held the manor of Mereworth *temp.* Richard II.

He was father of the archbishop; see no. 11. This shield occurs again, nos. 393, 427, 493, 655, and 659.

190. The royal arms (no. 157), a label of three points.

C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons the label *arg.*, and ascribes to Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V.

He was created Prince of Wales in 1399, Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden in 1409, and became King in 1413. This shield, therefore, was carved 1405–13.

Compartment 15.

191. No. 184, with a bordure charged with lions rampant. Pl. XXXV, fig. 8.

A., fol. 21b, C., fol. 10, Ha., fol. 18, all omit the label.

W. blazons the bordure *arg.* and the lions *gu.*, and assigns to Richard Earl of Cambridge, grandson of Edward III, beheaded 3 Hen. V, and adds: 'the lions on the bordure were to shew his descent from Isabel, the younger daughter and coheir of Peter, King of Leon and Castile. His portrait, bearing the arms above, stood formerly in a window of this cathedral (Harl. 5805, fol. 323). The same arms are represented on his seal, dated 28th Nov., 2 Hen. 5 (Bib. Cotton., Julius C. 7, fol. 176), and at the base of the shield are two lions couchant guardant, each holding a feather, to the stem of which is affixed a scroll.'

He was generally known as Richard of Coningsborough. His mother's elder sister Constance was wife of John of Gaunt. Richard's elder brother differenced with castles.

This magnificent boss gives a most spirited rendering of a shield which in a more conventional style can be seen at nos. 500 and 762. In the latter case it impales no. 372 (Mortimer and de Burgh quarterly), as the first wife of Richard of Coningsborough was Anne, daughter of Roger Earl of March, and sister and sole heir of her brother Edmund. Richard and Anne were grandfather and grandmother of Edward IV.

192. Three leopards' faces inverted, jessant de lis. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 4.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *gu., three leopards' faces reversed, jessant de lis or*, and ascribes to Cantilupe.

The shield occurs again at no. 353, rendered by a different sculptor, and a comparison of the two is interesting. A. suggests (fol. 17) that they are the arms of St. Thomas of Cantelupe, 'now born as the armes of the see of Hereford', and gives the field of the shield as *azure*. It is to be observed that another form of Cantilupe appears at nos. 456 and 546, where is a fess vair between three leopards' faces (*not* inverted) jessant de lis. This is very like the seal of William de Cauntelow to the Baron's letter (*Ancestor*, vol. vii, p. 254), and it is noticeable that Michael de Cantelu seals his grant to Cumbwell Abbey, *c.* 1200, with a shield vair (*Arch. Cant.* vi, 216).

193. A chevron between three crowned owls. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 5.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10b. Ha., fol. 17.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

Burton bore *sa., a chevron between three owls arg. crowned or*, and Filmer Southouse (Add. MS. 14306) found this coat impaled by Bourne in the windows of Sharsted Court. A John de Bourne was rector of Snargate till 1324, and a later rector of the same parish, Thomas Burton, obtained in 1405 the mastership of the Eastbridge Hospital at Canterbury.

194. On a fess a swan, wings expanded. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 11.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 17.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

The swan was a badge of Bohun, and was also so used by Courtenay. The latter is recorded by Scarlett as being in the Archbishop's Hall at Canterbury. The swan was *arg.*, and was collared, chained, and padlocked *or*. The manuscripts also record a shield in the cloisters: *az., a swan, wings expanded arg., membered gu.* So it seems clear that the swan alone and the swan on the fess were both in existence *c.* 1600. A shield with a swan as described in the manuscripts was once on the brass of Eleanor de Bohun in Westminster Abbey.

195. On a bend three escallops.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *arg., on a bend gu., three escallops arg.*, and assigns to Kilwardby.

These are recorded by Scarlett as in the Archbishop's Hall at Canterbury, as the arms of Robert Kilwarbie (1267), cardinal and archbishop. But it is more probable that they are *gu., on a bend arg., three escallops az.*, for the de Nottinghams, who held Bayford in Sittingbourne *temp.* Henry IV. It may be noted, however, that *az., on a bend arg., three escallops gu.*, is assigned in Jenyns's *Ordinary* to Monsire de Granson; but, probably, by mistake *paly* is there omitted.

196. A chief indented: on it five annulets. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 11.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 17, rather indicate roundels.

W. describes as *per fess indentée, and on the points of the chief five annulets.* He does not assign.

In a paper by Mr. W. S. Ellis in *Arch. Cant.*, vol. xv, there is noted (p. 10) from the Dering Roll a coat of Stephen de Bocton, thus described: *az., on a chief indented dancettée of four indents or, three torteaux.*

197. Three ostrich feathers, each with a scroll across the quill. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 10.

A., fol. 22b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 17.

W. blazons *sa., three ostrich feathers erect arg., two and one, each passing through a scroll or*, and refers to his elaborate note on the shield as it is described on the tomb of the Black Prince (p. 45).

This badge appears again at no. 494. The quills do not pass through the scroll in either case. A small ring appears on the quill just below the point where the feather broadens.

198. A cross engrailed, in the first quarter a crescent.

C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *az., a cross engrailed, in the dexter chief a crescent arg.*, and ascribes to Charnel, but gives no reason for such ascription.

With the cross ermine this is at no. 601. Here it may be Haute or Mohun, with a crescent for difference.

199. The Prince of Wales (as no. 190).

C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

200. John Duke of Bedford (as no. 165).

201. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (as no. 169).

A., fol. 22, C., fol. 9, Ha., fol. 18, all omit the bordure.

202. Thomas Duke of Clarence (as no. 183).

A., fol. 22, omits the ermine.

203. A cross engrailed.

A., fol. 22. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *sa., a cross engrailed or*, and ascribes to Ufford.

204. A griffin segreant, ermine.

A., fol. 22. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, omit the ermine.

W. does not notice the ermine.

This is probably for Gregory Ballard, who bore *sa., a griffin segreant ermine, armed and membered or.* He purchased in 1407 the manor of Horton in Chartham, and his descendants held it of the honour of Crevequer by knight's service for some generations. The chapel of the manor is still standing.

205. A saltire.

A., fol. 22, colours *arg., a saltire gu.*

W. blazons *sa., a saltire or,* and ascribes to Clarevaux, but gives no authority for so doing. More probably for Neville.

206. On a chevron between three dolphins embowed three escallops.

Scarlett, fol. 10, and A., fol. 22, give colours *arg., on a chevron gu., between three dolphins embowed az., three escallops arg.* C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons as A., but does not ascribe.

This shield is impaled at no. 624. Up to the present the family to which it belongs has not been ascertained.

207. On a bend three dogs' heads erased.

A., fol. 22, draws as *ermine on a bend az., three lions' heads erased arg.* Ha., fol. 18, the same, but makes the heads *or,* and ascribes to Werton or Weston. C., fol. 10, draws as *ermine on a bend, three lions' heads erased.*

W. blazons *arg., on a bend sa., three talbots' heads erased or,* and ascribes to Dogett.

Walter Doget of Kent sealed with *ermine, on a bend three talbots' heads erased.* See *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum.* As all the manuscripts concur in making the field of the shield in the cloisters ermine, it may be supposed that the ermine spots were cleared off with the whitewash and the paint, and that W. is wrong in making the field *argent.* His other tinctures are right.

Walter Doget and Alice his wife bought Beaksbourne Manor and some adjoining property in 1374 (Feet of Fines, 48 Edw. III, no. 2033), apparently from the coheirs of Walter de Bourne and their husbands. Walter Doget was a citizen of London.

Compare no. 68, which may also be a Doget coat.

208. Semy of roundels (? annulets), a quarter ermine.

A., fol. 22, draws as roundels. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, omit the ermine.

W. blazons *gu., semée of annulets or, a canton ermine,* and ascribes to Cantwell, but gives no authority.

It seems more probable that it is *gu., bezanty and a quarter ermine,* for Zouche of Haringworth, who held *temp.* Henry IV the manors of Ightham and Eynsford. The former they held for some generations afterwards. See also no. 98. The coat occurs again at nos. 401 and 433.

209. A peacock in its pride *quartering* ermine (? no. 63). Pl. XXXIV, fig. 5.

A., fol. 22. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, reverse the quarters.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

As to the quartered coat, see no. 63.

210. As no. 80.

A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

211. As no. 40. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 4.

A., fol. 21b, colours *sa., a talbot sejant and bordure engrailed arg.,* and ascribes to Archbishop Sudbury. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

212. On a bend three horses' heads couped. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 2.

Scarlett, fol. 10. A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

213. A cross.

C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, draw as a voided cross.

W. blazons *gu., a cross arg.*, and ascribes to William de Hever, who held the castle and honour of Hever *temp.* Edward III, and dying left two daughters his coheirs, Joan, the elder, who married Reginald de Cobham, and Margaret, the younger, who married Sir Oliver Brocas.

214. A hind lodged, collared, and chained.

Scarlett, fol. 10. A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *gu., a hind lodged arg., collared and chained or*, and ascribes to Joan of Kent.

This badge also appears on a green ground in St. Michael's Chapel, as it was also used by Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, the son of the Fair Maid.

215. A fess between three crows.

A., fol. 21b.

W. misdescribes as popinjays. The identical shield at no. 233 he blazons *arg., a fess gu., inter three Cornish choughs proper*, and ascribes, following a blunder of Hasted's, to Fremingham or Farningham. Their coat is at no. 81. The coat blazoned by W. is Framlingham. The mistake is due to the manuscript from which Hasted copied. See note on no. 233.

216. A chevron between eight martlets, five above, three below; *quartering* no. 74.

A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, arg., a chevron inter six martlets gu.* (Hardreshull); *2 and 3, arg., a bend engrailed gu.* (Colepeper); and points out that John Colepeper married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir John Hardreshull, and that Thomas Culpepper, 'dn̄s de Hardredeshull', sealed with the same quarters (Bib. Cotton., Julius C. 7).

The chevron in Hardreshull is usually *sable*. The estate the coheiress brought to Colepeper was important enough to warrant their putting their own arms in the second and third quarters. Shields of both Colepeper and Hardreshull are to be found on the buttresses of Pembury Church, Kent. John Colepeper was a legatee of Archbishop Courtenay.

217. A cross moline, a label of three.

A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *gu., a cross moline or, a label of three points gu.*, and ascribes to Latimer without comment.

The label of Latimer is more often *az.*, and the cross patonce, or flory as in no. 89. The cross, as here, frequently appears in the Willoughby coat (see no. 235). It is without the label at no. 253.

218. Despencer, as in no. 168.

A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *quarterly, arg. and gu., frettée or, a bendlet sa.*

219. A chevron between three leopards' faces. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 1.

A., fol. 21b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *az., a chevron inter three leopards' faces or*, and ascribes to Lavinck.

That is probably a misprint for Laverick, the name recorded in Add. MS. 5479, fol. 3, against this coat. It is recorded also C., fol. 1, as in glass at Ash next Sandwich. A full account of the family of Leverick is given in Planché's *A Corner of Kent*, p. 375, but the author makes a curious mistake about the arms, which he would not have done if he had seen C., fol. 1. The shield occurs again at no. 336.

220. Three otters. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 2.

Scarlett, fol. 10, puts fish *arg.* in the mouths of otters *or*, but does not colour the field.

A., fol. 22, shows *az., three otters or, with fish in their mouths arg.* C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, give no colours, but show the fish.

W. blazons *az., three otters passant in pale or, each bearing in his mouth a fish arg.*, and ascribes to Proude of St. Alphage, Canterbury, one of whom, Thomas Proude, was the second husband of Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert Roos (second son of Lord Roos of Hamlake), widow of Robert Lovel. She married thirdly Sir Richard Haute (Harl. MS. 1548, fol. 17^{b}).

Mr. Streatfeild points out in *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 17, that there are no fish in the mouths of the otters as now in the cloisters. But as all the manuscripts concur in showing them, it may be that they were painted in and were seen by W., but were cleared off with whitewash and paint in the improvements before Mr. Streatfeild visited the cloisters. They certainly appear on a brass at St. Alphage. The family of Proude was of standing in Canterbury. John Proude was member for the city 20 Rich. II.

221. A chevron between three eagles displayed.

A., fol. 22, gives colours *vert, a chevron between three eagles displayed or.* C., fol. 9. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons as A., and ascribes to Fyneux, who came into Kent, according to Leland, *c.* Edward II. They were considerable benefactors to this church and to the Augustine Friars, and also to the abbey of Faversham.

222. A pair of wings, over all a bend.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

It may be intended for Fitzpayne. It is to be observed, however, that *gu., a pair of wings conjoined arg., over all a bead az.*, is the coat of Kentish or Kentisbere. Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Stephen de Kentisbere, married first Sir John Trivet, and second Hugh de Popham, a younger son of Popham of Popham, Hants. The Trivets were connected with Kent, as appears by a monument in the crypt of the cathedral (*Arch. Cant.* xxvii, p. 209). See also *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 6.

A.[15] Savage (as no. 272).

A., fol. 22, draws only five lions.

A sadly dilapidated shield, not noticed by W.

Compartment 16.

223. An eagle displayed, *quartering* a lion rampant. Pl. XXXII, fig. 2.

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 19, both draw the quartered shield as two lions passant.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, arg., an eagle displayed sa.* (Rome); *2 and 3, gu., a lion rampant arg.* (Bohemia); and ascribes to Charles, King of the Romans and of Bohemia, afterwards emperor. He was father to Anne, first queen of Richard II.

W. describes this shield accurately, but in describing shield no. 722, which only differs in that the lion has two tails, he makes a mistake in saying the lion is crowned, and adds a foot-note: 'In the former mention of these arms (no. 223) the double tail and crown of the lion were omitted.' Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, p. 194, notes that the eagle has one head for Rome and two for the Empire. These arms (with the lion crowned *or*) are noted (Harl. MS. 3917, fol. 32) by Philipot, whose notes they are, as being impaled by France and England quarterly in a window in the chancel of Lymhill Church. Lymhill is now always known as Lymne.

224. Frenyngham (as no. 81). Pl. XXXV, fig. 2.

A., fol. 21, omits the ermine. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. describes as *ermine, a bend cottised*, but does not ascribe.

Compare no. 116.

225. As no. 166.

C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

226. Montboucher (as no. 126), with an annulet instead of a martlet.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 18, omit the annulet.

W. blazons *arg., on a chevron inter three cauldrons gu., an annulet or, a bordure sa., bezanty.*

See nos. 126 and 156.

227. A cross engrailed.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *sa., a cross engrailed or,* and ascribes to Ufford.

228. A cross engrailed.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *or, a cross engrailed gu.,* and ascribes to William de Maries, lord of the manor of Habilton, in Harrietsham.

There is no authority to support any such ascription. The person named, who lived till 1459, bore quite a different coat: *barry undée az. and ermine.* See *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, vi, p. 192. This latter coat is not in the cloisters.

229. St. Lo (as no. 73).

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

230. A lion rampant *quartering* fretty.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, gu., a lion rampant or* (Fitzalan); *2 and 3, sa., a fret or* (Maltravers).

Sir John Arundel, marshal of England and brother of the archbishop, married Eleanor, granddaughter and coheir of John, Lord Maltravers. On the stall-plate (no. xvi) of their second son, Sir William Arundel, K.G., the quartered coat is *purpure fretty or.*

231. Barry of six, a bend.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

W. blazons *barrée of six or and vt., a bendlet gu.,* and ascribes to Poynings.

This is the first place in the cloisters where this coat occurs alone; see page 461.

232. Montacute (as no. 171) *quartering* an eagle displayed.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons the quartered coat *or, an eagle displayed vt., armed gu.* (Monthermer).

See nos. 686 and 771. Notice here how the fusils are hollowed out.

233. As no. 215.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

See remarks on no. 215. Hasted's blunder was no doubt derived from the original of Ha., fol. 19, which colours this *arg., a fess gu., between three choughs proper,* and ascribes to Fremingham.

234. A chief indented, the dexter side charged with a mullet pierced.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 19, put mullet in centre of chief.

W. blazons *or, a chief indentée az., in the dexter chief a mullet pierced arg.,* and ascribes to Sandwich, noting that John de Sandwich married Agnes, sister and coheir of Robert de Crevequer, and so became seized of the manor of Folkestone, as was his son Sir John, whose only daughter and heir, Juliana, conveyed it to Sir John de Segrave. Nicholas de Sandwich died seized of the manor of Otham, 45 Edw. III, being the rector of Otham. Molland in Ash, part of their possessions, was conveyed by marriage to Sir William de Septvans.

C., fol. 42, notes this very shield blazoned as by W. on the tomb of the rector in Otham Church. A full account of the family is in Planché's *A Corner of Kent*, p. 296.

235. A cross engrailed *quartering* a cross moline. Pl. XLI, fig. 2.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 10, and Ha., fol. 19, draw a plain, not an engrailed cross.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, sa., a cross engrailed or* (Ufford); *2 and 3, gu., a cross recercelée arg.* (Willoughby); and in a very interesting note collects particulars of Willoughby seals from Harl. MS. no. 245, beginning with that of William de Wyllughby, *dat. apud* Eresby, 8 Edw. III. The fifth seal is *dat.* 15 Rich. II, of Robert Lord Willoughby of Eresby, where the arms are, as in the cloisters, the arms of his mother (sister and coheir of William Ufford, Earl of Suffolk), being in the first and fourth quarters. Many of the seals have supporters, and one has a buckle badge derived from Roscelin.

Scarlett notes in the Chapter House 'in his coat armour' Willm Dns ——, the arms being as in the cloisters, and alongside being a W *arg.* surmounted by a coronet *or*. This was doubtless for Sir William Willoughby, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, K.G. (Stall-plate no. xx). He died in 1409, having married (1406) Joan Holland, widow of Edmund of Langley. She remarried in 1410 Henry, third Lord Scrope of Masham (no. 769).

The coat occurs frequently in the cloisters: nos. 287, 400, 435, 599, and B.[31] No. 687 records the marriage of Elizabeth, his daughter, to Henry Lord Beaumont.

236. Colley (as no. 140). Pl. XLI, fig. 3.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, only draw as birds' heads.

237. A chief; over all a bend charged in chief with a crescent.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, engrail the bend and put the crescent on the chief.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

The shield suggests Cromwell of Tatshall, *arg., a chief gu., over all a bend az.*, but the crescent causes a difficulty.

238. Audley *quartering* Touchet (as no. 127).

A., fol. 20, C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, all show no *ermine*.

239. A chevron between three squirrels sejant.

Scarlett, fol. 10. A., fol. 20b, colours *az., a chevron arg., between three squirrels sejant or.* C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. misdescribes as lions.

The shield may be for Lovel of Milstead. Thomas Lovel, Esq., married Joan, sister and coheir of Edmund Hoggeshaw, and became entitled in her right to the manor of Milstead, of which he died seized, 2 Hen. IV. The manor was in his descendants for some generations.

240. As no. 110.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

241. A bend.

A., fol. 20, draws as a bend cotised. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *or, two bendlets gu.*, and ascribes to Tracy, but gives no authority for the ascription.

This is a case in which the sculptor has been so lavish of his ridges and chamfers that the shield may be read in many ways. C., fol. 23, records in Barfreston Church a coat *az., two bends arg.*, for Lichfield.

242. A pale (? pile) indented.

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *arg., a pale fusilée sa.*, and ascribes to Daniels, but gives no reason for so doing.

This should be compared with no. 259, which is more like a pile. It is there raised from the surface of the shield. Here it is sunk and approaches more to a pale, but the upper

lines stretch into the corners of the shield, which a pale would not strictly do. A family of Streynsham of Faversham bore *or, a pale indented gu.*, but it is doubtful whether they were at Faversham *temp.* Henry IV. The Bradestons bore *arg., a pile indented gu.*

243. A bend ermine.

A., fol. 20, omits the ermine and draws as a bend cotised. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, colour the field *sa.*, and add 'q. Philpot'.

W. does not notice that the bend is ermine.

Probably *vt., a bend ermine*, for Whetenhall. They were of Hextall's Court in East Peckham.

244. Clare *quartering* Despencer (as no. 168).

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

245. Two bars within a bordure engrailed *impaling* three pickaxes.

Scarlett, fol. 10. A., fol. 20. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. misdescribes the pickaxes as crossbows. He does not ascribe.

Probably *arg., two bars az., a bordure engrailed sa.*, for Parr. John Parr died 9 Hen. IV.

246. A chevron engrailed.

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. suggests the chevron is voided, which no doubt arises from the way the sculptor ridges his chevron.

247. A bend cotised, the cotises engrailed on the outer edge.

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. says as no. 74.

The shield is certainly not in appearance as no. 74, and it may well be *arg., a bend between two cotises nebuly at the outer side sa.*, the arms of Surrenden. Joan, only daughter and heir of John de Surrenden, married (20 Rich. II) John Haute, Esq., and *temp.* Henry IV he was seized of the manor of Surrenden in Pluckley. His arms are at no. 487 and A.[17]

248. On a chief indented a lion passant, a label of three.

A., fol. 20[b]. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. misdescribes and does not assign.

The label has almost entirely peeled off, so that it looks as if it might have been put on in plaster after the lion was carved.

The coat may be that of Fitz-Chamber.

249. Beaumont (as no. 35).

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

250. A fess dancetty between four billets in chief and six in base.

A., fol. 21.

W. says as no. 30, which is not so. No. 250 is as he had described no. 30, viz.: *az., a fess dancettée inter ten billets or*, which he ascribes to Deincourt without comment.

This shield occurs again *semy of billets* at nos. 466 and 531, and here though the billets are fewer it is no doubt intended for billety as those are. It is instructive to examine the shields in the neighbourhood of those numbers. John Deincourt (died 1406) married Joan, daughter and heir of Robert Lord Grey of Rotherfield, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of William de la Plaunche. William, son of John and Joan, married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont and Elizabeth Willoughby. Joan afterwards remarried Sir Ralph Boteler.

251. Chequy a fess.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *chequée or and az., a fess gu.*, and ascribes to Clifford, pointing out that they held

lands in Kent even before 1223. He adds that they used an annulet for their badge derived from the arms of Vipont.

This coat occurs several times in the cloisters. Alone, as here, at nos. 348, 395, and 418. Impaled by Ferrers at no. 799 and by Percy at C.[33] It also occurs with a bordure at no. 349, with a bend instead of a fess at nos. 471 and 538. The present shield is probably for John Lord Clifford, who was connected with the Beauchamps.

252. A fess between six crosslets; on the fess a crescent for difference.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *gu., on a fess inter six cross croslets or, a crescent sa.*, and ascribes to William de Beauchamp, Baron of Bergavenny, the younger brother of the Earl of Warwick. He married Joan, sister and coheir of Thomas Earl of Arundel. W. refers to her seal with squirrel supporters.

She was the archbishop's niece.

253. A cross moline.

A., fol. 20b. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *az., a cross moline or*, and ascribes to Sir Ingelram de Bruyn, who died seized of Beckenham Manor in 1400, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Maurice. A branch of the family was seated at Estlingham.

This coat, with a label of three, is at no. 217.

254. Criol (as no. 67).

A., fol. 20b, colours as W. at no. 67. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 18.

255. A cross potent between four others *quartering* a lion rampant. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 9.

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *1 and 4, arg., a cross potent inter four of the same or* (Jerusalem); *2 and 3, az., semée de lis, a lion rampant or* (Beaumont); and ascribes to Henry Lord Beaumont, Lord Warden 16 Rich. II, who died seized of the manor of Bruscombe, co. Kent. W. also points out that these arms occur so frequently that the family must have been large contributors to the cloisters.

Bruscombe is a manor in Egerton. Reserving remarks on this family to the notes on Compartment 31, it may be pointed out that this shield is noteworthy in two respects, (1) that the sculptor, wishing to fill up the void space in the fourth quarter at the bottom, has inserted another small cross potent in base; (2) that by inadvertence he has omitted the lis, with which the second and third quarters should be semy. W. has not noticed these points. The manuscripts all show the lions without any lis.

256. Crosby (as no. 61).

A., fol. 21. C., fol. 10. Ha., fol. 19.

W. misdescribes, but assigns it correctly to Crosby.

Compartment 17.

257. Three legs flexed in triangle.

A., fol. 19.

W. blazons *gu., three armed legs conjoined at the thighs, the feet in triangle or.* The Isle of Man.

This coat occurs again at no. 725 by a different sculptor. It also occurs on the great boss, no. 610, which see

258. Cockfield (as no. 182).

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, draw as chequy a cross.

259. A pile indented. Pl. XL, fig. 14.

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, have a note 'q. Strainsham'.

W. misdescribes.

See no. 242 and the note there.

260. Quarterly per fess dancetty.

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *quarterly per fess indentée or and az.*, and ascribes to Langley.

Various rolls assign this coat to Perot of Knowlton. When one of the Langleys of Warwickshire married the heiress of Perot he adopted her arms, though the Langleys of Knowlton afterwards frequently quartered their own *arg., a fess sa., in chief three ogresses* in the second and third quarters. See an illustration in Hasted, vol. iv, p. 207.

261. A bend a label of three, on each point two billets *quartering* three piles.

A., fol. 20. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, draw the first and fourth quarters as Courtenay.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4 az., a bend or, a label of three points gu.* (Scrope); *2 and 3, or, three piles in chief az.* (Bryan); and ascribes to Sir Henry le Scrope, Baron Scrope of Masham, who married Philippa, eldest granddaughter and coheir of Sir Guy de Brian, K.G., and widow of John Devereux.

W. omits to notice that the points of the label are differenced, each bearing two billets, possibly derived from Deincourt. It was the third Lord Scrope of Masham who married in 1399 Philippa Bryan, who died in 1406. He succeeded to the title in this year, and in 1410 remarried Joan, second daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, by his wife Alice, daughter of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. That marriage is exhibited in shield no. 769, where, the father being dead, there is no label. Joan had already been married twice: once to Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, and also to a Willoughby (no. 235).

262. A saltire.

A., fol. 19b, draws as if voided. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *or, a saltire sa.*, and ascribes to Pluckley.

This is not the coat of Pluckley, who bore the canting device of a lis. It is more likely that this is Neville, *gu., a saltire arg.*

263. Cossington (as no. 124).

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19. W. misdescribes the roses as cinquefoils.

264. Wadham (as no. 144).

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19. W. does not blazon or ascribe.

265. No. 253, *quartering* no. 105. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 11.

A., fol. 19. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

This shield cannot at present be solved. It occurs by another sculptor, no. 325. The same coats *impaled* are at no. 693. These coats quartered as here are impaled by an unknown coat (no. 79) at no. 694.

266. Three stirrups.

A., fol. 19, colours *az., three stirrups or.* C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, ascribe it to Scudamore.

W. blazons *gu., three stirrups pendant from their straps or, two and one*, and ascribes to Scudamore.

W. is so struck by the beautiful rendering of the stirrup that he gives a sketch of it in his margin. His ascription is probably right, though the family was not connected with Kent. The coat occurs again at no. 333 by another sculptor, where it is close to no. 325, identical with no. 265.

267. A chief indented.

A., fol. 19, gives the field as *or*. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, insert martlets on the chief and add a note 'q. Lovelace'.

W. blazons *or, a chief indentée az.*, and ascribes to Butler, but gives no reason for so doing.

The shield as blazoned by W. was in glass at Ash next Sandwich, being the coat of de Sandwich. See no. 234. This shield occurs again, nos. 402 and 421.

268. Luttrell (as no. 180), with a bordure engrailed. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 13.

A., fol. 19. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *arg., a bend inter six martlets, a bordure engrailed sa.*, and ascribes to a family of Lutteridge, who held the manor of Swanton in Liddon.

But that family did not use a bordure engrailed, if Hasted can be trusted. It appears from Maxwell Lyte's *Dunster* that Sir Hugh Luttrell, who died in 1428, used this coat before 1419 on his seals. See also S. and the roll referred to in Papworth as S. and the Rouen roll. Sir Andrew Luttrell was the second husband of Elizabeth Courtenay, the archbishop's sister, and Sir Hugh, who was her son, gets a legacy under the archbishop's will (*supra*, p. 448).

269. Barry of eight and in chief three escallops.

A., fol. 19, draws as three gemels; C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, as three bars.

W. describes as *four bars, in chief three escallops*, but does not ascribe.

The escallops may be *on* a chief.

270. St. Lo (as no. 73).

A., fol. 19, draws as two gemels between three escallops. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

271. Criol (as no. 67), *impaling* five chevrons.

A., fol. 19. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, both note 'Keriell and Evering'.

W. misdescribes as six chevrons.

The impaled coat is no doubt *or, five chevrons gu.*, for Avranches, and the shield here records the marriage of Bertram de Criol with Eleanor, one of the daughters and coheirs of Maud d'Avranches, by her husband, Hamo de Crevecœur, by which marriage the Criols were established as one of the great families of the county. See p. 461.

272. Six lions rampant. Pl. XXXII, fig. 3.

A., fol. 19. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 19, say 'q. Savage'.

W. blazons *az., six lions rampant arg., three, two, and one*, and ascribes to Sir Thomas de Leybourne, whose daughter and heir, Juliana, married William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. She was three times married, and had issue by only one of her husbands. The Leybourne family was extinct *temp.* Henry IV. But many families in Kent who held under that great family adopted six lions in their coats, with or without additional charges. One of these families was Savage of Bobbing, who bore *arg., six lions rampant sa.*, and this shield is probably for Sir Arnold Savage, Speaker of the House of Commons *temp.* Henry IV, who was in his coat armour represented in the Chapter House windows. He married Joan, daughter of William Echyngham of Echyngham.

The shield is a beautiful example of dexterity in filling the field with the charges.

273. A hawk's lure. Pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

Scarlett, fol. 10b. A., fol. 18b.

W. blazons *arg., a hawk's leure gu.*, and ascribes to Fitz-Payne following Jenyns's *Ordinary*, no. 194.

The object is beautifully rendered, and W. gives a sketch of it in his margin, but it is not at all equal to the original.

274. Three cinquefoils.

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *or, three cinquefoils sa., two and one*, and ascribes to Dike, but gives no reason for so doing.

Reginald de Dike having married Lora, widow of Sampson atte Leese, was sheriff of Kent 29 Edw. III. He appears to have purchased property in Rutland, and none of the family appeared in Kent *temp.* Henry IV. It is as probable that these are the arms of Bardolph as impaled at no. 560.

275. A bend counter embattled.

Scarlett, fol. 10b. A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *az., a bend embattled arg.*, and ascribes to Waleys, but gives no reason for so doing.

A family of Waleys held the manor of Thanington by Canterbury, but this was certainly not their coat.

It may be noted how the rib of the vaulting runs into the base of this shield.

276. Three bars nebuly.

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *barrée nebulée of six, or and sa.*, and ascribes to Sir William Blount of Midley.

But he lived at a much later period, though the family was no doubt of distinction *temp.* Henry IV.

277. On a pale a demi-lucie erect, in dexter chief a crosslet fitchy. Pl. XLI, fig. 5.

Scarlett, fol. 10b. A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *arg., on a pale sa, a demy lucy erect couped or, on the dexter a cross croslet fitchée gu.*, and ascribes to Gascoigne.

This is found again at no. 347. Without the crosslet it is at no. 331, and with an annulet instead of the crosslet at no. 344. The well-known Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne was eldest son of William Gascoigne of Harewood in Yorkshire, and no. 331 may be ascribed to him. His younger brother William's third son Richard married the heiress of Ellis of Huntslet, Yorks., and for difference added *a crosslet fitchy sa.* in dexter chief, as on a brass at New College, Oxford. The artist here and at no. 347 fills the dexter side of the shield by prolonging the foot of the crosslet. The shield no. 344 may be assigned to another brother of the Lord Chief Justice, viz. John, fifth son of William, who differenced with an annulet *sable*. He was in holy orders.

278. Three lions passant guardant, a bordure.

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. blazons *gu., three lions passant gaurdant in pale or, a bordure arg.*, and he notes that this coat was borne by Edmond, son of King Edward III, and by his sons, successively Earls of Kent. Their estates descended by his daughter (who was heir to her brothers) to the Hollands, who with the earldom assumed these arms.

The earlier form of the arms of Holland is quartered at no. 98.

This shield is in a state of almost complete decay. It occurs again alone at nos. 496 and 756. It is impaled at nos. 666, 755, 769, 771, 772, B.[33], and E.[33]

279. Fitzalan *quartering* Maltravers (as no. 230).

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

280. Quarterly a bend.

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *quarterly or and gu., a bendlet sa.*, and ascribes to Clavering, but gives no reason for so doing.

This shield occurs eight times in the cloisters. At no. 632 it is as here. At nos. 524, 619, 629, and 633 there is a crescent in sinister chief for difference. It is found with a bordure at nos. 321 and 522. It appears from no. 619 that a Leventhorpe married one of this family, whatever it was, and from no. 629 that a Leventhorpe of another branch married an heiress of this family.

281. A fess fretty.

A., fol. 19b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *gu., a fess or, frettée az.*, but does not ascribe.

The same coat occurs again nos. 359 and 518.

It may be noted how here, as in no. 275, the rib of the vaulting runs into the shield.

282. Barry of five.

A., fol. 19, draws as three bars gemel. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. describes as *three bars gemelles*, but does not ascribe.

It is extremely difficult to know what the sculptor meant. He has ridged and chamfered the projecting portions of the shield out of all knowledge. It would be almost possible to assert with confidence that the shield is not three bars gemel. It may be compared with nos. 295 and 354.

The arms of Maidstone College are said in *Arch. Cant.*, i, p. 180, to be *az., three bars gemelles or.*

Shield no. 282.

283. A chevron between three cocks' heads erased.

A., fol. 19b, drawn as a chevron between couplecloses and birds' heads. C., fol. 11, a chevron between eagles' heads. Ha., fol. 19, lions' heads erased.

W. misdescribes as hawks' heads.

The ridging of the chevron gave rise to the mistake in A.

284. St. Lo (as no. 73).

A., fol. 19, draws as two bars gemel. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

285. A chevron engrailed between three martlets.

A., fol. 19. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

W. calls them birds only. He does not ascribe.

Scarlett notes in a window in the cathedral *az., a chevron engrailed between three martlets arg.* This is ascribed to Shelving in *Arch. Cant.*, iv, 258, and xv, 29.

286. A cross ermine (as no. 153).

C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, omit the ermine.

W. does not notice that the cross is ermine.

A.17 A cross engrailed.

C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 19.

A shield not noticed by W.

Compartment 18.

287. Ufford *quartering* Willoughby (as no. 235).

C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 20.

288. A chevron ermine between three wolves (?) rampant, those in chief respecting one the other. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 6.

Scarlett, fol. 10b, colours the field *gu.* and the animals *or*, as does A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, make the animals squirrels, and ascribe to Grenford.

W. blazons *arg., a chevron ermines, inter three lions rampant sa., the two in chief respecting each other*, and ascribes to Norland, but gives no reason for so doing.

The arms of Grenford are sometimes given as *gu., a chevron ermine, between three wolves or, the two in chief combatant*, and as the colours are the same as those in Scarlett and A. it renders it probable that the ascription in C. is correct. Compare the animals here with the lions in no. 399 and the animal in no. 29.

289. Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

There is an appearance as if an annulet was above the star, but it may only be a mark in the stone. See also no. 387.

290. As no. 195.

A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 29. W. misdescribes and calls Delahay.

291. Fretty.

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20. W. blazons *az., frettée arg.*, and ascribes to Echingham,

292. A cross botonny.

A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *gu., a cross bottonée or*, and ascribes to Bokyngham.

John Bokyngham was prebend of Preston in the church of Sarum, and then Bishop of Lincoln and Keeper of the Privy Purse. He had a legacy under Archbishop Courtenay's will. He was translated to Lichfield, a see of less value than Lincoln, and in disgust retired to Christ Church, Canterbury, and became a monk there, but died almost at once, 10th March, 1397. By his will he gave a valuable donation to the cathedral, and desired to be buried in the lower end of the nave, where was a brass to his memory on which Scarlett found these arms: (1) France and England *quarterly;* (2) *a fess between six crosslets or;* (3) *a cross botonny or;* (4) *seven mascles, 3, 3, and 1, or.* His executors founded the chantry he had intended, where prayers should be said for him and his parents, for Edward III, for Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and for Henry de Ferrers, Lord of Groby.

The shield occurs again at nos. 428 and 785. Scarlett records it in a window in the Chapter House.

293. A bend cotised dancetty.

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as a bend of lozenges.

W. does not blazon or assign.

This has some resemblance to the coat of Surrenden (see no. 247), but it is more probable that it is *sa., a bend arg., between two cotises dancetty or*, for Clopton. See also the next shield.

294. No. 293 *impaling* a bend (gobony?) between two cotises, in sinister chief a crescent.

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, both draw as a bend engrailed impaling a bend.

W. describes the impaled coat as *two bendlets, in chief a crescent.*

See no. 307.

295. Barry of six.

A., fol. 18b. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

W. blazons *barrée of six, gu. and arg.*, and ascribes to Birlingham, but gives no reason.

The shield may be compared with nos. 282 and 354.

Shield no. 295.

296. Not found. W. describes it as no. 235.

297. A bend gobony cotised, in sinister chief a mullet.
A., fol. 17b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as a *bend chequy*.
W. does not blazon or name.
See no. 307.

298. A bend gobony cotised, a bordure.
A., fol. 17b. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as a plain bend and bordure.
W. does not blazon or name.
See no. 307.

299. Within a pair of hames the letters ꝛ ix. Pl. XXXV, fig. 3.
Scarlett, fol. 10b, shows ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ. A., fol. 18, ꝛ it. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, omit the letters.
W. does not blazon or ascribe, but gives a drawing in the margin, not equal to the original.
See no. 616.

300. A chevron between three lozenges.
A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.
W. does not blazon or ascribe, but points out that two letters Pa . . ., part of a name, remain close to the shield.
But these letters do not appear to be contemporary. The arms, however, of Parry are *arg., a fess between three lozenges sa.*

301. Mortimer (as no. 174).
A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

302. Three roundels.
A., fol. 18. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 20.
W. blazons *or, three torteaux, two and one,* and ascribes to Courtenay.
It is unusual to find the coat without the label. It occurs again, however, at no. 597.

303. Montacute (as no. 171).
A., fol. 18. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 20.

304. A chevron ermine.
A., fol. 18.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.
It may be *az., a chevron ermine* for Lodbrooke.

305. Lesnes Abbey (as no. 34).
A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as a fish hauriant.

306. A plain coat *quartering* no. 297.
A., fol. 18.

307. A bend gobony, cotised, in sinister chief a crescent.
A., fol. 17. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as a bend chequy.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.
It does not seem doubtful that this is the coat of John Leventhorp, Esq., who was one of the executors of Henry IV and Henry V. He appears to have come from a family in Yorkshire, whose arms were *arg., a bend gobony gu. and sa., between two cotises gu.* He, being a younger son, differenced with a crescent in sinister chief. He was Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster, and held other positions of trust, and established himself at Sawbridgeworth, Herts., and sat as knight of the shire for Hertfordshire. His brass remains at Sawbridgeworth. On it still remain the royal arms and the arms of the Duchy of Lancaster, viz.: England with a label of France (as at no. 481). Underneath Cussans notes the arms of Leventhorp, but he omits any mention of

a crescent, which should have been there. The other shield bore a fess between three lis for Twychet, the family whose heiress he married. Her name was Katharine, and she survived him. He died in 1433. His will is at Lambeth, and he mentions therein : (1) his son John, and his wife Joan, and daughter Katherine ; (2) his son William, and his wife Joan ; (3) a son, Robert, who was dead, leaving two daughters, Beatrice and Agnes, and a widow, who had remarried Robert Lee of Fittleworth, Sussex. He mentions his sister Agnes, Thomas his brother, and three Leventhorps, whom he refers to as *consanguinei mei*, viz. William, and Laurence, and John brother of Laurence. His son John seems to have succeeded him at Sawbridgeworth, dying 1484, and on his brass is this shield, no. 307, quartering no. 611, and also no. 307 quartering Twychet. If the father married two heiresses, as is very likely, it is rather disconcerting to find both their shields quartered on the son's memorial. Cussans, in these shields, again omits to notice the crescent. As there is no shield of Twychet in the cloisters it is fair to suppose that the marriage took place subsequent to 1413.

The shield of Leventhorp is at nos. 311 and 617. With a crescent for difference it is here and at nos. 294, 625, 627, C.[23], and (with a label of three) 628 ; with an annulet for difference at nos. 618 and 619 ; with a martlet for difference at no. 631 ; with a rose for difference at no. 308 ; with a mullet for difference at nos. 297, 306, 614, 629, and (with a label of three) 621 ; with a bordure at nos. 298 and 638.

308. Leventhorp ; a rose for difference.

A., fol. 17. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, draw bend as chequy.

See no. 307.

309. A fess between two lis in chief and three in base, and two lis on the fess. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 9.

A., fol. 17^{b}. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, both assign to Deyvill.

W. blazons the field and the lis on the fess *or*, and the rest *gu.*, but he misdescribes. He assigns to Deyvill, and refers to a seal (Harl. MS. 5805, fol. 396) with the arms of Everingham, and those of De Eyvill dn̄s de Egmanton.

The sculptor has here added a third lis below the fess so as to fill the shield. As a rule only six are shown : 2, 2, and 2.

310. Six lions rampant, a canton ermine.

A., fol. 17^{b}, colours the field *az.*, and the lions *or*. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, both assign to Sherland.

W. blazons *az., six lions rampant arg., three, two, and one, a canton ermine*, and ascribes to Shurland of Shurland, in Eastchurch, Sheppey.

The heiress of Shurland married Cheyney before *temp.* Henry IV, and the Cheneys sometimes, as in the windows of Nettlestead Church, used this coat. It is Leybourne with a canton ermine. See no. 272.

311. Leventhorp (see no. 307).

A., fol. 17^{b}. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, draw bend as chequy.

312. Three pales ; on a quarter three bars nebuly.

A., fol. 17^{b}. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. does not blazon or ascribe. See next shield.

313. As no. 312, with an annulet on the quarter for difference. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 2.

A., fol. 17^{b}, C., fol. 12, Ha., fol. 20, all omit the annulet, as does W.

These are probably shields of Bassett, who bore *or, three pales gu., a quarter barry nebuly arg. and az.*

314. A fess dancetty.

A., fol. 17, colours *vt.*, *a fess dancetty ermine*, and assigns to Somers. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, both make the fess ermine, but give no colour for the field.

W. blazons *arg.*, *a fess dancettée gu.*, and ascribes to De Dene, who held Boughton Malherbe.

The last of that name died 23 Edw. III. He is said to have married the daughter and heir of Shelving (no. 285). The family of Somers mentioned in A. was unknown *temp.* Henry IV.

315. As no. 291, an annulet for difference.

A., fol. 17, colours field *az.* and fret *arg.*, but gives no colour to annulet. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, both draw wrong.

W. blazons as no. 291, and makes the annulet *or*, and ascribes to Echingham.

316. Sudbury (as no. 40).

A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11. Ha., fol. 20.

317. Barry of six.

A., fol. 17^{b}. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as barry of eight.

W. blazons *barrée of six arg. and vt.*, and ascribes to Enghurst, who held the manor of Henhurst in Staplehurst from *temp.* Edward II to *temp.* Henry VI.

There is still in the church of Hoo St. Werburgh, in old glass, a shield of *barry of six arg. and az.* for Grey.

318. Crusily fitchy, and in chief two mullets pierced. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 9.

A., fol. 18. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw three mullets.

W. blazons *arg.*, *six cross croslets fitchée sa., three, two, and one; on a chief az., two mullets or, pierced gu.*, and ascribes to William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Warden, who acquired considerable property by marrying Juliana, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas de Leyborne, widow of John Lord Hastings of Bergavenny. W. cites a seal of 6 Edw. III of William de Clinton, Dn̄s de Allesley, with the arms in the cloisters, and round the shield eight lions rampant, derived from the arms of the wife (see no. 272).

There is no indication in the shield in the cloisters of a chief, but the shield as blazoned by W. was, according to C., fol. 3, in stained glass at Sittingbourne Church.

319. A fess cotised between two bars gemel.

A., fol. 17^{b}, draws as three bars gemel. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, draw as barry of ten.

W. blazons as *arg.*, *three bars gemels gu.*, and assigns to Cifrewast.

The shield cannot be described as three bars gemel. It is possibly an erroneous rendering of Badlesmere, as quartered at no. 585.

320. Barry of six ermine and ——.

A., fol. 17^{b}. C., fol. 11, and Ha., fol. 20, omit the ermine.

W. blazons *barrée of six ermine and gu.*, and ascribes to Husee, but gives no reason for the ascription.

The shield occurs again at no. 343. See also no. 149.

321. Quarterly a bend and a bordure.

A., fol. 17^{b}, does not show the quarterly. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 20, omit the quarterly and make the bend gobony.

W. misdescribes.

This is shield no. 280, with a bordure.

COMPARTMENT 19.

North-west Angle.

322. Jerusalem *quartering* Beaumont (see no. 255). Pl. XXXV, fig. 7.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 20, omit the lis.

W. says as no. 255, which is not so: here is no extra cross, and here the shield of Beaumont is correctly powdered with lis. See p. 544.

323. As no. 79, with an annulet on the escallop for difference. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1.

A., fol. 16b, C., fol. 12, Ha., fol. 21, all omit the annulet.

W. omits to notice the annulet, but remarks that part of a name, Gilb ..., is near the shield.

324. On a bend three fleurs de lis. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 13.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *arg., on a bend sa., three fleurs de lis or*, and ascribes to Shelton, but gives no reason for so doing.

This occurs again by a different carver at no. 475. It may be for John de la Mare of Essex, a connexion of Cobham of Sterborough. He bore the coat as blazoned by W., but with the bend *az.* instead of *sa.*

325. As no. 265. Pl. XXXII, fig. 7.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, omit the billets.

326. A chevron between ten crosses patty.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *or, a chevron gules, inter ten crosses patees sa*, and ascribes to Mereworth, a family of large possessions in the county, and hereditary chamberlains to the Archbishops of Canterbury at their enthronization.

The same shield occurs again at nos. 413, 440, and 605. The last is close to Malmains at no. 606, and as Malmains was heir to Mereworth the ascription is confirmed. But the resemblance of the shield to that of Berkeley is obvious.

327. Barry of six.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *barrée of six, or and az.*, and ascribes to Penbruge, but gives no reason for so doing.

See no. 317.

328. Muschamp (as no. 27).

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, draw as bats.

329. Barry of twelve, three escutcheons. Pl. XL, fig. 8.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *barrée of twelve arg. and gu., three escutcheons or, two and one*, and ascribes to Hall.

The family of Hall that bore these arms was of Herne. There is a brass at Herne to Sir Peter Halle, who died about 1420. The inscription is conveniently genealogical, giving the name of his wife as Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Waleys, by Margaret, daughter of Sir John Seynclere. The shields on this brass, and on that of Sir Peter's son at Thanington, show that both the ladies were heiresses. Both brasses show the arms of Halle as here.

330. Three battle-axes erect.

A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *sa., three battle-axes or, two and one*, and ascribes to Hall.

But the family of Hall with this coat only appeared in Kent at a much later date, and it is more probable that they are the arms of Walter Gibbes, a legatee of Archbishop Courtenay,

who bore *arg., three battle-axes sa.* (Gibbes of Devon). He may have come from Devonshire with the archbishop and established himself in Kent, as very shortly after a family of Gibbes with this coat is found at Dover and at Capel le Ferne.

331. Gascoigne (see no. 277).
A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. blazons as he does no. 277, but omitting the crosslet fitchy.
This shield bearing no difference may be assigned to Gascoigne, L. C. J.

332. St. Lo (as no. 73). Pl. XXXVII, fig. 4.
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. describes the fess as voided.

333. Scudamore (as no. 266).
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

334. As no. 79.
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 11.
W. misdescribes.

335. On a chevron three mullets pierced.
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. blazons *az., on a chevron arg., three mullets sa.*, and ascribes to Roberts.
That family had scarcely established its fortunes at Hawkhurst so early as 1400. It is more likely that the shield is a variation of Cobham. See no. 46.

336. Leverick (as no. 219).
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, draw the heads as roses.
W. blazons *gu., a chevron inter three leopards' faces arg.*, and ascribes to Thowested, but gives no reason for so doing.
The next shield strengthens the probability that this is Leverick.
The present one has been a beautiful example of heraldic sculpture, but unfortunately it is much damaged. One of the leopard's faces is intact and is extremely attractive.

337. Three flagons. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 5.
Scarlett, fol. 10b. A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. blazons *arg., three flaggons sa., two and one*, and ascribes to Richard Clitheroe of Goldstanton in Ash, who was sheriff 4 Hen. IV, and was admiral 7 Hen. IV.
The remains of his brass is at Ash next Sandwich, and on it was this shield, drawn in C., fol. 1, as *arg., three covered cups sa.* It was also in the windows of the church.

338. A fess counter-embattled between three crescents.
Scarlett, fol. 10b. A., fol. 16b. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, only embattle the upper side of the fess.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.
The arms of William Welde, Abbot of St. Austins 1389–1405. C., fol. 41, notes them as in a window of the church of St. Nicholas at Wade, coloured *arg., a fess counter-embattled between three crescents gu.*

339. As no. 175.
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

340. As no. 275.
A., fol. 16. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

341. A saltire embattled.
A., fol. 16. W. does not blazon or ascribe. See no. 79.

342. No. 341, with a label of three.
A., fol. 15b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

343. As no. 320.
A., fol. 16.

344. Gascoigne as no. 331, an annulet for difference in dexter chief.
A., fol. 15b.
W. blazons as he does no. 277, giving the annulet as *gu.*
See no. 277. The fish's head is often described as a conger's head.

345. A griffin segreant.
A., fol. 16, gives colours *az.*, *a griffin segreant or.*
W. blazons *or, a griffin segreant az.*, and assigns to Briset, which family held the manor of Wellhall in Eltham *temp.* Henry I.
There is no reason why their arms should be in the cloisters, and it is probable that this is intended for Colkin. C., fol. 37, notes in the windows of the church of Boughton under Blean, William Colkin of Colkin, in his tabard of arms, *gu., a griffin segreant arg.* This shield is also on the brass of John Colkyn, who died 18th April, 1405, still in the church.

346. Cockfield (as no. 182).
A., fol. 15b.

347. Gascoigne (as no. 277).
A., fol. 17. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

348. Clifford (as no. 251).
A., fol. 17. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

349. No. 348, with a bordure.
A., fol. 17. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. blazons *chequée or and az., a fess and a bordure gu.*, and ascribes to Robert Clifford of Bobbing, sheriff 1 Hen. IV.
He is said to have been brother of Richard Clifford, Bishop of London (see no. 443). The branch of the family of Clifford which established itself at Bobbing differenced with a bordure *gules.* Robert was probably son of Lewis de Clifford, who appears in roll S. with this coat. The name Lewis was very common in this branch of the family. Their coat as blazoned by W. was in the windows of Betshanger Church (C., fol. 34). It is on a brass at Chartham.

350. As no. 79.
A., fol. 17.

351. A fess, and in chief three roundels.
A., fol. 16.
W. blazons *arg., a fess az, in chief three torteaux*, and ascribes to Fitz Dering in his margin, and in his note to Sir Richard Dering of Westbrooke, lieutenant of Dover Castle. W. cites a seal of Richard fitz Dering de Haut, from a grant dated 19 Hen. III, but (even assuming that it is not a forgery, as Mr. Streatfeild thought) it is difficult to see how that shows these ever to have been the arms of Dering. Hasted (vol. iii, p. 322) reads de Hayt in order to support his account of the descent of the manor of Heyton. A cast of the seal is in the British Museum.
The coat duly appears in the fine exhibition of bogus heraldry, *Arch. Cant.*, x, 330. The shield in the cloisters may be for Langley (see no. 260), or for Devereux (as no. 704), or for John Colvile (as in S.), *or, a fess gu., in chief three torteaux.* He appears to have held the manor of Street in Lymne.

352. Paly of six; on a fess, three mullets pierced.

A., fol. 17. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *palée of six or and az., on a fess gu., three mullets arg., pierced,* and assigns to Clanvowe, but gives no reason for so doing.

Paly, wavy of six arg. and az., on a fess gu., three mullets pierced or, is recorded in Harl. MS. 3917 as at Linstead Church for Sewers or Sewards, a family holding a manor in Linstead called Sewards. This coat occurs again at A.[20]

353. Cantilupe (as no. 192).

A., fol. 17, gives colours (see no. 192). C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

354. As no. 282.

A., fol. 17, draws as three bars gemel. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. blazons *barrée of six arg. and sa.*, and ascribes to Hosterley, giving no reason for so doing.

Compare nos. 282 and 295.

Shield no. 354.

355. A chevron between three garlands.

A., fol. 16. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

W. says 'as no. 136', but it is not so.

See remarks under no. 136, and compare nos. 397 and 613.

A.[19] Poynings *quartering* Fitzpayne (as no. 152).

A., fol. 17. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

A shield not noticed by W. See no. 152.

Compartment 20.

356. On a chief a roundel between two stags' heads cabossed, *quartering* a chevron between six roundels in chief and four in base.

A., fol. 15[b]. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. blazons *1 and 4, arg., on a chief gu., two stags' heads caboshed or* (Popham); *2 and 3, gu., bezantée a chevron or* (Zouche of Den).

See next shield.

357. Popham (as in no. 356), *quartering* semy of roundels.

A., fol. 15[b].

W. blazons the quartered shield *gu., bezantée,* and assigns to Zouche.

This same shield occurs at no. 701. Zouche *with a canton ermine* is at nos. 401 and 433. Observe that in each case in the cloisters Popham has a roundel between the stags' heads. In the Rouen roll, no. 52, 'Mounsyer John Popham' bears a quarterly coat, in which *1 and 4* are as 2 and 3 in no. 356, while *2 and 3* are Popham with this roundel or bezant. It is not noticed by W. or in the manuscripts.

358. On a fess between three annulets three mullets pierced.

A., fol. 15[b]. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *arg., on a fess inter three annulets sa., as many mullets of the first pierced,* and ascribes to Fogge.

No doubt for Sir Thomas Fogge, who died in 1407 and was buried in the nave. He was with John of Gaunt in Spain 1386, and sat for the county frequently. He gave £20 towards the Chapter House, where his arms remain: his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Stephen

Valoignes, who survived till 1425 and was buried beside him, gave £20 to each monk of Christ Church. In the list of subscribers in 1369–71 to the nave (*Canterbury Letters*, vol. ii, p. 488) it is recorded that Lady Joan Fogge gave £5. 13*s.* 4*d.* 'pro animabus' of Isabel, Joan, and Joan (Fogge).

A full account of the Fogges will be found in *Arch. Cant.*, v, 112. This shield occurs again at nos. 520 and 810, and it is instructive to note how the annulets are rendered.

359. As no. 281.

A., fol. 15b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

360. A lion rampant debruised by a bend.

A., fol. 15. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *or, a lion rampant gu., debruised by a bendlet az.*, and ascribes to Delapole, but gives no reason why.

The shield occurs close by at no. 368 with the field ermine. There is no trace of ermine here. If these be Delapole shields it is not surprising to find them in this compartment with nos. 369, 379, and others.

361. An escutcheon within an orle of mullets pierced.

A., fol. 15b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *gu., an escutcheon inter six mullets or pierced*, and ascribes to Chamberlayne, but adds no note of reasons.

362. Three bars.

A., fol. 15b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *arg., three bars sa.*, and ascribes to Frogenhall.

That family did not bear such a coat, but two bars and a chief.

363. A bend engrailed between two bulls' heads erased.

Scarlett, fol. 10b. A., fol. 15b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *vt., a bend engrailed inter two bulls' heads erased arg.*, and ascribes to Staresacre without comment.

Shield no. 363.

364. Three winnowing fans.

A., fol. 15b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *az., three winnowing fans or, two and one*, and notes that on the rib is inscribed 'Harfleet alius Sepvan', and ascribes the shield to Gilbert Septvan of Moland, who was surnamed Harfleet.

The inscription with its 'alius' should have roused W.'s suspicions. The family of Harfleet was quite unknown *temp.* Henry IV. The shield is no doubt that of Sir William Septvans of Milton next Chartham, who, dying in 1407, was buried in the cathedral. The shield occurs again with a crescent for difference no. 514.

365. Fretty vair. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 12.

A., fol. 15.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

This is apparently the shield of Edmund Hoorne, often bailiff of Canterbury (1382, and at intervals till 1410). John de Horn was knight of the shire 6 Hen. IV. The coat, *gu., fretty vair*, was borne by Sir John de Hoorne *temp.* Edward I and Edward II, and was formerly (Harl. MS. 3917) in the windows of the church of Horton Kirkby. The shield occurs again, no. 501.

366. Two bars gemel, in chief a lion passant.

A., fol. 15. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 25, only draw two bars.

W. does not blazon or ascribe, but he says the lion is *passant guardant*, which it is not.

There is at no. 741 a shield like this, but the surface has so perished that it is impossible to be certain how many bars it originally showed. Tregoze bore *az., two bars gemel, and in chief a lion passant or.* That family appear *c.* 1400 to have owned the manor of Boughton Malherbe, of which John Tregoze died seized 5 Hen. IV.

367. Two chevrons between three roses.

A., fol. 15.

W. blazons *arg., two chevronels az., inter three roses gu.*, and ascribes to Clifford, relying on Scarlett's notes, but a careful examination of the manuscript leads to the conclusion that the shield does not belong to the name 'Ricard Clifford Episcopus' which is beneath it. The shield here is so clearly that of William of Wykeham that it is difficult to suppose it could be assigned to any one else than the distinguished architect of Queenborough Castle, who, moreover, was a recipient of a legacy under Archbishop Courtenay's will. The shield of Bishop Clifford is well known from his seal. See no. 443.

368. As no. 360, but with a field ermine.

W. says as no. 360, but it is not.

See no. 360. Both shields are magnificent specimens of heraldic sculpture. The bend here is somewhat perished, and raises the question whether it was not put on in plaster after the lion was carved.

369. Barry nebuly of six.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *barrée nebulée of six or and vt.*, and ascribes to Hawberk.

The ascription is very doubtful. It does not seem to have been the shield borne by Sir Nicholas, who was husband to Joan Delapole. In fact, this shield more resembles the arms of Delapole as at no. 58.

370. Three dishes or annulets. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 6.

W. does not decide which, and in view of nos. 358 and 520 it is impossible to be certain that they are dishes. If they are, the coat is probably for Standish. In the Rouen roll, Hugh Standish bears *az., three dishes arg., with a label of three or.* A coat of three annulets is difficult to assign.

371. Ermine, on a bend cotised three mullets pierced.

A., fol. 15, omits ermine and shows no cotises. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. does not notice the ermine or the cotises.

It is possible that, as the top mullet projects quite outside the bend, it is not cotised, but merely ridged for ornament.

372. Mortimer *quartering* de Burgh (see no. 187).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. says 'as no. 187', which is not quite correct.

It may be observed that Mortimer has here *three bars* not *barry of six.*

373. Three garbs.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *or, three garbs gu., two and one*, and ascribes to Comin without remark.

The shield occurs again at no. 707, where it is clearly Comyn. Comyn is also impaled at no. 705 and quartered at no. 682. This shield is again at no. 802. At nos. 373 and 802 there is no connexion to show that it is Comyn, and it may be suggested it is for Thomas Byrkhed, rector of Hawkhurst, or John Byrkhede, master of Cobham College. The shield appears on the fine brass of the former at Harrow, Middlesex, where he was afterwards rector, having been presented thereto by an archbishop of Canterbury. The brass bears the arms of Archbishop Arundel without the engrailed bordure, and at one time had the arms of Archbishop Chicheley,

of whom Thomas Byrkhed was executor. The living of Harrow was one of the best in the archbishop's gift, being held before Byrkhed by Guy de Mone and William Baunton, both distinguished clerics and executors of Archbishop Courtenay. The name Byrkhed appears to be a contraction of Birkenhead, which family bore *sa., three garbs or*, generally with a bordure. Birket and Bryket are variants of the name.

374. Not found. W. says it is Mortimer (as no. 174).

375. Columbers (as no. 117).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. calls Columbers, and blazons as Columbers is blazoned under no. 117. He adds no note.

376. Clinton (as no. 99).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *arg., on a chief gu., two mullets or, pierced*, and assigns to St. John without comment.

377. Oldcastle (see no. 58).

W. blazons *sa., a castle triple towered arg.*, and ascribes without comment to Samson.

Having regard to no. 379 this is improbable.

378. A cinquefoil, within an orle of eight crosslets, *quartering* a chevron between nine crosslets.

C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 25, both draw three cinquefoils.

W. blazons *1 and 4, gu., a cinquefoil within an orle of cross croslets or* (Umfraville); *2 and 3, gu., a chevron inter nine cross croslets or* (Kyme); and points out that Robert de Umfraville married (*temp.* Edward II) Lucy, daughter of Philip de Kyme, who was ultimately heir to her brother William.

There is a difficulty in seeing how the Gilbert de Umfraville, who was known as 'dn̄s de Kyme' *temp.* Henry IV, and was slain at Baugé, had any right to the title or the arms. It is perhaps sufficient that he bore them. His arms appear in this form also at no. 429, and Umfraville alone at nos. 462 and 548, where of course the sculptors increase the number of crosslets in the orle to fill their shields. Gilbert and his wife (? Maud de Lucy) were commemorated at the Arundel Chantry, along with Sir Simon Felbrigge and his wife. Gilbert was principal executor of Archbishop Arundel, and succeeded him as constable of Queenborough Castle.

379. Cobham of Cobham (as no. 188), *quartering* Oldcastle (as no. 377). Pl. XXXV, fig. 4.

A., fol. 15. C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 25, draw the coats impaled, not quartered.

W. blazons *1 and 4 gu., on a chevron or, three lions rampant sa.* (Cobham); *2 and 3, arg., a castle triple towered sa.* (Oldcastle); without comment.

See no. 58.

380. On a bend three crosslets fitchy, in sinister chief a crescent.

A., fol. 15. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

This may be for Walter Causton, who bore *arg., on a bend sa., three crosslets fitchy arg., in sinister chief a crescent sa. for difference.* He was master of Harbledown Hospital, and a legatee under Archbishop Courtenay's will.

381. A bend between two cotises.

C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 25, do not draw the cotises.

W. describes as a bend.

The cotises are, as in no. 371, reasonably plain.

382. A saltire engrailed between a martlet in chief and another in base, and a rose on the dexter side and another on the sinister. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 1.
Scarlett, fol. 10b. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.

383. Three bends.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.
W. blazons *az., three bendlets or*, and assigns to Mepham.
The arms of the archbishop 1327–33. His elder brother, Edmund de Mepham, was rector of Brasted, where his mutilated slab (*c.* 1350) remains, as well as the arms as blazoned by W. in old stained glass.

384. As no. 195.
C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 25, draw the bend as engrailed.

A.20 As no. 352.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.
A shield not noticed by W.

Compartment 21.

385. Thomas Duke of Clarence (as no. 183).
C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 25, omit the ermine.
W. says 'as 165', which is not so.

386. Three roundels, a label of three.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.
W. blazons *or, three torteaux, two and one, a label of three points az.*, and ascribes to Courtenay.
This is the first time that this shield is met with alone and with a plain label. See no. 765.

387. Vere (as no. 16).
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
See remarks on no. 289.

388. A lion rampant crowned, charged on the shoulder with a martlet, a bordure engrailed. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 4.
C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, omit the crown and the martlet.
W. blazons *gu., a lion rampant arg., crowned or, a bordure engrailed or*, omitting to notice the martlet. He ascribes, without comment, to Garnet.
This coat, without a martlet, but with roundels on the bordure, is found at no. 767, impaling the royal arms. Here it may be a form of Mompesson.

389. Despencer (as no. 218).
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

390. Fretty.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
W. says 'as no. 291', and ascribes to Echingham.

391. On a chevron a mullet pierced *quartering* a cross engrailed between four water bougets. Pl. XL, fig. 7.
C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, omit the mullets.
W. blazons *1 and 4, or, on a chevron gu., a mullet of the first charged with another sa.* (Stafford);

2 and 3, arg., a cross engrailed gu., inter four water budgets sa. (Bourchier); and ascribes to Sir Hugh Stafford, K.G., first husband of Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Bartholomew Lord Bourchier. W. says 'on his stall-plate formerly affixed in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, were the same arms as above'.

Luckily the plate is still there and in no. xxvi in Sir William Hope's collection. But the mullets are not pierced, and there is no mullet on the mullet, any more than in the cloisters. Sir Hugh's marriage was in 1410. He died in 1420, so his shield may be assigned to *c.* 1413, as others in the cloisters.

392. As no. 138. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 6.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. blazons *gu., two lions passant or,* and assigns without comment to Pedwardyn.

393. Fitzalan *quartering* Warenne, as no. 189.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

394. A saltire.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *or, a saltire az.*, and assigns to Wittlesey without comment.

Archbishop 1368-74.

395. Clifford (as no. 251).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

396. Fretty a chief.

W. blazons *az., frettée arg., a chief or,* and assigns to St. Leger, who held, he says, Ulcomb under the Archbishop of Canterbury from a period soon after the Conquest until 1691.

The shield by a different sculptor is again at no. 417. According to C., fol. 23, it was as blazoned by W. in a window of Woodnesborough Church. A branch of the family held the manor of Woodnesborough.

397. Barruly and three garlands.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *barrulée arg. and az., three chaplets gu.*, and assigns to Greistock without comment.

Ralph, Baron de Greystok married (*temp.* Henry IV) Catherine, daughter of Roger Lord Clifford (no. 395).

398. On a bend a lion passant. Pl. XL, fig. 11.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *az., on a bend or, a lion passant sa.*, and ascribes without comment to Scrope.

This shield occurs again at no. 419. Observe the shields with which it is there surrounded. The shield is assigned by Papworth, p. 255, to Henry, third Lord Scrope of Masham, who married after 1410 an heiress of Holland, from whose arms he may have adopted the lion. It is found coloured at times *purpure* instead of *sable*. He was beheaded in 1415, so the date of this shield is *c.* 1413. See further no. 261.

399. A chevron between three lions rampant, on it a mullet pierced.

Scarlett, fol. 11, colours the field *azure*, the chevron *gules*, and the lions *or*. He gives no colour to the mullet. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 15.

W. blazons *arg., on a chevron gu., inter three lions rampant sa., a mullet or,* and ascribes to Bourne without comment.

This is certainly not the coat of Bourne of Kent.

400. Ufford *quartering* Willoughby (as no. 235).

A., fol. 14.

401. Zouche of Haryngworth (as no. 208).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. blazons *gu., bezantée, a canton ermine*, and ascribes to Zouche with no note.

See remarks on no. 208, to which it may be added that this very shield was on the seal of Eudo de Zouche, clerk, 4 Rich. II.

402. As no. 267.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. describes as *per fess indentée*, but does not give any colours or ascription.

Probably de Sandwich, no. 267, though it may be observed that Brony bore *arg., a chief indented gu.*, and Archbishop Courtenay left a legacy to one of that name.

403. As no. 15.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. blazons *arg., seven mascles conjoined gu., three, three, and one*, and assigns to Sir Reginald Braybrooke, who died 1405, and whose brass is at Cobham.

Or it might be Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, one of Archbishop Courtenay's legatees. But it might equally well in this compartment be Ferrers.

404. Camois (as no. 176).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

405. Poynings (as no. 231).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. misdescribes.

406. Two bars.

C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, both draw as barry of six.

W. also misdescribes as barry of six.

See note on no. 143. This may be for Harcourt, *gu., two bars or.*

407. A fess between six crosslets, *quartering* chequy, a chevron ermine.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *1 and 4, gu., a fess inter six cross croslets or* (Beauchamp); *2 and 3, chequée or and az., a chevron ermine* (Warwick); but adds no note.

The quartered coat is that of the Newburghs, Earls of Warwick, from whom that title descended to the Beauchamps. This shield is no doubt for Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick from 1401. His mother was a Ferrers (see no. 403), and he married a Berkeley (see no. 413).

408. A lion rampant.

A., fol. 13^{b}.

W. blazons *vt., a lion rampant or*, and ascribes without comment to Robsart.

But here is no wound on the shoulder, as in stall-plate no. xxix, and it is as probable that this is *or, a lion rampant gu.*, for Sir Simon Felbrigge, who with his wife was prayed for at Arundel's chantry.

409. Fitzalan *quartering* Maltravers (as no. 230).

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

410. Three escallops.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *gu., three escallops arg., two and one*, and ascribes without comment to Dacre.

The chief is so bare that it looks as if something ought to be there, or, as the escallops are not so beautiful as some in the cloisters, it may have been that the sculptor was not such an artist as some of his fellows. Compare no. 482 and this shield with an engrailed bordure at no. 128.

411. Three water bougets. Pl. XL, fig. 5.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *gu., three water budgets arg., two and one,* and is so attracted by their artistic merit that he gives a sketch of one in his margin. He ascribes to William Lord Roos, who died in 1414, and was buried in the cathedral, close to Arundel's chantry. He points out that the family owned the manor of Kingsdown by Wrotham, derived from the Badlesmeres. Also the castle and manor of Chilham, and much other property in the county. The shield occurs again at nos. 439 and 598, and *quartering* Badlesmere at no. 585.

412. Beauchamp of Bergavenny (as no. 252). Pl. XL, fig. 9.

C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, omit the crescent.

413. A chevron between ten crosses patty, six above and four below.

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. blazons *gu., a chevron inter ten crosses arg.*, and ascribes without comment to Berkeley.

See no. 407.

A.[21] Mortimer *quartering* De Burgh (as no. 372).

W. omits to notice this shield.

COMPARTMENT 22.

414. Archbishop Arundel (as at no. 14). Pl. XXXV, fig. 9.

A., fol. 14[b]. C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, draw wrong.

W. says 'as no. 12', which it is not.

The crosses on the pall are not *fitchy*.

415. France *quartering* England, within a bordure gobony, charged at top with a mitre. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 1.

A., fol. 14[b], omits mitre. C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, draw all wrong.

W. blazons the bordure *gobonée arg. and az.*, but does not notice the mitre, and ascribes without comment to Beaufort.

This is an extremely interesting shield, which the mitre *or* on the *azure* portion of the bordure at the top of the shield identifies with Henry Beaufort, the illegitimate son of John of Gaunt and half-brother of Henry IV. He was by far the cleverest of John of Gaunt's sons, and practically ruled the country till 1447, when he died. He was bishop of Lincoln from 1398 to 1404, then of Winchester till his death, being created cardinal in 1426.

416. Fitzalan *quartering* Maltravers (as no. 230). Pl. XXXIV, fig. 9.

417. St. Leger (as no. 396).

A., fol. 14[b].

418. Clifford (as no. 251).

A., fol. 15.

419. Scrope (as no. 398).

A., fol. 15. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

420. Mortimer *quartering* De Burgh (as no. 372).

A., fol. 14[b]. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. says 'as no. 187', which it is not.

421. As no. 267.

A., fol. 15.

W. blazons *or, a chief indentee az.*, and ascribes without note to Butler.

See no. 267.

422. Barry nebuly of six.
A., fol. 15. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
W. says 'as no. 369'.
But it is to be observed that here those parts are incised which in no. 369 are left projecting, and it may well be that that indicates a variation in colour, so that the coats are not intended to be the same.

423. As no. 15.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
W. says 'as no. 403'.
See observations on no. 403.

424. A cross.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.

425. Beauchamp of Bergavenny (as no. 252).
C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26, both omit the crescent.

426. As no. 406.
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
W. misdescribes as barry of six.

427. Fitzalan *quartering* Warenne (as no. 189).
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

428. Bokyngham (as no. 292).
C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

429. Umfraville *quartering* Kyme (as no. 378). Pl. XXXVI, fig. 12.

430. The Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury.
A., fol. 14, omits the ſ. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.
W. blazons *az., on a cross arg., the letter* ℣ *surmounted by the letter* ſ *sa.*, and ascribes to the Priory of Christ Church.
See a paper by Mr. Everard Green, now Somerset Herald, in *Proceedings*, xvi, 394.

431. Montacute *quartering* Monthermer (as no. 232).
A., fol. 14, assigns to Montague and M. Hermer. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 26.

432. Poynings (as no. 231).
A., fol. 14.

433. Zouche of Haryngworth (as no. 208).
A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 26.

434. As no. 390.
A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 26.
W. blazons *or, frettée sa.*, and ascribes to Newenham, who held a manor of that name in Faversham.
For 'in' read 'near'. The family had long been extinct *temp.* Henry IV. W. ascribes no. 390 to Echingham, and does not observe that that is quite close to Zouche (no. 401), as this is to no. 433.

435. Ufford *quartering* Willoughby (as no. 235).
A., fol. 14.

436. Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 14, assigns to Vere. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

437. Quarterly —— and vair, over all a bend ermine.

A., fol. 14b, omits the ermine. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 26, misdraw, making 1 and 4 blank, and 2 and 3 *vair, a bend.*

W. omits to notice the ermine, and ascribes to Constable without remark.

438. Camois (as no. 176).

A., fol. 14b. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

439. Roos of Hamlake (as no. 411). Pl. XXXIX, fig. 10.

A., fol. 14b. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

440. Berkeley (as no. 413).

A., fol. 14b. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

441. Stafford (as no. 141).

A., fol. 14b. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

442. Courtenay (as no. 386).

A., fol. 14b.

443. Three eagles displayed, in chief a lis.

A., fol. 14b, omits the lis, as do C., fol. 15, and Ha., fol. 26.

W. neither blazons nor ascribes.

This shield with the lis in fess point occurs again at A.[23] and B.[28], and probably no. 603 had a lis in chief, which has almost entirely perished. There is little doubt that this is the coat adopted by Richard Clifford (brother of Robert Clifford of Bobbing, no. 349), who was Archdeacon of Canterbury from 1397 to 1401. It appears alongside the shield of Clifford of Bobbing on his seal as archdeacon. He was from 1401 Bishop of Worcester, and from 1407 of London. His name was, according to Scarlett, in the Chapter House windows, close to a shield of *or, three eagles displayed gu.* the arms of Eglesfield, founder of Queen's College, Oxford. With that college Clifford may have been connected. But it is to be observed that John de Clifford of Ellingham, Northumberland, sealed with three eagles in 1344. Hasted, vol. ii, p. 636 (*d*), speaks of the bishop as brother of Robert Clifford of Bobbing (see no. 349), while at page 516 of vol. iv, in note (*f*) he speaks of the bishop's brother being Robert Clifford of Well, who, dying in 1422 and giving a large donation to the fabric, was buried in the nave. Scarlett, fol. 56b, notes in the Cathedral the brass of Robert Clifford, *ob.* March 9, 1422, with these shields: (1) three eagles, (2) three eagles a lis in chief, (3) three eagles *impaling* a cross engrailed, (4) Percy *quartering* Lucy, (5) Clifford of Bobbing a mitre on the fess, (6) chequy a fess, (7) chequy a fess with a crosslet on the fess, (8) a lion rampant. Under the head of the effigy shown in the brass was a helmet with a crest of a dove (?) rising. That the bishop was a Clifford of Bobbing is clear from the seal above referred to, which shows Clifford with the bordure, the difference of that branch.

444. A lion rampant.

A., fol. 14b, gives colours *az., a lion rampant arg., armed or.*

C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 26.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

A.[22], B.[22], C.[22] There are three shields over the lavatory basin in this compartment. In the centre the royal arms (as no. 157), and on each side the arms of the Prince of Wales (as no. 190), the shield on the sinister being very much mutilated. These shields were not noticed by W.

Compartment 23.

445. A quartered coat of Curteis (as no. 446) and Paunton (as no. 454), *impaling* two coats per pale, viz. Cobham of Sterborough (as no. 164) and Maltravers (as no. 18).

A., fol. 13b. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, both misdraw the shield.

W. refers to a seal of Reginald Cortois, 1 Hen. IV, in Lansdowne MS., no. 203, fol. 208, with this very shield displayed on the breast of an eagle.

Reginald Curteis married Margaret, daughter of Reginald Lord Cobham of Sterborough, by Eleanor Maltravers. The marriage appears to have taken place after Margaret's father's death in 1403. Her mother was widow of Sir John Arundel the elder and died in 1404–5. W.'s note is inaccurate, as it may convey an impression that the impaled coats are on the seal. They are not. He also quotes a later marriage, which would not support an impalement *temp.* Henry IV. In 6 Hen. IV Eleanor Maltravers, the wife of John Arundel the elder, before married to R. Cobham de Sterburgh, is found to hold Aldington (? Allington) manor '*juxta Maydestan ut de castro Roff*'; but it seems clear that she married Sir John before she married Lord Cobham. She mentions Margaret Curteis in her will. See *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, vol. ii, pp. 115–94.

It will be observed that the vair has perished in the Curteis quarterings, and almost from Paunton.

446. A chevron vair between three bulls' heads cabossed.

A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 26.

W. blazons *gu., a chevron vaire arg. and az., inter three bulls' heads caboshed arg.*

The family of Curteis appear to have owned property in Cranbrook and Tenterden, but extremely little is known of them. From the appearance of the shield so frequently in the cloisters, Reginald Curteis must have been a very handsome contributor.

447. Batisford (as at no. 36).

A., fol. 13b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. ascribes to Batisford without comment.

See also no. 36.

448. Curteis (as no. 446) *impaling* Batisford (as no. 447).

A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

The vair has perished here. The shield is again at no. 545.

449. Two bars, a canton ermine.

A., fol. 13b, omits to note the ermine.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

The shield is again at no. 542. Observe the shields with which it is there surrounded.

450. Kyme (as at no. 378).

A., fol. 13b.

W. says 'as 326', which is not so.

The shield is almost entirely destroyed.

451. The stag of St. Hubert.

A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. does not blazon or assign.

This beautiful rendering of a stag with a large crosslet within its attires may be compared with the equally beautiful one by another artist at no. 544, where it is surrounded by much the same shields.

452. A tree. Pl. XL, fig. 6.

W. blazons *gu., a tree or*, and ascribes to Boys, but gives no note.

It is not the coat of the later family of Boys. It occurs again by another carver at no. 543.

They must both have been artists of great skill. See note on no. 711.

453. A lion passant. Pl. XL, fig. 2.

A., fol. 13^{b}.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

But when this coat recurs at no. 540, by another artist, he ascribes it to Lisle.

454. A chevron vair and a chief.

A., fol. 13^{b}, notes chevron as 'varry'. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, makes chevron ermine.

W. blazons *gu., a chevron vaire arg. and az., a chief or*, and ascribes to Paunton without comment.

455. Curteis (as no. 446) *impaling* Paunton (as no. 454).

A., fol. 13^{b}. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 26, draw the vair as ermine.

From no. 445 it would appear that the lady was an heiress.

456. A fess vair between three leopards' heads jessant de lis.

A., fol. 13, draws as lis only. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, misdraw as crescents.

W. describes as lis and assigns to Chawntley without note.

The heads are not very clear, but an examination of the corresponding shield at no. 546 shows they are there, though they are not inverted as usual. The coat (see no. 192) is clearly for Cantilupe, *gu., a fess vair between three leopards' heads jessant de lis or.*

457. A lion rampant.

A., fol. 13, colours *az., a lion rampant or.* C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. blazons *arg., a lion rampant sa.*, and assigns to Stapleton, but gives no note.

The shield is now almost entirely corroded.

458. Stafford (as no. 141).

A., fol. 13. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

459. A cross.

A., fol. 12^{b}. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, draw as a cross patonce.

W. blazons *arg., a cross voided gu.*, and ascribes to Leeds Priory, founded by the Crevequers.

It seems clear that the cross is not voided.

460. A saltire and on a chief three escallops.

A., fol. 13. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. blazons *arg., a saltire gu., on a chief of the last three escallops of the field*, and ascribes to Taylboys without any note.

Henry Talboys married Elizabeth Burdon, a niece of Gilbert de Umfraville, Lord of Kyme. The shield is again at no. 547.

461. Kyme (as no. 450).

A., fol. 13. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

462. Umfraville (as at no. 378).

A., fol. 13. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. says 'as no. 378', which it is not. It is as no. 548.

463. Two bars ermine.

A., fol. 13, omits the ermine. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

Papworth records, p. 17, *gu., two bars ermine*, for Sir Hugh Pantone, Beamanton; and with

a mill rind ermine in dexter chief for Sir Hugh de Pauntone (compare the charge in dexter chief in no. 468). At page 378 there is *gu., a chevron vair, a chief or*, again for Sir Hugh Paunton.

This shield appears again in the same company at no. 530.

464. A cross moline ermine.

A., fol. 13, notes field as *gu.* C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, omit the ermine.

W. misdescribes.

Sir Thomas Molinton, who died 5 Hen. IV, bore a canting coat, viz.: *sa., a cross moline ermine.* He sometimes called himself Baron of Wemme in right of his wife, Elizabeth Boteler. See no. 528.

465. A cross moline.

A., fol. 13, colours *arg., a cross moline gu.*

W. calls it *per pale or and vt., a cross recercellée gu.*, and ascribes to Ingham, but gives no reason.

There is no indication of *per pale.* The shield is much perished, and it is possible it was ermine, as no. 464.

466. Deincourt (as no. 250, though here the shield has twenty-one billets).

A., fol. 13^{b}. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. says 'as no. 30', but it is not so.

See remarks at no. 250.

467. Paunton (as no. 454), with a label of three.

A., fol. 13^{b}.

W. blazons the label as *azure.*

See no. 532.

468. Paunton (as no. 454), with a cross moline in dexter chief.

A., fol. 13. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, misdraw.

W. gives no tincture for the cross.

See note at no. 463. The ermine may have disappeared from the cross here, but compare the corresponding shield at no. 529.

469. Paunton (as no. 454) *impaling* no. 465 (? no. 464).

A., fol. 13^{b}. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, draw the vair as ermine.

The ermine may have perished, but see no. 527.

470. On a bend three mullets of six points pierced.

A., fol. 13^{b}. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, misdraw as roses.

W. blazons *az., on a bend or, three mullets sa., pierced*, and assigns to Fyge of Fyge Court in Borden.

Peter Fyge, citizen and fishmonger of London, began buying land in Kent about 1360 (Feet of Fines, 34 Edw. III, no. 1282). Various members of the family were buried in Borden Church, and quite a genealogy of them appears on a small brass, *c.* 1450, in that church.

471. Chequy, a bend.

A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. blazons *chequée or and az., a bend gu.*, and ascribes to Clifford without note.

This same shield appears in like company at no. 538.

472. A pile ermine.

A., fol. 14. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 26.

W. blazons *az., a pile, in chief, ermine*, and ascribes to Brettingham without comment.

This again is in compartment 26 at no. 534.

A.[23] Batisford (as no. 447) *impaling* a chevron between nine crosslets (no. 450).
A., fol. 13. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, reverse the coats.
Not noticed by W. It is as no. 552.

B.[23] A lion rampant.
Not noticed by W. It is as no. 551.

C.[23] Archbishop Arundel (as no. 14).
This is carved in stone over the centre of the lavatory basin in compartment 23. The crosses on the pall not fitchy. Not noticed by W.

D.[23] Joan Countess of Hereford (as no. 1).
This is over the lavatory basin to the dexter of C.[23] The lady was sister of the archbishop.
The shield is of particular interest. It is moulded in a kind of plaster or gesso, which is of considerable thickness above the face of the stone shield which backs it. The plaster shows clear traces still of the colour with which it must at one time have been covered. A careful examination shows that this plaster work is quite original, and coeval with the construction of the cloisters. Not noticed by W.

E.[23] No. 278 *impaling* no. 189.
This shield is over the lavatory basin to the sinister of C.[23] It is also constructed of plaster over stone as D.[23] is, and is coeval with it.
The same shield is at no. 755. It is for Alice, another sister of the archbishop, who married Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent.

Compartment 24.

473. A lion standing on a scroll, collared and chained, charged with a shield of the royal arms (as at no. 157). At the back, above the lion, are clouds. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 8.
W. gives a somewhat inaccurate drawing of this in his *Frontispiece*. It is to be observed that these great bosses, being very deeply cut, are difficult to reproduce by photography.

474. A lion rampant within a bordure, charged with roundels.
A., fol. 12, colours *arg., a lion rampant gu., a bordure sa., bezanty*. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, draw a crown on the lion.
W. blazons as A., but inserts *crowned or*, and says 'Richard Earl of Poictiers and Cornwall composed for himself a bearing from the arms of his two dignities, the first being *arg., a lion rampant gu., crowned or*; the second *sa., bezantée*'.
Papworth records this shield for the Trinitarian Priory of Knaresborough (p. 117, col. 1). Whether it is here intended for that priory may be doubtful. There is certainly no crown here as at no. 767. Compare no. 388.

475. As no. 324.
A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.
Observe the different treatment by the two artists.

476. Audley *quartering* Touchet (as no. 127).
A., fol. 12, omits the ermine, as do C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27.

477. As no. 208 (?).
A., fol. 12[b]. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, draw as roundels.
The objects here are much more like annulets. Compare with no. 208 and no. 401.

478. Delapole *quartering* Wingfield (as no. 160).

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

Notice this is close to no. 486, as no. 160 is to no. 159.

479. As no. 15.

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

In this compartment almost certainly for Braybroke.

480. Fretty.

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. blazons *or, frettée gu.*, and assigns with comment to Verdun.

But in this compartment, close to no. 476, it is probably Audley.

481. England, a label of France.

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

W. blazons *gu., three lions passant gaurdant in pale or, a label of three points az., semée de lis or,* and points out that these arms were used by Edmund Earl of Lancaster, second son of King Henry III, and by his son Thomas and his grandson Henry Duke of Lancaster.

Edmund 'Crouchback' had married a daughter of the royal house of France, and adopted a label thereof. It may be observed that the duke's sister was the mother of Archbishop Arundel.

The shield, which is often used to symbolize the Duchy of Lancaster, occurs again at A.[31] With the rendering there this present magnificent example may be compared.

482. As no. 410.

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *az., three escallops or, two and one,* and ascribes to Reading Abbey, which held the manor of Windhill in All Hallows, Hoo.

483. Scales (as no. 101).

A., fol. 11[b]. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 28, both draw seven escallops.

See no. 101.

484. A lion rampant.

A., fol. 11[b]. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *or, a lion rampant gu.*, and ascribes without comment to Charlton.

485. Courtenay (as no. 386).

A., fol. 11[b]. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

486. Peverel (as no. 159).

A., fol. 11[b]. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

W. ascribes to Beauchamp, but in this compartment, close to no. 478, it is more likely Peverel.

See note on no. 159.

487. On a cross engrailed, a crescent for difference.

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *or, on a cross engrailed gu., a crescent arg.*, and ascribes to Haute.

This shield is on a brass at Pluckley. The crescent for difference was borne by John Haute, who died seized of the manor of Surrenden, which he had acquired by marriage with Joan Surrenden.

488. Cossington (as no. 124).

A., fol. 12[b]. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

489. Mortimer (as no. 174), with an annulet on the escutcheon for difference.
A., fol. 12b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.
W. blazons the annulet as *sable*, but does not comment.
Sir Thomas Mortimer, who married Agnes, widow of Lord Bardolph. See no. 560.

490. A chevron.
A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.
W. blazons *arg., a chevron gu.*, and ascribes without comment to Chilton.
Sir Thomas Rempstone was a benefactor to the fabric, as appears by his effigy in his coat armour (*arg., a chevron sa.*) being in Scarlett's time in the windows of the Chapter House. It is probable, then, that one of the shields bearing a chevron in the cloisters is for him. He was a K.G. *temp.* Henry IV.

491. A lion rampant.
A., fol. 12. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

492. A chevron between three crosses patty fitchy.
A., fol. 12b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.
W. blazons *sa., a chevron or, inter three cross croslets fitchée arg.*, and ascribes to Peckham without comment.
No doubt Scarlett does note in the Archbishop's Hall, for John Peckham (1278), the arms of the see impaling *sa., a chevron or, inter three crosslets botonny arg.*, but that is not this shield, and it is not clear whom this is intended for. The solution of that problem will have to be found after the other shields in the cloisters are examined on which this coat appears. It is alone at nos. 596 and 622, and impaled at nos. 623 and 624. The resemblance of this shield to Finderne and to Russell is obvious.

493. Fitzalan *quartering* Warren (as no. 189).
A., fol. 12b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

494. The Prince of Wales badge (as no. 197).
A., fol. 12b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

Shield no. 494.

495. Montacute *quartering* Monthermer (as no. 232).
A., fol. 12b.

496. Holland, Earl of Kent (as no. 278).
A., fol. 12b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

497. The royal arms (as no. 157), a bordure gobony.
A., fol. 12b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.
W. misdescribes.
The bordure is *gobony arg. and az.*, exactly as in the stall-plate no. xvii, which was for the same person, viz. Sir John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, K.G., illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, and elder brother of Cardinal Beaufort (no. 415). He was the first husband of Margaret Holland. He died 1410, was buried at Canterbury, where his effigy is still in St. Michael's Chapel by that of his wife, and on the other side of her that of the Duke of Clarence, her second husband (B.[33]). His younger sister married Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland (no. 644).

498. A saltire.
A., fol. 12b.
W. blazons *gu., a saltire arg.*, and ascribes to Neville.
See note to last shield.

499. Not found. W. describes as a cross.

500. Richard of Coningsborough (as no. 191).

A., fol. 13, omits charges on label and bordure. C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 27, omit the label.

A tame performance compared with no. 191, though the sculptor here has ten lions on the bordure instead of nine.

A.[24] Montacute (as no. 171).

A., fol. 12[b].

Not noticed by W.

COMPARTMENT 25.

501. Hoorn (as no. 365). Pl. XXXII, fig. 8.

A., fol. 11. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, make fret ermine.

502. Barrey (as no. 53).

A., fol. 11. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *gu., a fess arg., inter six fleurs de lis or*, and ascribes without comment to Chellesfield.

But that family was probably extinct *temp.* Henry IV.

503. Criol (as no. 67).

A., fol. 12. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

This shield is really in compartment 24.

504. Two chevrons, in chief two mullets.

Scarlett, fol. 11. A., fol. 11. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *az., two chevronels; in chief, two mullets or, pierced*, and ascribes to Bretton without comment.

The mullets are not pierced.

505. A chevron.

A., fol. 10[b]. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *gu., a chevron arg.*, and ascribes to Tyes without comment.

The shield is much perished, and it is to be observed that both C. and Ha. draw as if a chevron between three birds' heads, and the draughtsman of A. evidently thought there were other charges, as he put alongside a note 'I cannot discern'.

506. A fess nebuly between three boars' heads couped.

A., fol. 11. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, draw the fess as *chequy*.

W. blazons *arg., a fess vaire, inter three boars' heads couped sa.*, and assigns to Alphegh, or Alphew, of Bore Place in Chidingstone.

But that family never bore the fess *vair* or *nebuly*, and they were scarcely established in Kent *temp.* Henry IV. The coat is very like another ascribed to Bretton. See no. 504.

507. Criol (as no. 67).

A., fol. 10[b]. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 27.

508. As no. 143.

A., fol. 10[b]. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *or, two bars az.*, and ascribes without comment to Hakebech.

See note on no. 143.

509. A lion rampant ermine, debruised by a chevron.

A., fol. 11[b], like C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 28, omits the ermine.

W blazons *gu., a lion rampant ermine, debruised by a chevron or*, and ascribes to Hardres, remarking that Philip de Hardres was a considerable benefactor to the priory of Christchurch.

W. adds that the chevron may allude to their tenure under the Clares as of their castle of Tonbridge.

These arms are, in old glass, still in the windows of Upper Hardres Church.

510. St. Lo (as no. 73).

A., fol. 11b. C., fol. 16. Ha., fol. 28.

Here the fess is not ridged at all.

511. Two chevrons.

A., fol. 11b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *gu., two chevrons arg.*, and ascribes to Fettiplace.

That widely extending family had property in Romney Marsh.

512. A fess ermine between three mullets.

A., fol. 11b, colours field *gu.* and mullets *or.* C., fol. 16, and Ha., fol. 28, both ascribe to Manstone.

W. blazons as A., and ascribes to William Manston of Manston, sheriff 14 Hen. VI. W. describes the mullets as pierced, which they are not.

This family was of St. Lawrence, Thanet, and their arms were in the windows of that church (according to C., fol. 41), and in the windows of Ashford Church, where was also an effigy of Roger Manston in his tabard of arms. It is more probable that the shield in the cloisters is his rather than that of the sheriff *temp.* Henry VI. The shield occurs again at no. 586, where the mullets are pierced. Hasted makes them *argent.*

513. A bend.

W. blazons *vt., a bend ermine*, and ascribes to Whetenhall, but the bend is not ermine here. Compare no. 117 and no. 769.

514. Septvans (as no. 364), a crescent in fess point for difference.

A., fol. 11b, gives colours: field *azure*, and the rest *or.* C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. gives no colour for the crescent.

It does not seem doubtful that this is for John Septvans of Ash, esq., a younger brother of Sir William Septvans (no. 364). Or it may be, though less probably, for Thomas Septvans, second son of John: for these arms were in a window of Sittingbourne for him. John Septvans's monument at Ash, with these very arms, is carefully described in C., fol. 3.

515. Three chevrons ermine, a label of five.

A., fol. 11b, colours field *gu.* and label *or.* C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, omit the ermine.

W. blazons as A., and ascribes without comment to Barnard.

Papworth, p. 549, records a similar shield for Baynard.

516. A cross engrailed.

A., fol. 11, colours *or, a cross engrailed gu.* C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, do not engrail the cross.

W. blazons *or, a cross engrailed vt.*, and ascribes to Noone.

517. Fretty.

A., fol. 11, colours *az., fretty arg.* C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. says Echingham, as no. 291.

518. As no. 281.

A., fol. 11, gives colours *gu., a fess az., fretty arg.* C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

519. A cross engrailed.

A., fol. 11, gives colours *arg., a cross engrailed gu.* C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 23, both draw a plain cross.

W. blazons *gu., a cross engrailed or,* and ascribes to Cawne, but gives no authority for so doing.

It is not the usual Cawne coat. It is sometimes assigned to Crey, Lord Warden *temp.* Edward I. As blazoned by A. it is Dalyngrigge. See no. 60.

The shield is very much perished.

520. Fogge (as no. 358). Pl. XXXIX, fig. 4.

A., fol. 11. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

Note how the annulets are rendered, and compare no. 370.

521. Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 10b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

522. A bend, a bordure.

A., fol. 10b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. does not blazon or assign.

There is no trace of quarterly divisions as at no. 321. But compare no. 524.

523. Three bends.

A., fol. 10b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons and ascribes to Mepham, as no. 383.

In this compartment it may be for St. Philibert.

524. As no. 280, a crescent in sinister chief.

A., fol. 10b. C., fol. 17, Ha., fol. 28, all omit the quarterly.

See remarks on no. 280.

525. Barry of six.

A., fol. 10b. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, misdraw.

W. blazons *barrée of six arg. and az,* and ascribes to Richard, Baron Grey de Codnor, admiral of the King's fleet northwards 4 Hen. IV. He died 6 Hen. V, and was buried at Aylesford. W. remarks that the crest of this family was a demi peacock *arg.* issuant from a coronet *or,* and their cognizance a graye or badger *arg.*

526. Ermine, a chief quarterly, in the second and third quarters an annulet.

A., fol. 26, C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, all misdraw.

W. makes the chief *quarterly or and gu.,* and the annulets *or,* and ascribes to St. Nicholas of Goshall in Ash.

If this be for St. Nicholas of Ash (which in this compartment is very probable) it is an unrecorded form, as the annulets are not *for difference.* See Planché, *A Corner of Kent,* pp. 189, 407, and at p. 362 for the connexion with no. 525.

Compartment 26.

527. As no. 469.

A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

528. As no. 464. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 7.

A., fol. 9b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.

W. blazons field as *gu.,* and ascribes to Beke without comment.

529. Paunton with a cross moline in dexter chief (as no. 468).

Scarlett, fol. 11. A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, misdraw.

530. As no. 463.

A., fol. 9b, omits the ermine. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.

531. Deincourt (as no. 466).
A., fol. 9b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. says as no. 30, which it is not.

532. Paunton, a label of three (as no. 467).
Scarlett, fol. 11. A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.

533. A lion rampant (as no. 457).
A., fol. 9b. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. blazons *or, a lion rampant purpure*, and ascribes to Lacy without comment.

534. Brettingham (as no. 472).
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, draw as a pale.

535. A cross (as no. 459).
A., fol. 10b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.
W. blazons *gu., a cross arg.*, and ascribes to Savoy without comment.

536. Curteis (as no. 446). Pl. XLI, fig. 7.
Scarlett, fol. 11. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.

537. Curteis *impaling* Paunton (as no. 455).
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 21, leave impaled coat blank.

538. As no. 471.
A., fol. 10, gives colours: *chequy, arg. and sa., a bend gu.* C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.
As blazoned by A., this is Helmebridge in Glover's *Ordinary*.

539. As no. 470.
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 21.
W. misdescribes.

540. As no. 453.
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.
W. blazons *arg., a lion statant gu.*, and assigns without comment to Lisle.

541. As no. 450.
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.
W. ascribes to Kyme. It is to be noted that by an error of the press his marginal notes to p. 120 have from this point got moved down one line.

542. As no. 449.
A., fol. 9b, C., fol. 12, Ha., fol. 22, all omit the ermine.

543. As no. 452. Pl. XXXV, fig. 1.
C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.

544. As no. 451. Pl. XLI, fig. 9.
Scarlett, fol. 11. A., fol. 10.

545. Curteis *impaling* Batisford (as no. 448).
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.

546. Cantilupe (as no. 456).
A., fol. 10. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 22, both drawn as crescents.
W. does not notice that the heads are not reversed, but he blazons them *or* and the field *gu.*, and adds a note that these are the arms of Cantilupe of Ilkeston, Derby, and that the last of that family died *s.p.* 14 Rich. II.
This may possibly establish a connexion with Umfraville (no. 548).

547. Talboys (as no. 460).
A., fol. 9.

548. Umfraville (as no. 462).
A., fol. 9^{b}. C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 22, draw *crosslets fitchy*.

549. A chevron.
A., fol. 9^{b}. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.
W. blazons *az., a chevron or*, and ascribes without comment to Dabernon.

550. A cross.
A., fol. 9^{b}. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.
W. blazons *arg., a cross sa.*, and ascribes without comment to Opsall.

551. A lion rampant.
A., fol. 9^{b}. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.
W. blazons *gu., a lion rampant or*, and ascribes without comment to Albany.
See next shield.

552. Batisford (as in no. 545) *impaling* no. 450.
A., fol. 9. C., fol. 12. Ha., fol. 22.
W., by omitting to notice in compartment 23 the shields A.^{23} and B.^{23}, has omitted two more points of connexion between that compartment and the twenty-sixth, for A.^{23} is as no. 552, and B.^{23} as no. 551.

Compartment 27.

553. The see of Canterbury (as in no. 12) *impaling* a chevron between three cinquefoils. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 13.
A., fol. 8^{b}, colours the impaled coat: field *or* and the rest *gu.* C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, omit the see.
W. blazons as A. and ascribes to Archbishop Chicheley.
He was archbishop from 1413–14 to 1443.

554. Three lions passant, over all a bend *impaling* three piles.
A., fol. 8^{b}. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, only draw *two* lions.
W. blazons *gu., three lions passant in pale arg., a bendlet az.* (Fitzpaine), impaling *or, three piles in chief az.* (Brian), and ascribes to Robert Baron Fitzpaine, who married Ela, daughter and heir to Sir Guy de Brian. He died 28 Edw. III.
'He' is Robert Lord Fitzpayne. But Ela had a sister, who was coheir with her and married Sir Robert Grey, a younger son of Richard Lord Grey of Codnor. Sir Robert took the name of Fitzpayne, being found heir by grant to Ela, widow of Robert Lord Fitzpayne, the last baron.

555. Poynings (as no. 231), an annulet on the bend for difference, *quartering* St. John (as no. 155, though mullets here *not* of six).
A., fol. 9, C., fol. 13, Ha., fol. 22, all omit the annulet.
W. also omits to notice the annulet, and ascribes to Sir Thomas Poynings, Baron St. John, whose mother was daughter of Hugh de St. John of Basing, and was coheir to her brother Edmund.
It is to be noted that Sir Thomas's father who married Isabel, the St. John coheiress, was Lucas de Poynings, third son of Thomas, first Lord Poynings. Sir Thomas Poynings, under the title of Lord St. John, obtained a licence, 2 Hen. IV, to undertake a pilgrimage to Canterbury. He died in 1428, having married (1) Joan Lestrange, (2) Philippa Mortimer.

556. As no. 151.
A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.
See no. 133.

557. Six keys crowned.
Scarlett, fol. 11. A., fol. 8b.
See no. 133. Still in St. Peter's, Canterbury, in old stained glass.

558. A shield covered with feathers, on a canton a chess-rook. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 7.
Scarlett, fol. 11. A., fol. 8b.
W. describes field as *plumée*.
A shield of extraordinary interest. It has been suggested that an allusive coat for Coverdale would be *couvert d'ailes*.

559. As no. 132.
A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

560. Bardolf (as no. 274) *impaling* Poynings (as no. 231).
A., fol. 8b. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, reverse the coats.
W. blazons Bardolf *az., three cinquefoils or, two and one*, and ascribes the shield to William Baron Bardolf, who married Agnes, daughter of Sir Michael Poynings, and died 9 Rich. II.
His wife survived, and married Sir Thomas Mortimer (no. 489).

561. A saltire between four martlets.
C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, both ascribe to Guildeford.
W. blazons *or, a saltire inter four martlets sa.*, and ascribes without comment to Guldeford.
C., fol. 24, records the coat as blazoned by W. as in Eythorn Church. This is probably for William de Guldeforde, who in 1 Rich. II, with his wife Joan (? Brocket), settled the manor of Brokecote (in Ebeney) by fine (Feet of Fines, 1 Rich. II, no. 29).

562. The Priory of Christ Church (as no. 430).
C., fol. 13, ascribes to the Dean and Chapter. Ha., fol. 22.

563. A cross.
C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.
W. blazons *or, a cross vt.*, and assigns to Hussey without comment.

564. A fess between six herrings (?) hauriant, a label of three.
Scarlett, fol. 11. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.
It may be suggested that this is the coat of Nicholas Herring, who married the heiress of Frognal in Chislehurst. A very similar coat, that of Hardresham, is on a brass at Lingfield, Surrey. Or this may be a shield of one of the Heringauds, who always bore *six* herrings.

565. Barrey (as no. 53), with a crescent for difference on the fess.
C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.
W. here blazons the fess *gu.* correctly. He makes the crescent *or*.

566. Three lozenges, two and one.
C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.

567. Poynings (as no. 231) *impaling* a lion rampant, a bordure engrailed.
A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.
W. blazons the impaled coat as he does no. 166, and ascribes to Talbot, pointing out that Sir Nicholas Poynings married Jane, daughter of Richard Baron Talbot.

And to clinch the matter, Scarlett and C. (fol. 26) both record in a window in St. Peter's Church (the Poynings' church) in Canterbury, this very shield of Poynings impaling the coat as blazoned by W.

568. Poynings (as no. 231) *impaling* Grey (as no. 525).

A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, both misdraw the impaled coat as two bars.

W. ascribes to Richard Lord Poynings, who married Isabel, only daughter and heir of Sir Robert Grey, who adopted the name of Fitzpayne, as noted under no. 554.

569. Poynings (as no. 231) *impaling* a quartered coat: 1 and 4, Grey; 2 and 3, Hastings and Valence quarterly. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 4.

A., fol. 9, omits the Valence *martlets*. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, misdraw the impaled shield. W. misdescribes.

The impaled shield is exactly like that on the seal of Reginald de Grey, Lord Hastings, and on the stall-plate, no. liv, of his eldest son, Sir John Grey, K.G., with a label. The first and fourth quarters are Grey de Ruthin, *barry of six arg. and az., in chief three torteaux*, and the second and third are as no. 173.

570. Poynings (as no. 231) *impaling* Fitzpayne (as at no. 554).

A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, show only two lions.

This shield is recorded as in glass at St. Peter's, Canterbury, by Scarlett, and by C., fol. 26. The same coats quartered are at no. 571. See also the note to no. 568.

571. Poynings *quartering* Fitzpayne (as no. 152).

A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, show only two lions.

572. Poynings *quartering* Rokesley (as no. 154).

A., fol. 9. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

573. Poynings (as no. 231) *quartering* Avranches (as at no. 271).

A., fol. 9, colours the quartered shield *az., five chevrons or*. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

W. blazons the chevrons *az.* instead of *gu.*, as they should be.

574. A chevron between three boars' heads couped.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, both omit the chevron.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

The arms of John Langdon, Bishop of Rochester 1421, viz. *gu., a chevron between three boars' heads or*. He was B.D. in 1400, and subprior of Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1411. See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.

575. Kelsham (as no. 77).

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

576. Three chevrons, a label of three, *impaling* Rokesley (as at no. 154).

A., fol. 8^{b}, calls this Baud and Rokesley, and colours the dexter coat *gu., three chevrons arg.*, but gives no colour for the label. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 22, both call Bawd and Rokesley.

W. blazons Baud as A., and gives label as *or*, and points out that Sir William le Baud married Joan, daughter and coheir of Sir Richard de Rokesley, seneschal and governor of Poitou and Montrieul in Picardy, who had married the sister and heir of John de Criol. Sir William by this means held Ruxley manor, 3 Edw. III. W. cites a seal of Thomas Baud de Hadh'm without the label from Julius C. 7.

Sir Richard married Joan, sister and heir of Bertram de Criol, who was heir to his brother John, whom he survived.

577. A cross voided *impaling* Avranches (as at no. 271).

A., fol. 8^{b}, colours the impalement *az., five chevrons or*. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

W. blazons both wrongly, but assigns rightly to Hamo de Crevequer, who married Maud, daughter and heir of William d'Avranches, and died 47 Hen. III.

Hamo de Crevequer bore *or, a cross voided gu.*

578. Poynings (as no. 231).

A., fol. 8ᵇ, colours *barry of six vt. and or, a bend gu.*

579. Poynings (as last shield) *impaling* ermine, a cross engrailed.

A., fol. 8ᵇ, omits the ermine. C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

W. omits to notice the ermine.

This shield was in St. Peter's Church, according to Scarlett and C., fol. 26. The engrailed cross was *gu.*, and therefore the shield was for Northwood. The manor of Leveland came to the Poynings by a marriage with an heir of Thomas de Northwood, who dying *s.p.* left his sisters Agnes and Joan his coheirs. Agnes appears to have married Nicholas Herring (no. 564) according to a fine of 1379 (Feet of Fines, 2 Rich. II, no. 104), which with other fines appears to show that Hasted's account of the descent of the manor of North Cray is pure fiction.

580. Poynings (as no. 231) *impaling* Rokesley (as at no. 154).

A., fol. 8ᵇ.

W. says 'as no. 154', which is not so.

581. Rokesley (as in no. 580) *impaling* Criol (as no. 67).

A., fol. 8ᵇ, blazons Rokesley as *arg., a fess gu., between six lions rampant az.*

See no. 576. It is to be observed that W. always follows Hasted and some old rolls in making the fess of Rokesley *gu.*, though the field is *az.* and the lions are *arg.* The field and the lions are derived from Leyborne (see no. 272). See also no. 154.

582. Criol *impaling* Avranches (as no. 271).

A., fol. 8ᵇ, colours the impaled coat *az., five chevrons or.* C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 22.

Compartment 28.

North-east Angle.

583. Archbishop Arundel (as no. 14).

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, omit the see, and name 'Arundell Bishop'.

W. says 'as no. 12', which it is not.

584. A griffin segreant with a human face, charged on the breast with a mullet. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 7.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. says the monster is ermine, which it is not.

See no. 345.

585. Roos of Hamlake (as no. 411) *quartering* a fess between two bars gemel.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons the quartered coat *arg., a fess between two bars gemelles gu.*, and assigns to Badlesmere.

William Lord Roos of Hamlake married Margery, sister and coheir of Giles Lord Badlesmere.

586. Manston (as no. 512).

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, omit the ermine.

587. A cross voided and couped.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons field *arg.* and cross *gu.*, but does not assign.

This is drawn in A., fol. 3, and by Scarlett, fol. 12, quite away from the shields which surround it. Scarlett makes the cross *gu.*, but gives no colour to the field. The coat is a very peculiar one. It was in the windows of Rainham Church, according to C., fol. 5, with the field *or*. Compare also the plain cross at no. 424. It appears to be correctly blazoned by W. for Taverner. Taverner was bailiff of Canterbury.

588. Crusily patty and two lucies hauriant.

589. Crusily patty and three lucies hauriant. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 6.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, both draw crosslets.

W. assigns no. 588 to Barr and no. 589 to Lucie, but Barr always has the fish addorsed and Lucie has crosslets. See no. 20.

The fish are wonderfully rendered in both these shields.

590. Nottingham (as no. 195).

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons *gu., on a bend arg., three escallops sa.*, and assigns without comment to Knoel.

See no. 195.

591. Three crosses patty in pale, a bordure engrailed.

C., fol. 12, and Ha., fol. 23, both misdraw, putting the crosses on a pale, making the middle one a martlet. They assign to Crouch.

W. blazons *arg., three crosses in pale and a bordure engrailed sa.*, and assigns without comment to Atcrouch.

592. An eagle displayed. Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 5.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons *vt., an eagle displayed arg., armed gu.*, and ascribes without comment to Chevening.

It is true that the family of de Chevening probably bore these arms, but they do not appear in Kent so late as *temp.* Henry IV, and it is more probable that these are the arms of the family of At Bridge, *gu., an eagle displayed arg.*, as noted by Filmer Southouse in Add. MS. 14307. They are also noted by C., fol. 31, as being in Sheldwich Church.

This shield is one of the most beautiful in the cloisters.

593. An orle formed of three congers, head to tail. Pl. XL, fig. 3.

W. blazons *az., three trouts in orle arg., testes aux queues*, and assigns to Troutbeck.

The fish are not trout.

594. The Priory of Christ Church (as no. 430).

595. Cossington (as no. 124).

596. As no. 492.

597. As no. 302.

598. Roos of Hamlake (as no. 411).

599. Ufford *quartering* Willoughby (as no. 235).

600. Kyme (as no. 450).

601. A cross engrailed ermine, in dexter chief a crescent. Pl. XL, fig. 4.

W. makes field *sa.* and crescent *arg.*, and ascribes without comment to Dodingfield.

Scarlett notes in a window of the cathedral the coat as blazoned by W. These are the arms of Robert Hallum, rector of Northfleet, one of the executors of Archbishop Courtenay. He was afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, Chancellor of Oxford, and Bishop of Salisbury. He died at Constance, where in the cathedral is a brass to his memory. A reproduction is in Kite's *Brasses of Wiltshire* (see p. 97), taken from one published in 1844 in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxx, p. 430.

602. Three crescents; a bordure engrailed ermine. Pl. XXXVII, fig. 8.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, both omit the ermine.

W. does not notice the ermine.

These are the arms of d'Aldon, who bore *gu., three crescents and a bordure engrailed ermine*, for the crescents were probably ermine, though it does not now show on them. The arms are on the font in Herne Church, and were also in windows at Sheldwich and Tunstall, according to Harl. MS. 3917. Thomas de Aldon married one of the daughters and coheirs of Waretius de Valoignes, and came into a large property with her. Thomas de Aldon was also found to be next heir to Walter de Paveley in 4 Rich. II. See *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 6.

603. Three eagles displayed.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons *or, three eagles displayed gu., two and one*, and ascribes without comment to Eglisfield.

This shield is probably as no. 443, the lis in chief having perished. See remarks on that shield.

604. A cross.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons *az., a cross arg.*, and ascribes without comment to Aylesbury.

605. Mereworth (as no. 326).

Scarlett, fol. 11b, colours *arg., a chevron gu., between ten crosses patty az.*

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

The crosses for Mereworth are usually *sa.*, otherwise Scarlett's blazon is right. See no. 326.

606. Ermine, on a chief three left hands couped.

Scarlett, fol. 11b, makes the chief *gu.* and hands *arg.* C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, both ascribe to Malmayns.

W. blazons as Scarlett does, and ascribes to Malmains without comment.

John Malmains of Malmains in Pluckley was found in 1370 to be heir to John de Mereworth, a finding which well accords with a shield found in painted glass at Pluckley Church by Philipot, and recorded by him in his church notes in Kent (Harl. MS. 3917). The shield was *ermine, on a chief gu., three left hands couped arg.*, impaling *arg., a chevron gu., between six crosses above and four below sa.* (no. 605).

607. As no. 515.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, omit the ermine and draw a label of three.

608. On a chevron three mullets of six pierced.

C., fol. 13, draws as stars with wavy points. Ha., fol. 23, calls it Cobham.

W. says 'as no. 335', which it is, save that the mullets here are of six.

609. A bend engrailed between two plain cotises; on the upper part of the bend an annulet for difference.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, omit annulet.

W. omits to notice the annulet, and does not blazon or ascribe.

This appears to be the coat of Willington, *sa., a bend engrailed cotised arg.*, with an annulet for difference, and is probably for William Willyngton, rector of Bishopsbourne till his death in 1396.

A.[28] Bishop Clifford.

Not noticed by W. This is as no. 443, but the lis is in fess point instead of in chief.

B.[28] As A.[28]

Here the lis has nearly perished. The birds are excellent. This shield is also not noticed by W.

C.[23] As no. 129.

Not noticed by W. The shield is very dilapidated.

Compartment 29.

610. An eagle with wings displayed preying upon a child in swaddling clothes: on the wings of the eagle are shields, the dexter charged as no. 257; the sinister as no. 702. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 1.

W. illustrates in his frontispiece.

This magnificent boss may be assigned to Sir John Stanley, K.G., who died 1414. See no. 702. It is very deeply cut; running from the beak of the eagle is a schedule or scroll, which curls back to the rib of the vault, but being cut in the side of the boss does not show in the plate.

611. On a chevron a mullet pierced; a label of three.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 23.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

See nos. 307, 391, and 625.

612. As no. 117.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 23.

613. As no. 355. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 5.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, draw the garlands as Catherine-wheels.

W. says 'as no. 136', which is not correct.

It is interesting to compare this shield with nos. 136, 355, 397, and 623, and notice the differences in the ordinaries and the garlands.

614. As no. 297.

615. A bend engrailed, a bordure.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, both draw the bend plain and the bordure engrailed.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

Possibly Colepeper with a difference. It will be noticed that Colepeper occurs several times in this compartment.

616. A pair of hames. Pl. XXXIV, fig. 12.

Scarlett, fol. 11[b]. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, misdraw as a barnacle.

W. suggests this is a badge of St. John, who used it *or*, and says William de St. John was master of baggage-wagons to William the Conqueror.

See note on no. 299.

617. As no. 311.

618. No. 617; an annulet in sinister chief.

619. No. 307 *impaling* no. 524.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, draw the bend in the dexter coat as chequy.

See no. 524, and compare no. 629.

620. A bend engrailed (as no. 74).

W. blazons *or, a bend engrailed gu.*, and assigns to Wrottesley, but gives no reason. It is more probably Colepeper.

621. As no. 311, with a label of three.

622. As no. 492.
C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

623. No. 622 *impaling* no. 613.
Scarlett, fol. 11[b]. C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, misdraw impaled shield, as they did no. 613.

624. No. 622 *impaling* no. 206.
C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

625. No. 307 *impaling* no. 611 (mullet not pierced). Pl. XXXIX, fig. 8.
C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, omit the crescent and the mullet, and draw bend in dexter coat as *chequy*.
W. misdescribes.

626. A unicorn salient *quartering* semy of lis.
This is Harling (*arg., a unicorn salient sa., armed and unguled or*) *quartering* Mortimer of Attleborough (*or, semy of lis sa.*). The coat of Harling alone is at no. 636. Sir John de Harling (who died before 1411) married Cecily, one of the coheirs of Mortimer of Attleborough, and there was issue of this marriage Sir Robert, a noted warrior, who was at Meaux in 1412 and was killed at Paris in 1435. Thomas Harling was a legatee and executor of Richard Earl of Arundel (died 1397), the archbishop's brother. Robert Herlyng of Norwich and Sandwich, who died in 1396, desired by will to be buried in the chancel of St. Peter's Church, Sandwich, before the high altar.

627. As no. 307.
W. says 'as no. 614', which is not so.

628. As no. 627, with a label of three. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 2.
Notice how in this fine bold shield the crescent is arranged so as to show through the label.

629. No. 297 *quartering* no. 524.
C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 23, draw bend in first and fourth quarters as *chequy*.
Compare no. 619.

630. Colepeper (as no. 74), a mullet pierced at the top of the bend for difference.
C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, omit the mullet.
Compare the shields in this compartment, which W. omits to notice.

631. As no. 311, a martlet in sinister chief for difference.
C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 23, misdraw as a bend engrailed.
W. misdescribes.

632. As no. 280.

633. As no. 524.

634. Quarterly, on a bend three escallops.
W. blazons *quarterly or and az., on a bend gu., three escallops arg.*, and assigns to Fastolfe without comment.
That family owned property in Romney Marsh. In 1386 Hugh Fastolf, citizen of London, and his wife Joan are found settling some thousand acres there (apparently the wife's inheritance) on themselves and their issue in tail male (Feet of Fines, 9 Rich. II, no. 593). A Hugh Fastolfe used such a shield as this on his seal. See the *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, s. v. A more distinguished member of the family, the celebrated warrior Sir John Fastolfe, K.G., seems to have borne crosslets and not escallops on the bend.

635. Two bars, in chief three (?) cinquefoils.
C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 23.

W. blazons *sa., two bars and in chief three cinquefoils arg.*, and ascribes without comment to Walden.

The charges in chief are much perished. They might be roses, but are more probably cinquefoils. The sculptor has so decorated his bars that they might pass for *gemels*. But W. is probably right in his blazon, though in S. the bars are shown as ermine, where curiously enough the Walden shield is next to no. 634. See also no. 803.

636. Harling (as at no. 626). Pl. XXXII, fig. 5.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, give colours *arg., a unicorn sa.*, and ascribe to Harlinge.

See no. 626. W. is so attracted by the artist's rendering that he tries to reproduce the shield in his margin. But the original is better.

637. As no. 504, though here the mullets are pierced.

C., fol. 13. Ha., fol. 23.

638. As no. 298.

639. On a bend engrailed a crescent in the upper part for difference.

C., fol. 13, and Ha., fol. 23, draw the crescent in sinister chief.

W. describes as if no. 624.

This is no doubt *arg., a bend engrailed gu., on it in chief a crescent or, for difference*, a coat once in the windows of Headcorn Church, according to C., fol. 40, for its founder—a Colepeper.

640. A chevron engrailed between three (?) partridges. Pl. XL, fig. 12.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. describes as martlets, which they certainly are not, for which see no. 285.

The same coat is impaled at no. 642, where the birds have nearly perished.

641. Six lis: three, two, and one.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. blazons *arg., six fleurs de lis az., three, two, and one*, and ascribes to Fulke Peyforer, sheriff 43 Hen. III. W. mentions that Potyn used a similar coat.

Peyforer bore the lis *sable*, and it was Potyn who bore them *azure*, while the Lenhams bore *sa., six lis or*, both coats being probably derived from Peyforer.

642. No. 641 *impaling* no. 640.

C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, reverse the coats so as to make the dexter the sinister.

A.[2)] Colepeper (as no. 74), an annulet on upper part of the bend for difference.

Not noticed by W.

B.[2)] Colepeper (as no. 74), a martlet on upper part of the bend for difference.

Not noticed by W.

C.[2)] No. 74 (?) *impaling* no. 307.

Not noticed by W. The dexter shield is difficult to read as the bend is incised in wavy lines, leaving considerable doubt as to what is in fact intended.

COMPARTMENT 30.

643. A castle. In the centre a great gatehouse triple-towered, over the gate a large shield charged with a lion rampant. From behind the shield issue arms with banded armour, the hands grasping the corner towers of the castle. Below the gatehouse is a coronet, and within the coronet is a lion couchant. From the sides of the coronet issue ostrich feathers, which surround the castle, and a chain runs up the quill of each. Pl. XXXII, fig. 9. Details *ibid.* figs. 6 and 10.

W. ascribes to John of Gaunt as King of Castile and Leon, and suggests that the objects grasped by the hands are the pillars of Hercules, often found on Spanish coins. W. gives a reproduction in his frontispiece, which is very inaccurate, omitting the coronet, the lion, and the chain. This is observed upon by Mr. Streatfeild, who gives a more correct representation, but does not seem to differ from W.'s ascription, which, however, may well be doubted.[1] The boss is very deeply cut, the lion in the coronet being quite at the side of it, and the ostrich feathers also are turned towards the sides.

644. Nevill (as no. 498) *impaling* Beaufort (as no. 497).

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. blazons Nevill *gu., a saltire arg.*, and the Beaufort bordure as *gobonée arg. and az.*, and ascribes to Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, who married as his second wife Joan, half-sister of King Henry IV. W. gives a long note about the distinguished issue of this marriage and their descendants.

645. A cross engrailed.

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. assigns to Haut, as no. 130.

It is more probably, having regard to the next shield, here intended for *or, a cross engrailed sa.*, for Mohun of Dunster.

646. Montacute (as no. 171) *impaling* Mohun of Dunster (as no. 645).

W. points out that William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, K.G., who died 1397, married as his second wife Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Lord Mohun of Dunster, and refers to the earl's seal, fol. 447 of Harl. MS. 5805.

The countess died 1414 *s. p.* Her sisters' shields are at nos. 657 and 672.

647. Despencer (as no. 218) *impaling* Burghersh (as no. 102).

C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, only give the lion one tail.

W. assigns correctly to Edward Lord Despencer, K.G., who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Bartholomew, second Lord Burghersh.

He was grandson of the Clare coheiress (no. 168) and died 1375. His wife's name is sometimes given as Joan, which causes her to be confused with her aunt Joan, Lady Mohun. The son of this marriage was Thomas Earl of Gloucester (no. 675), and the grandson Richard Lord Despencer, who died in 1414 (no. 660).

648. Strange of Knockyn (as no. 138).

A., fol. 8. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

See no. 657.

649. Holland, Duke of Exeter (as no. 181).

C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, both draw as France and England quarterly in a bordure of France.

See no. 653.

650. Mowbray (as at no. 161) *impaling* Fitzalan and Warenne quarterly (as no. 189).

W. points out that Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died at Venice in 1399, married Elizabeth, sister and coheir of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.

651. A lion rampant crowned.

A., fol. 8. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. blazons *sa., a lion rampant arg., crowned or*, and assigns to Segrave, pointing out that they were connected with Folkestone and Addington in Kent, and that the original arms of the

[1] Sir William Hope, in the discussion after the reading of the paper, pointed out that the ostrich feather with the chain was used by Edward Duke of York (son of Edmund of Langley), who died at Agincourt, and that probably the correct ascription of this great boss may be discovered by following that clue.

family were *sa., three garbs arg., banded gu.*, and that when Gilbert de Segrave (*temp.* Henry III) married an heiress of Chaucumbe he assumed the arms of that family, and John Segrave sealed the Pope's letter, 29 Edw. I, with the crowned lion, with a garb on each side of the shield.

The lion on the Pope's letter does not look as if it were crowned.

John Lord Segrave married Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas de Brotherton, and their daughter and heir married John Lord Mowbray : see page 459 and nos. 161, 663, and 673.

652. Mowbray (as at no. 650) *impaling* Holland, Duke of Exeter (as no. 181).

A., fol. 8.

W. points out that Thomas, eldest son and heir of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, married Constance, daughter of John Holland, Duke of Exeter.

She was niece of Henry IV.

653. Holland, Duke of Exeter (as no. 181) *impaling* the royal arms (as no. 157).

A., fol. 8. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. explains correctly, as see *supra*, p. 459.

654. Beauchamp (as no. 159).

C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

Here the fess is bordered so as to look as if it had a rectangular compartment on the top of it.

655. Fitzalan *quartering* Warenne (as no. 189).

A., fol. 7[b]. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

656. A chevron.

A., fol. 8. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. blazons *arg., a chevron sa.*, and assigns without comment to Rempston.

See no. 490. But in this compartment it is more likely Stafford.

657. Strange of Knockyn (as no. 138) *impaling* Mohun of Dunster (as no. 645).

A., fol. 7[b], ascribes to Dymocke and Clifford.

W. ascribes correctly to John Lord Strange, who married Maud, eventually coheir of her father, John Lord Mohun of Dunster.

Her sisters' shields are at nos. 646 and 672. John Lord Strange died 1397.

658. Per pale, a bend.

A., fol. 7[b].

W. blazons *per pale az. and gu., a bend or*, and ascribes without comment to Langton.

These are the arms usually assigned to Stephen Langton, archbishop 1206–28.

659. Fitzalan *quartering* Warenne (as no. 189).

A., fol. 7[b].

660. Despencer (as no. 218) *impaling* Nevill (as at no. 644).

A., fol. 7[b]. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. ascribes to Richard Lord Despencer, who died *s. p.* 1414. He married Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmorland, by Joan Beaufort.

See no. 644. Richard Lord Despencer was son of Thomas Earl of Gloucester (no. 675), and grandson of Edward Lord Despencer (no. 647).

661. Nevill (as at no. 660).

A., fol. 7[b].

W. blazons *az., a saltire or*, and ascribes without comment to St. Albans Abbey.

It is here more probably Nevill.

662. An inescutcheon.

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14. H., fol. 24.

W. blazons *az., an inescutcheon or*, and ascribes to Bertram without comment.

But compare his blazon of no. 95. A similar coat was borne by Harlestone. The shield, as carved, may be compared with no. 51. It differs from Bertram as carved at no. 95.

663. Mowbray (as at no. 650) *quartering* Segrave (as no. 651).

A., fol. 7b, omits the crowns, as do C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, who moreover omit any quarterly markings.

W. blazons as under nos. 161 and 651.

The same coats impaled at no. 667; explained at no. 651.

664. Thomas de Brotherton (as at no. 161), but here with a label of five.

A., fol. 7b, draws as if the royal arms (no. 157), a label of five. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, draw a label of three.

W. blazons as he does at no. 161.

See nos. 161, 673, and 763.

665. Despencer (as no. 218).

A., fol. 7b. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

666. Nevill (as no. 661), with a label of three *impaling* Holland (as no. 278).

A., fol. 7b, draws the saltire as a chevron.

W. blazons the label *or*, and ascribes to Sir John Nevill, son of Ralph, second Earl of Westmorland, and says Sir John married Constance Holland, daughter of John Duke of Exeter.

W. is mistaken. It is for Sir John Nevill, the eldest son of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland. Sir John died *v. p.* 1423, having married in 1394 Elizabeth, fifth daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, eventually (in 1407) coheir to her brother Edmund.

667. Mowbray *impaling* Segrave (see no. 663). Pl. XXXIV, fig. 7.

A., fol. 8.

W. says as no. 663, which is incorrect.

668. Mowbray (as at no. 650) *impaling* Nevill (as no. 661).

A., fol. 8.

W. blazons as before, and ascribes to John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who married Catherine, daughter of Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland.

She was his daughter by Joan Beaufort (no. 644).

669. Mohun of Dunster (as no. 645) *impaling* Burghersh (as no. 102).

A., fol. 8.

W. blazons and ascribes to John Lord Mohun of Dunster, who married Joan, daughter of Bartholomew Lord Burghersh, who is buried in the undercroft, and quotes her inscription.

She obtained from Richard II a large donation towards the nave, and was also herself a generous benefactor to the cathedral and priory. By agreement with the prior and convent in 1395 she was allowed to found a chantry in the undercroft, and to erect a monument to be buried within. This was finished before her death in 1404. By her will, of which the archbishop was an executor, she left a legacy of ten marcs to Brother John, her own confessor. This was possibly John Schepene (A.[34]). See further Lyte's *Dunster*.

670. Montacute (as no. 171).

A., fol. 8.

671. Three bends.

A., fol. 8. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, draw as bendy of eight.

W. neither blazons nor ascribes.

See no. 523.

672. The Duke of York (as no. 184) *impaling* Mohun of Dunster (as no. 645).

A., fol. 8, omits charges on label. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, draw three lis (?) on each point.

W. blazons as before, and ascribes to Edward, Duke of York, who married Philippa, daughter and coheir of John Lord Mohun (no. 669).

He was second duke, and brother to Richard of Coningsborough. The wife was coheir with her sisters (nos. 646 and 657).

673. Thomas de Brotherton (as no. 664) *quartering* Mowbray (as at no. 650).

A., fol. 8.

W. blazons as he did no. 161, which see.

674. Burghersh (as no. 102).

A., fol. 7b.

W. blazons *gu., a lion rampant or, queue forchée,* and says the manor of Chidingstone Burghersh was held by Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, K.G., and conveyed by him to Sir Walter Paveley, K.G.

See no. 647. The coat as blazoned by W. was, according to Harl. MS. 3917, in the windows of Tunstall Church. See *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 6.

675. Despencer (as no. 218) *impaling* Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (as no. 184).

A., fol. 7b.

W. assigns to Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who married Constance, daughter of Edmund of Langley. He was beheaded in 1400.

She was sister to Richard of Coningsborough (no. 191). See no. 672.

Compartment 31.

676. An elephant with a castle on his back, charged on his side with the arms of Jerusalem (as at no. 322). Pl. XXXIII, fig. 3.

W. illustrated this boss in his frontispiece, when the trunk of the elephant, now broken, was perfect. He ascribes to Beaumont, and refers to a standard of William, second Viscount Beaumont in Harl. MS. 4632.

The elephant is a well-known Beaumont badge, and is on the brass of the second viscount at Wivenhoe. See no. 3.

The first Baron Beaumont was a grandson of John, King of Jerusalem, and in consequence the family used the arms of Jerusalem, putting them in the first quarter of their shield with their own family arms in the second. The family arms are sometimes said to be derived from the royal arms of France, but that contention has not been established.

John, fourth baron, was Lord Warden from 1392, and was a K.G. He married Catherine, daughter and heir of Thomas Everingham of Laxton, Notts., who survived him till 1426. He died in 1396, and was succeeded by Henry, his son and heir, as fifth baron, who was made a K.B. at the coronation in 1399. He married before 1405 Elizabeth, daughter of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by Lucy, daughter of Roger le Strange. The fifth baron died in 1413, and to him this boss may be ascribed.

677. Jerusalem *quartering* Beaumont (as no. 322).

A., fol. 6b.

678. Not found, it is described by W. as like no. 677.

679. As no. 677.

680. As no. 677, but each lion is charged on the shoulder with an annulet for difference.

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit the lis and the annulet.

W. omits to notice the annulet.

681. As no. 677, with a label of three.

A., fol. 7, omits the label.

W. omits to notice the label.

This series of Beaumont shields gives rise to a suspicion that they were all differenced. It will be noticed that two are so; one with a label across the whole shield; and the other with an annulet on each lion instead of in some central point: an interesting detail. The others may have been differenced also, but the condition of the shields nos. 677 and 679 is such as to make it impossible to determine the point, though, to the eye of imagination, there may appear some kind of object on the lion's shoulders. See no. 753.

682. Beaumont (as no. 35) *quartering* Comyn (as no. 707).

A., fol. 6[b], omits the lis. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. misdescribes, but assigns to Henry de Beaumont, who attended Edward I into Scotland, and married Alice, daughter and heir of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Boghan.

W. blazons Comyn as *or, three garbs gu.*, but that can be corrected by the stall-plate (no. xv) of the lady's great grandson, Sir John, fourth Lord Beaumont, K.G., which shows *az., three garbs or*. See nos. 373 and 685.

683. Jerusalem and Beaumont *quarterly* (as no. 322) *impaling* Henry of Lancaster (as no. 481).

A., fol. 6[b], shows the label plain.

W. omits the word 'lis' in his description, but assigns to John de Beaumont (died 1342), who married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster.

They were the grandparents of the K.G. of the stall-plate. John de Beaumont only survived his father two years, and so had only one summons to Parliament as Lord Beaumont. His wife was mother to Archbishop Arundel. See no. 752.

684. Jerusalem and Beaumont *quarterly* (as no. 322) *impaling* Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit the lis.

W. ascribes to Henry Lord Beaumont (died 1369), who married the daughter of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

W. by mistake calls her Margaret. Her name was Maud (see no. 704). These are the parents of the K.G. of the stall-plate.

685. Jerusalem and Beaumont *quarterly* (as no. 322) *impaling* a lion rampant vair.

A., fol. 6, does not note the vair. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit the lis and the vair, and make the lion of the impaled coat *guardant*.

W. blazons the field of the impaled coat as *gu.*, and ascribes to the K.G. of the stall-plate who married Catherine, daughter of Thomas de Everingham. W. adds that this John Lord Beaumont was Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, and died 1396.

686. Ferrers (as no. 15) *impaling* Montacute and Monthermer *quarterly* (as no. 232).

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. assigns to William Lord Ferrers of Groby, who married Margaret Montacute, daughter of John Earl of Salisbury.

She was his second wife (see no. 709). She was the daughter of Maud, daughter and heir of Adam Fraunceis, a Lord Mayor of London, who married before 1383 as her third husband John,

third Earl of Salisbury. The earl died in 1400. The countess survived till 1424. This shield and no. 709 enable no. 699 to be assigned with some confidence to Ferrers.

Observe how the eagle's tail is prolonged to fill the shield.

687. Jerusalem and Beaumont *quarterly* (as no. 322) *impaling* Ufford and Willoughby *quarterly* (as no. 235).

A., fol. 6b.

W. ascribes to Henry Lord Beaumont, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

Henry, fifth Lord, was son of the K.G. of the stall-plate (no. 685). He died 1413.

688. The royal arms (as no. 157).

A., fol. 6b.

689. The Priory of Christ Church (as no. 430).

W. misdescribes.

690. Archbishop Arundel (as no. 11).

A., fol. 7.

691. As no. 105.

A., fol. 7.

692. Everingham (as at no. 685). Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2.

A., fol. 6b, omits the vair.

693. No. 253 *impaling* no. 105.

A., fol. 6b, omits the billets.

The same coats *quartered* at nos. 265 and 325.

694. No. 79 *impaling* no. 265.

A., fol. 6, omits the escallop. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit the billets.

695. Not found: it is described by W. as like no. 685.

696. A cross moline *quartering* a lion rampant; a label of three over all.

A., fol. 6. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit the label.

697. As no. 696, but the dexter point of the label charged with an annulet.

These shields show no billets, but in view of no. 693 it is impossible not to suspect that the sculptor has omitted them.

698. As no. 341, *impaling* Jerusalem and Beaumont *quarterly* (as no. 322).

A., fol. 6.

699. Ferrers (?) (as at no. 686) *impaling* Jerusalem and Beaumont quarterly (as no. 322). Pl. XXXVI, fig. 5.

A., fol. 6. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit Beaumont.

700. Three galleys. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 12.

A., fol. 6.

W. blazons *az., three galleys in pale or*, and ascribes to Portugal on the authority of Harl. MS. no. 4632, fol. 29, which says they are the old arms of the King of Portugal.

In another manuscript (*Ancestor*, vol. iii, p. 192) they are given as the 'Roy de Norrewaye'. Mr. Streatfeild also, in *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 17, ascribes this to Haco King of Norway, citing an early MS. of Matthew Paris which belonged to the Abbey of St. Albans, now in the King's library in the British Museum, which shows the arms in a marginal illumination *gu., three galleys*

beaked or, the uppermost ensigned by a cross arg., as the arms of Haco. It is further pointed out that, through Matthew Paris, King Haco was a benefactor of St. Albans.

701. Popham *quartering* Zouche (as no. 357).

A., fol. 6, draws the stags' heads as lions' heads jessant de lis.

W. says 'as no. 356', which is not correct.

Note the roundels as in no. 357.

702. Lathom *quartering* Stanley (as at no. 610).

A., fol. 6. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.

W. blazons *quarterly 1 and 4, or, on a chief indented az., three bezants* (Lathom); *2 and 3, arg., on a bend az., three stags' heads caboshed or* (Stanley).

Sir John Stanley (second son of William Stanley of Stanley) established his fortunes by marrying the heiress of Lathom, daughter of the foundling of the legend. He was steward of the household of Henry IV and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he died in 1414. He had a grant of the Isle of Man in 1405 (after the forfeiture by Hotspur), and was made K.G. in the same year. In 1409 he was made constable of Windsor Castle, which office he held to his death. W., in his note on no. 610, gives some interesting details of some later crests, badges, and seals of the Stanleys from Lansdowne MS. no. 858, fol. 22^{b}, and Julius c. 7, fol. 196.

703. Ferrers (as no. 15).

A., fol. 6. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

See no. 686.

704. Devereux (as no. 710) *impaling* Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 6^{b}. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. misdescribes, but refers to a seal of Sir John Devereux (Harl. MS. 5805, fol. 385) in a document dated at Ludlow, 12th Sept. 1341.

This is for Sir John Devereux, K.G., whose stall-plate is no. xiii of Sir William Hope's series. He was Lord Warden, and was summoned to Parliament as Lord Devereux. He married as her third husband Maud, daughter of John de Vere, seventh Earl of Oxford, by Maud, daughter of Bartholomew Lord Badlesmere, coheir to her brother. Maud Lady Devereux had previously married: (1) Sir Nicholas Lovain, (2) Henry, third Lord Beaumont (no. 684).

The garter-plate gives the blazon of Devereux as *arg., a fess gu., and in chief three torteaux; on the fess a mullet pierced or, for difference*, as W. gives it. The K.G. was of the younger branch of the family.

It may be observed that Sir John's only daughter Joan, eventually heir to her brother, married Walter Lord Fitzwalter (no. 712).

705. Jerusalem and Beaumont *quarterly* (as no. 322) *impaling* Comyn (as no. 707).

A., fol. 6^{b}.

W. says 'as no. 682', which is incorrect. See that number.

706. As no. 341.

A., fol. 6^{b}. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

See no. 698.

707. Comyn.

A., fol. 6^{b}.

W. blazons incorrectly. It should be *az., three garbs or*, as in the stall-plate (see no. 682).

The slight horning of the shield at its upper corners should be noticed.

708. Vere (as no. 16).

A., fol. 6^{b}.

See no. 704.

709. Ferrers (as no. 15) *impaling* Clifford (as no. 251).

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

Both these coats (Clifford with an annulet on the fess) are on the altar-tomb in West Peckham Church of Sir William Colepeper (died 1457), who married a Ferrers of Groby. William Lord Ferrers of Groby married as his first wife Philippa, daughter of Roger Lord de Clifford. See no. 686.

710. Devereux. A fess; in chief three roundels; on the fess a mullet pierced.

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14, and Ha., fol. 24, omit the mullet.

W. says 'as no. 704', which is incorrect.

See notes on no. 704. This occurs again by another sculptor at no. 780.

711. Three pelicans vulning themselves *impaling* a fess between two chevrons.

A., fol. 7, colours the impaled coat—the field *gu.*, the rest *arg.* C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 24.

W. blazons the dexter coat *az., three pelicans arg., two and one,* but does not blazon the sinister, though he points out that Collins in his *Baronage* (by Brydges, vol. v, p. 491) mentions a seal bearing these coats quarterly as used by Sir John de Pelham, 20 Rich. II (1397). W. also refers to other Pelham seals and badges mentioned by Collins.

It is difficult to determine whose the impaled coat is, as no pedigrees of Pelham give any assistance.

Sir John Pelham and his wife were prayed for at Arundel's chantry, and his effigy was, according to Scarlett, in the Chapter House windows in his coat armour, *az., three pelicans arg., vulned gu.* He died in 1439, after a distinguished career in the royal service. He was constable of Pevensey 1393, and with Henry IV at Pontefract. He was K.B. at the coronation, and steward of the duchy of Lancaster in 1405; treasurer in 1412. He appears to have acted politically with the party of Archbishop Arundel. He was executor under the wills of Henry IV, of Thomas Duke of Clarence, and of Henry V. The name of his wife is given as Joan, daughter of Sir John Escures, who is sometimes made wife of his only son John. The arms of Escures are given as *arg., a tree eradicated vert fructed gu.* So the beautiful shields nos. 452 and 543 may be for that name.

712. A fess between two chevrons.

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 14. Ha., fol. 25.

W. blazons *or, a fess inter two chevrons sa.*, and ascribes without comment to Lisle.

That coat appears on stall-plate xxxv. But in this compartment it might equally well be Fitzwalter (*or, a fess between two chevrons gu.*) as suggested at no. 704. Or if the impaled coat in no. 711 is ever determined it might be that.

713. Not found. It is described by W. as *arg., a bordure gu.*, and assigned by him to Henry de Essex, Constable of England, who, *temp.* Henry I, held Saltwood Castle, or his son and heir Hugh.

The connexion with the cloisters is remote. Probably W. has duplicated no. 662.

A.[31] Henry Earl of Lancaster (as no. 481).

A., fol. 6.

W. omits to notice this shield.

B.[31] Ufford *quartering* Willoughby (as no. 235).

A., fol. 7. C., fol. 15. Ha., fol. 25.

W. omits to notice this shield.

Compartment 32.

714. A double-headed eagle.

A., fol. 5. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. blazons *or, an eagle displayed sa., double-headed*, and ascribes to the Empire.

For nearly all the shields in this compartment reference should be made to the *Ancestor*, vol. iii, pp. 191 sqq.

715. A cross.

A., fol. 5^{b}, gives colours *az., a cross arg.*

W. blazons *gu., a cross arg.*, and ascribes to Savoy.

716. St. Thomas of Canterbury (as no. 19 but crosses not fitchy).

A., fol. 5^{b}, colours the impaled coat *arg., three beckets sa., beaked and membered gu.* C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, omit the see.

717. A cross.

A., fol. 5^{b}, colours *arg., a cross gu.*

W. blazons *sa., a cross arg.*, and assigns to St. Augustine.

It was borne by the Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury. As blazoned by A. it is St. George.

718. Three lis, a bend *quartering* the chains of Navarre. Pl. XLI, fig. 4.

A., fol. 5^{b}.

W. blazons *quarterly*, 1 and 4, *az., semée de lis or, a bendlet gobonée arg. and gu.* (Evreux); 2 and 3, *gu., a cross, saltire, and orle of chains or* (Navarre). He adds no note.

W. is wrong in two points. The first and fourth quarters are not semy de lis; and the bend is here not gobony. When the coat occurs again at no. 773 it is, and no doubt the marks were (unless they have disappeared since) omitted *per incuriam* by the sculptor here. It is difficult to be certain, but it looks as if at no. 773 the sculptor intended semée de lis. He has there rendered the chain also in rather a different and more vivid manner.

The arms are those of Joan of Navarre, the second queen of Henry IV, who survived him.

719. Quarterly and four lions passant.

A., fol. 5^{b}. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. blazons *quarterly, gu. and or, four lions passant counterchanged*, and ascribes to Wales without comment.

720. A saltire.

W. does not blazon or ascribe. Since this compartment is full of the arms of countries it may be the St. Andrew's cross of Scotland.

721. A lion rampant *quartering* a castle.

A., fol. 5^{b}, assigns to Castile and Arragon. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, reverse the quarters.

W. blazons *quarterly: 1 and 4, arg., a lion rampant gu.* (Leon); *2 and 3, gu., a castle or* (Castile), but adds no note.

The connexion of the Plantagenets with the house of Castile and Leon was very close, since two of the sons of Edward III married daughters of that house. See also no. 774.

722. An eagle displayed *quartering* a lion rampant with forked tail.

A., fol. 5^{b}.

W. describes the lion as crowned (which it is not), and refers in a note to no. 223. See that shield and the note there.

723. A hare salient.

A., fol. 5.

W. blazons *arg., a hare saliant proper*, and ascribes to Thrace on the authority of Harl. MS. 5852. 'Le Roy de Tarsse' in the old roll, reproduced opposite p. 320 of the article on Heraldry, *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th edition.

724. The royal arms (as no. 157).
A., fol. 5b.

725. The Isle of Man (as no. 257).
A., fol. 6. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

726. A harp.
A., fol. 5b, called Ireland. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.
W. blazons *az., a harp or*, and ascribes to Ireland without comment.
The object does not fill the shield, which, from an artistic point of view, is not a success.

727. St. Ethelbert (as no. 119).

728. A lion rampant within a double tressure flory, counterflory.
C., fol. 5, called Scotland. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, draw as if Beaumont.
W. blazons *or, a lion rampant within a tressure florée, counterflorée gu.*, and ascribes to Scotland.
The tressure is double and the lis very bold. The whole shield is beautifully rendered.

729. Ermine, on a chief three mullets of six pierced.
A., fol. 4b, C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, all omit the ermine.
W. does not blazon, but at no. 766, which is not now found, he blazons *ermine, on a chief gu., two mullets of six points or, pierced*, and ascribes to Fitzbernard, with a note that that family held the manor of Kingsdown near Wrotham till it was carried by an heiress, Margaret, to Badlesmere.
But the Fitzbernards bore the field *vair*, not *ermine*. This present shield is ascribed to Hautot in Papworth, but the roll is *temp.* Henry III and Edward I.

730. Four pales.
A., fol. 6. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 28.
W. blazons *or, four palettes gu.*, and ascribes to Provence.
And so borne by Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III. With the pales *sa.* it might be Strabolgi of Chilham Castle. At no. 735 is the same coat, but there the pales are incised.

731. A cross between four letters B back to back.
Scarlett, fol. 11b. A., fol. 5b, called Constantinople. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, draw none of the letters reversed.
W. blazons *gu., a cross inter four letters B addorsed or*, and ascribes to Constantinople without note.

732. The Saviour on the cross.
C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.
W. blazons *az., the Saviour on the cross or*, and ascribes to Ethiopia, and adds in a note from Harl. MS. 5852: 'The Emperor called Prester John.'

733. France.
A., fol. 5, called France. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.
W. blazons *az., three fleurs de lis or*, and ascribes to France.

734. Five escutcheons in cross, each charged with five roundels saltirewise, and a bordure charged with castles.
A., fol. 5, called Portugal. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.
W. blazons *arg., on five escutcheons in cross az., five plates in saltire; on a bordure gu., nine castles or*, and ascribes to Portugal without comment.

Besides the traditional friendship between Portugal and England, which alone would account for this shield in the cloisters, three sovereigns of Portugal about this time were K.G.'s, and one of them married a sister of Henry V. See stall-plate no. lii. Moreover, a legitimated daughter of one of them married Thomas, fifth Earl of Arundel, the archbishop's nephew. See no. 811.

735. As no. 730.

A., fol. 4ᵇ, draws as paly.

W. misdescribes.

See no. 730.

736. Pelham (as at no. 711) *impaling* a fess and a canton.

A., fol. 4ᵇ, assigns to Pelham and Wodvile. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. blazons the impaled coat *arg., a fess and canton gu.*, and ascribes to Widvile without comment.

No marriage of Pelham and Widvile has been traced.

737. A lion (? with a forked tail) sitting in a chair of state. Pl. XXXIX, fig. 9.

A., fol. 5ᵇ, the lion is marked 'seant'.

W. blazons *or, in a throne purpure a lion rampant sejant gu.*, but does not ascribe.

This seems to be for King Alexander the Great. Compare the shield at p. 194 of the *Ancestor*, vol. iii.

738. A bend ermine between two lions rampant (? passant).

A., fol. 5ᵇ, shows a lis on the upper part of the bend. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, omit the ermine.

W. blazons *gu., a bend ermine inter two lions rampant or*, and in a note says that in Harl. MS. no. 4632 these arms are inscribed 'Rois Harmayne'.

739. As no. 7.

C., fol. 17. Ha, fol. 29.

W. ascribes, as before, to St. Edmund. This shield appears on the great seal of Henry V for King Arthur.

740. Edward the Confessor (as no. 25).

A., fol. 5, ascribed to Edward the Confessor. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

741. Tregoze (as no. 366).

A., fol. 4ᵇ, draws two bars, while C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, draw four.

W. misdescribes.

See no. 366.

742. Barry of eight and over all an escarbuncle.

While A., fol. 5, draws two bars, C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, simply draw a chief beneath the escarbuncle.

W. describes as three bars.

Barry of six arg. and az., an escarbuncle or, is assigned to Sir Nicholas Gray; Papworth, 684.

743. Jerusalem (as at no. 322).

Scarlett, fol. 11ᵇ. A., fol. 5, called Jerusalem. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

744. A cross patonce, in the first quarter our Lady and her babe.

A., fol. 5, omits all but the cross.

W. blazons *vt., a cross patonce or, in the dexter chief the Virgin Mary bearing the infant Jesus of the last*, and ascribes without comment to King Arthur.

But no. 739 is more likely for that king, and this shield with the field *az.* may be assigned to Glastonbury Abbey.

745. A lion rampant sustaining a battle-axe.

A., fol. 5, called Holstein. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. blazons *gu., a lion rampant or, holding a battle-axe arg.*, and ascribes to Norway without comment.

This shield occurs quartered at no. 768. The lion is sometimes crowned.

746. A griffin segreant.

A., fol. 5.

W. blazons *gu., a griffin segreant or*, and ascribes to Saxony.

This coat also is quartered at no. 768. W. gives no authority for calling it Saxony. In Harl. MS. no. 6163, fol. 2, it appears as *arg., a griffin segreant gu.*, in the arms of Denmark, Sweth, Norwey, and Lifeland. Lifeland is apparently Livonia, and these may be the arms of Livonia.

747. Three crowns.

A., fol. 5.

W. blazons *az., three crowns or, two and one*, and assigns to Sweden.

This coat also is quartered at no. 768, though two crowns have there been broken off.

748. Semy of hearts and three lions passant guardant.

C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, omit the hearts.

W. blazons *or, semée of hearts gu., three lions passant gaurdant in pale az.*, and ascribes to Denmark.

This also is quartered at no. 768. C., fol. 25, records in Monkton Church a shield of three lions passant guardant in an orle of hearts, but calls it Queen Edith.

Compartment 33.

749. Archbishop Arundel (as no. 14, except that crosses are not fitchy).

A., fol. 4.

W. misdescribes 'as no. 12', which it is not.

750. The Prince of Wales (as no. 190).

A., fol. 4. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. says 'as no. 197', which is not so.

751. Thomas Duke of Clarence (as no. 183).

A., fol. 4, draws three roundels on the points. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, show no ermine.

W. says 'as no. 184', which it is not.

752. Fitzalan and Warenne *quartered* (as no. 189) *impaling* Henry Earl of Lancaster (as no. 481).

W. misdescribes the label as of five points. He ascribes the shield to Richard Earl of Arundel, K.G., who died 1376, having married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster.

Parents of the archbishop. She was widow of John, second Lord Beaumont, who died 1342.

See no. 683.

753. Jerusalem *quartering* Beaumont (as no. 322), with a mullet on the shoulder of the lion for difference.

A., fol. 4, colours Jerusalem field *vert* and crosses *or*; Beaumont field *azure* and rest *or*, but omits the mullets, as does W.

See no. 680.

754. Three lucies hauriant *quartering* a lion rampant.

A., fol. 4, blazons *gu., three lucies hauriant arg.*; 2 and 3, *or, a lion rampant az.*, and inscribes Lucy and Percy Earl of Northumberland,

W. blazons and ascribes to Lucy and Percy, but without comment.

This cannot be for Hotspur, but for his son, who was restored to the earldom in 1414. His mother had remarried Sir Thomas Camoys. See D.[33]

755. Holland (as no. 278) *impaling* Fitzalan and Warenne *quarterly* (as no. 189).

C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. assigns to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, who married Alice, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel.

She was sister of the archbishop, and married the second Earl of Kent. Of their daughters, Eleanor was the eldest (E.[33]). Margaret, the second, married (1) John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, (2) Thomas Duke of Clarence, and, surviving both, is buried in St. Michael's Chapel between them. The other daughters were: Joan, the third (no. 769); another Eleanor, the fourth (no. 771); and Elizabeth, the fifth (no. 666). These five daughters (or their issue) were ultimately coheirs to their brother Edmund, who died in 1407.

756. Holland (as no. 278).

A., fol. 4b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

757. Mortimer *quartering* De Burgh (as no. 372).

A., fol. 4b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

758. The royal arms (as no. 157).

A., fol. 3b.

759. John Duke of Bedford (as no. 165).

A., fol. 3b, draws the label plain.

760. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (as no. 169).

A., fol. 3b. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

761. A cross graded between a sword erect and a saltire.

Scarlett, fol. 11b. A., fol. 3b, originally incorrect, has been corrected in pencil by Dr. Thorpe.

W. does not blazon, but gives a wood-cut which does not quite do justice to the original.

762. Richard of Coningsborough (as no. 191) *impaling* Mortimer and De Burgh *quarterly* (as no. 372). Pl. XXXIII, fig. 6.

A., fol. 4b, omits the label.

W. blazons here the lions on the bordure as *purpure*. He assigns the shield to Richard Earl of Cambridge and his first wife Ann, daughter of Roger, fourth Earl of March, and sister and heir to her brother Edmund. See no. 765.

They were the grandparents of Edward IV, who derived his title to the throne partly through his grandmother. She was niece of Hotspur's wife. See no. 754.

763. England a label of five (as no. 664) *impaling* Fitzalan and Warenne *quarterly* (as no. 189).

A., fol. 4b, has misdrawn; partially corrected in pencil by Dr. Thorpe.

W. ascribes to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.

She was the archbishop's niece, and may more correctly be described as sister and coheir of her brother, Thomas Fitzalan. See the stall-plate, no. xxx, and compare shields nos. 161 and 673.

764. On a bend cotised three mullets pierced *quarterly* with a bend of five lozenges, *impaling* the coat impaled in no. 763.

A., fol. 4.

W. blazons the dexter coat *quarterly*: 1 and 4, *arg., on a bend cottised sa., three mullets pierced or* (Lenthal); 2 and 3, *sa., a bend lozengée arg.* (Lenthal). The sinister he blazons as no. 189, and

ascribes the shield to Sir Rowland Lenthal, who married Margaret, third daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, by Elizabeth de Bohun.

She was sister to the lady of the last shield and ætat. 33 in 1415. According to the return of the subsidy for Sussex in 13 Hen. IV, Sir Rowland Lynthal had in right of his wife Margaret, by gift of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, manors worth £100 per annum. He was of Hampton Court, co. Hereford, which came to him by grant of Henry IV. He sold it to the Cornewalls of Burford (see no. 767). He was master of the robes to Henry IV, and was at Agincourt. The first quarter in his coat is probably derived from Estmarton.

765. Courtenay (as no. 386) *impaling* Mortimer and De Burgh *quarterly* (as no. 372).

A., fol. 3ᵇ, gives names. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 28, leave out the label and De Burgh.

W. blazons as before, and assigns to William de Courtenay, who married the daughter of Edward IV, and refers to her seal in Sandford.

That lady was not born when the cloisters were finished. The shield is no doubt for Sir Edward Courtenay, who married Eleanor Mortimer, sister to the lady in shield no. 762. They were both daughters, by Eleanor Holland, of Roger, fourth Earl of March. Eleanor Courtenay appears to have died *s.p.* about 1418, so her sister was sole heir to their brother Edmund Earl of March when he died in 1424. Sir Edward Courtenay was eldest son of Maud Camoys by Edward, third Earl of Devon, the archbishop's nephew, but died *s.p.*, *v.p.* He was made K.B. at the coronation in 1399. He was an admiral of the king's fleet.

766. Not found. See no. 729.

767. A lion crowned and an engrailed bordure charged with roundels *impaling* the royal arms (as no. 157).

A., fol. 4ᵇ, omits the crown and the roundels.

W. blazons the dexter coat *ermine, a lion rampant gu., crowned or, a bordure engrailed gu., bezantée*, and ascribes to Sir John Cornwall, K.G., Constable of Queenborough Castle (afterwards Baron Fanhope), who married Elizabeth, the sister of Henry IV. W. refers to Harl. MS. 4632, fol. 22ᵇ, for the banner of the 'Baron of Burford'.

The marriage took place in 1400. She was a widow. See no. 653. Sir John's stall-plate is no. xxv in Sir William Hope's series. The ermine of the field, if it ever existed, has vanished from the cloisters. The roundels appear only very faintly at the top of the shield, and the star on the lion's shoulder does not show. Compare no. 474.

768. Nos. 748, 747, 746, 745 *quartered* and *impaling* the royal arms (as no. 157).

A., fol. 4ᵇ, draws the first quarter as *or, three lions passant gaurdant az.*; the second as *az., three crowns or*; the third as *a griffin segreant* (no colours); the fourth as *a lion rampant* (no colours).

W. misdescribes, but assigns to John, King of Denmark and Norway, who in 1405 married Philippa, younger daughter of Henry IV.

The top of the shield has been broken off. The hearts are very faint in the first quarter. A. assists in identifying the second and third quarters. The king's name was Eric, not John.

769. Scrope (as no. 513) *impaling* Holland (as no. 278).

A., fol. 3ᵇ, misdraws Scrope as two bends.

W. ascribes to Henry Lord Scrope, who married Joan, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. She had married (1) Edmund Duke of York, (2) William Lord Willoughby.

He was the third lord. See no. 261 and no. 235.

770. Despencer *impaling* Edmund of Langley (as no. 675).

A., fol. 3ᵇ, omits label. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, leave the sinister coat blank.

See no. 675.

771. Montacute and Monthermer *quarterly* (as no. 232) *impaling* Holland (as no. 278).

A., fol. 4.

W. assigns to Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who married as his first wife Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. This Earl of Salisbury was killed at Orleans 1428.

There were two daughters of Thomas Earl of Kent named Eleanor. This was the fourth daughter. The eldest was also called Eleanor. See no. 755.

772. Nevill (as no. 661) *impaling* Holland (as no. 278).

A., fol. 4.

W. assigns to Sir John Nevill, son and heir of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and died *v.p.*

In that case he would have had a label as in no. 666, which see.

773. The royal arms (as no. 157) *impaling* Evreux and Navarre *quarterly* (as no. 718).

A., fol. 4.

This is for King Henry IV and his second wife. See no. 718.

774. Leon and Castile *quarterly* (as no. 721) *impaling* the royal arms (as no. 157).

A., fol. 4, calls Castile, Leon, and England.

W. assigns to Henry, King of Castile and Leon, who married Katherine, the sister of Henry IV.

A.[33] Bohun *impaling* Fitzalan and Warenne quarterly (as no. 1). Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 7.

A., fol. 4. C., fol. 17. Ha., fol. 29.

W. omits to notice this shield. See no. 1 and D.[23]

B.[33] Thomas Duke of Clarence (as no. 183) *impaling* Holland (as no. 278).

A., fol. 3[b], draws label plain.

W. omits to notice this shield. See no. 755. The duke was slain at Baugé in 1421, and his body was brought back and buried in St. Michael's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral.

C.[33] Lucy and Percy *quarterly* (as no. 754) *impaling* Clifford (as no. 251).

C., fol. 4[b], assigns to Percy Earl of Northumberland.

W. omits to notice this shield.

D.[33] Camoys (as no. 176) *impaling* Mortimer and De Burgh *quarterly* (as no. 372).

A., fol. 4[b], gives names. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, omit De Burgh.

W. omits to notice this shield. Thomas Lord Camoys, K.G., who died in 1421, had married Hotspur's widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March. She died in 1417. Their magnificent brass is at Trotton in Sussex, and on it is this very shield. On the brass the date of his death is given as 1419 in error.

E.[33] Mortimer and De Burgh *quarterly* (as no. 372) *impaling* Holland (as no. 496).

A., fol. 3[b]. C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, misdraw.

W. omits to notice this shield. Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, married Eleanor, eldest daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. After his death in 1398 she married John Lord Charleton de Powis.

F.[33] The Priory of Christ Church (as no. 430).

Not noticed by W. It is at the bottom of a pendant in the arcade separating the cloister garth from the cloister pane, opposite the door of the Chapter House. The shield is held by an angel, and below it is the conventional representation of clouds.

COMPARTMENT 34.

775. A lion rampant.
A., fol. 2b. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.

776. A lion rampant with a forked tail. Pl. XL, fig. 15.
A., fol. 2b.
W. makes the lion ermine, which it is not.
See no. 102.

777. As no. 145.
A., fol. 2. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

778. As no. 166.
A., fol. 3. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 29.

779. Nevill, a martlet for difference (as no. 91).
A., fol. 3. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

780. Devereux, a mullet pierced for difference (as no. 710).
A., fol. 3b, draws as a mullet between two gemels.
C., fol. 17, and Ha., fol. 29, omit the mullet.
See no. 704.

781. Pelham (as at no. 711).
A., fol. 3, colours field *az.* and birds *or*, and calls Pelham.
C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 29.
See also no. 736.

782. Audley *quartering* Touchet (as no. 127).
A., fol. 3.

783. As no. 63.
C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

784. A cross.
A., fol. 3, draws as if voided.
W. blazons *or, a cross sa.*, and assigns to Vesci without comment.
The sculptor here has ridged and chamfered his cross so as to mislead A. Compare nos. 717 and 731.

785. Bokyngham (as no. 292).
A., fol. 3.
See also no. 428.

786. A fess chequy between six crosses patty.
A., fol. 2b. C., fol. 18, and Ha., fol. 30, make crosses fitchy.
W. blazons *gu., a fess chequée arg. and sa., inter six crosses patée fitchée in the foot or*, and assigns to John Boteler, who in 1408 possessed the manor of Graveney in right of his wife, the daughter and heir of Thomas de Faversham.
The crosses are not here *fitchy* and probably are not at no. 94. A similar coat with crosslets not fitchy was on a brass, now lost, in Graveney Church, with another of three covered cups a bordure. See remarks at no. 94.

787. On a bend three mullets pierced, and in sinister chief a bear statant. Pl. XL, fig. 10.
A., fol. 2b, draws as a bear, as do C., fol. 18, and Ha., fol. 30.
W. describes the animal as a badger, but does not ascribe.

The head of the animal looks as if horned. On a brass at Challock is this shield, with a bear muzzled, for Thurstone of Challock. It is of much later date than the cloisters. Thurstone of Challock bore *arg., on a bend gu., three mullets or, and in sinister chief a bear statant gu., muzzled or.* John Thurstone was a member of the college at Cobham in 1389.

788. The Priory (as no. 430).

A., fol. 3, draws as voided.

W. misdescribes as voided.

The sculptor has ridged and bordered his cross to relieve the flatness of that ordinary.

789. As no. 129.

A., fol. 3, colours *arg., a cross flory sa.* C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 29.

W. blazons *az., a cross fleurée or*, and ascribes to Sir Walter Paveley, whose will (1379) is in *Test. Vetusta*, p. 160.

Sir Walter was K.G. and a founder. See stall-plate no. vi. But the cross is not there flory. See *Excerpta Cantiana*, p. 6.

790. The Priory (as no. 788).

A., fol. 3^{b}, C., fol. 18, and Ha., fol. 29, all omit the letters.

W. misdescribes.

The letters are very indistinct.

791. Bertram *quartering* Ogle (as no. 95).

A., fol. 3^{b}, calls Bertram and Ogle. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 29.

792. On a bend engrailed three annulets or roundels.

A., fol. 3. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 29.

W. does not blazon or ascribe.

This shield may be ascribed to Thornbury, a family of standing at Faversham. It appears (*Arch. Cant.* xi, 28), or appeared, on a brass of William Thornbury, vicar, in Faversham Church. Philipot (Harl. MS. 3917) notes it as having the roundels ermine, a curious charge. The shields once on the brass are lost, but there seems no doubt that Philipot is accurate, for Jacob in his *History of Faversham* records (pl. x, fig. 5) in a window of Faversham Church a shield of *arg., on a bend engrailed sa., three roundels ermine* impaling *vert nine escallops or*, no doubt for John Thornbury, who married Anne, daughter of John Thorlegh of West Grinstead in Sussex, after the death of her first husband, Richard Hailsham. Jacob does not refer to this shield in his text but in his directions for the plates at the beginning of the volume.

793. Aton (as no. 158).

A., fol. 2^{b}. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30. See no. 158.

794. Two lions passant guardant.

A., fol. 2^{b}. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

W. blazons *arg., two lions passant gaurdant gu.*, and assigns without comment to Littlebury.

These may be the arms of Baron of Northfleet or of Delamare.

795. As no. 132.

A., fol. 2. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30. See no. 132.

796. Whetenhall (as no. 243).

A., fol. 2.

W. blazons *sa., a bend ermine*, and ascribes to Philpot.

It is interesting to compare with the rendering by another sculptor at no. 243.

797. A cross engrailed.

A., fol. 2^{b}.

W. blazons *or, a cross engrailed sa.*, and ascribes to Mohun. See no. 645.

798. Knolles (as no. 107).

A., fol. 2^{b}. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30. See no. 107.

799. Montacute (as no. 171).
A., fol. 3. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

800. Scrope (as no. 513).
A., fol. 2b.

801. On a chevron three quatrefoils.
A., fol. 2b, coloured *arg., on a chevron sa., three quatrefoils or*. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.
W. blazons as A. and ascribes to Eyre, pointing out that that family held Boughton under Blean, and that in the church there was an ancient stone with these arms quartering three barnacles.
W. is inaccurate. They held Brenley in Boughton. This was at a much later date than the cloisters. As to the carved stone, see *Arch. Cant.* xxii, 188. The family was connected with Canterbury much earlier. In 30 Edw. III, Adam le Eyre was a benefactor of Eastbridge Hospital. Richard Eyre was in 1417 a witness to the will of John Wotton, Master of Maidstone College, an executor and legatee of Archbishop Courtenay. Richard Eyre's wife is mentioned as a relative by Wotton. The will is printed in *Arch. Cant.* iv, 225.

802. Three garbs (as no. 373).
A., fol. 2b. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.
W. assigns to Comyn without comment.
See remarks at no. 373.

803. Two bars and in chief three cinquefoils *quartering* three rams' heads cabossed.
A., fol. 3, draws mullets instead of cinquefoils. C., fol. 18, and Ha., fol. 30, omit the quartered coat.
W. describes the cinquefoils as mullets in the first quarter and does not blazon it, but the fourth he blazons *sa., two bars and in chief three cinquefoils or*, but does not assign. The quartered coat he blazons *gu., three rams' heads caboshed arg.*, and assigns to Ramsey without comment.
The first and fourth quarters are identical, and appear to be Walden (as no. 635). The quartered coat may be bulls' heads.

804. A bend gobony, each compartment charged with a trefoil slipped.
A., fol. 3.
W. does not blazon or ascribe.

A.[34] Brother John Schepene. Pl. XXXIII, fig. 10.
See p. 448.

B.[34] Crusily fitchy, a chevron between three garbs.
Scarlett, fol. 12. A., fol. 2, colours *gu., crusily fitchy or, a chevron between three garbs arg.* C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.
W. omits to notice this shield, which is correctly coloured by A. for Royton of Royton in Lenham, a family often confused with Roydon, one of more recent importation, from Suffolk into Kent. Attached to the manor was a chapel known as Royton Chapel, bequests to which occur in some wills.

Compartment 35.

805. A cross.
Scarlett, fol. 12, drawn as voided. A., fol. 2.
W. blazons *arg., a cross sa.*, and ascribes to Raynsford, but gives no note.

806. Batisford (as no. 447).
Scarlett, fol. 12. A., fol. 2. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

807. A cross engrailed.
A., fol. 2. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

808. The Priory of Christ Church (as no. 430).
A., fol. 2, omits the letters.
Here the edge of the cross is delicately ridged. Compare the rendering at no. 430.

A.[35] An angel holding a shield charged with the arms of the Priory, as at no. 808.
Not noticed by W.

COMPARTMENT 36.

809. The royal arms (as no. 157).
A., fol. 2.

810. Fogge (as no. 358).
A., fol. 2, colours as W. blazons no. 358, and assigns to Fogge. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.

811. Portugal (as no. 734).
A., fol. 2, colours bordure *gu.* and castles *or*, and assigns to King of 'Portingall'. C., fol. 18. Ha., fol. 30.
This has almost disappeared. It seems to have been only a painted coat, not carved.

Boss no. 643
(from Streatfeild's drawing).

ORDINARY OF THE ARMS IN THE CLOISTERS, CANTERBURY[1]

Annulets. Three annulets (?). 370.
Semy of annulets a canton ermine. 208, 477.
Arrows. Three arrows. 69.
Axes. Three axes. 330.
Bars. Two bars. 44, 143, 282, 354, 406, 426, 508.
Two bars ermine. 463, 530.
Two bars nebuly. 58, 98.
Two bars, a canton ermine. 449, 542.
Two bars and in chief three cinquefoils. 635, 803.
Two bars and in chief three roundels. 149.
Two bars, a bordure engrailed. 245.
Three bars. 362.
Three bars nebuly. 276, 369, 422.
Four bars, in chief three escallops. 269.
Two bars gemel, in chief a lion passant. 366, 741.
Barry of five. 282, 354.
Barry of six. 295, 317, 327, 525, 568.
Barry of six ermine and —. 320, 343.
Barry nebuly of six. 58, 98, 276, 369, 422.
Barry of six, a label of five. 90.
Battle-axe. *See* Axe.
Beast. A cat (?). 29.
A hare salient. 723.
A hind couchant. 214.
A stag of St. Hubert. 451, 544.
An elephant. 3, 676.
A lion passant. 453, 540.
Crusily fitchy, a lion passant reguardant. 142.
A lion rampant. (?) 29, 97, 161, 223, 255, 408, 444, 457, 484, 491, 533, 551, 643, 650, 652, 663, 667, 668, 673, 694, 696, 697, 721, 754, 774, 775, B.[23], C.[33]
[gu.] a lion rampant [or]: Fitzalan. 1, 11, 12, 14, 39, 189, 230, 279, 393, 409, 414, 416, 427, 493, 583, 650, 655, 659, 690, 749, 752, 755, 763, 764, C.[23], D.[23], E.[23], A.[34]
A lion rampant vair. 685, 692.
Billety and a lion rampant. 105, 265, 325, 691, 693, (? 694, 696, 697).
Semy of lis a lion rampant. 35, 249, 255, 322, 677, 679–85, 687, 698, 699, 705, 753.
Semy of lis a lion rampant guardant. 98.
A lion rampant, tail forked. 102, 647, 669, 674, 722, 776.
A lion rampant crowned. 106, 651, 663, 667.
A lion rampant holding an axe. 745, 768.
A lion rampant debruised by a bend. 360.
Ermine, a lion rampant debruised by a bend. 368.
A lion rampant ermine debruised by a chevron. 509.
A lion sitting in a chair. 737.
Beast within.
Dog. A talbot sejant, a bordure engrailed. 40, 211, 216.

[1] In this ordinary the arrangement of Papworth has been followed in the main.

Beast within (*cont.*). **Lion.** A lion rampant, a bordure engrailed. 166, 225, 567, 778.
A lion rampant, a bordure charged with roundels. 474.
A lion rampant crowned, in a bordure engrailed. 388, 767.
A lion rampant crowned, a bordure engrailed, charged with roundels. 767.
A lion rampant within a double tressure flory counterflory. 728.
Two Beasts. Two lions passant. 138, 392, 648, 657.
Two lions passant guardant. 794.
Three Beasts. England quartered by France (new), see p. 457.
England a label of three. 161.
England a label of five. 664, 673, 763.
England a label of France. 481, 683, 752, A.[31]
England a bordure. 278, 496, 666, 755, 756, 769, 771, 772, E.[23], B.[33], E.[33]
England a bordure of France. 181, 649, 652, 653.
Semy of hearts three lions passant guardant. 748, 768.
Three lions passant, debruised by a bend. 152, 554, 570, 571, A.[10]
Three otters. 220.
Four Beasts. Quarterly four lions passant. 719.
Six Beasts. Six lions rampant. 272, A.[15]
Six lions rampant, a canton ermine. 310.
Bells. Three bells. 49.
One Bend.
Plain lines. A bend. 241, 513, 769, 800.
A bend, a label of three. 117, 261, 375, 612.
A bend ermine. 243, 796.
Chequy a bend. 471, 538.
Ermine a bend. 81, 116, 224.
Ermine a bend vair. 48, 162 (?).
Three bars and a bend. 231.
Barry of six a bend. 152, 154, 231, 405, 432, 555, 560, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 578, 579, 580, A.[19]
Per chief a bend. 237.
Per pale a bend. 658.
Quarterly a bend. 280, 632; cf. 321, 522, 524, 619, 629, 633.
Quarterly — and vair a bend ermine. 437.
Semée de lis a bend gobony. 773.
Compound lines. A bend embattled. 275, 340.
A bend engrailed. 74, 100, 216, 247, 620, C.[29]; cf. 630, 639, A.[29], B.[29]
Ermine, a bend engrailed. 65.
A bend lozengy. 764.
One Bend and in chief. A bend sinister, on a canton a leopard's face. 37; cf. 42, 43.
Quarterly a bend, and in chief a crescent. 524, 619, 629, 633.
One Bend between.
Beasts. Ermine, a bend between two lions rampant. 738.
Birds. A bend between six martlets. 180.
A bend between six martlets, a bordure engrailed. 268.
Bordure. A bend a bordure. 522.
A bend a bordure engrailed. 122.
A bend engrailed a bordure. 615.
Quarterly a bend a bordure. 321.
Cotises. A bend between two cotises. 241 (?), 381.
A bend gobony between two cotises. [294, 297, 306, 307, 308], 311, 617, [618, 619, 621, 625, 627, 628, 629, 631, C.[29]]; cf. 614.
A bend gobony between two cotises and a bordure. 298, 638.
A bend cotised dancetty. 293, 294.

One Bend between. Cotises (*cont.*). A bend between two cotises engrailed on the outer edge. 247.
A bend engrailed, cotised plain. 609.
A bend between two cotises and six lions rampant. 1, D.[23], A.[33]
Heads. A bend engrailed between two bulls' heads erased. 363.
One Bend between and in chief.
A bend gobony cotised and in chief an annulet. 618, 619.
A bend gobony cotised and in chief a martlet. 631.
A bend gobony cotised and in chief a crescent. 294, 307, 625, 627, C.[29]
A bend gobony cotised and in chief a crescent, a label of three. 3, 628.
A bend gobony cotised and in chief a label of three. 621.
A bend gobony cotised and in chief a rose. 308.
A bend gobony cotised and in chief a mullet. 297, 306, 614, 629.
On one Bend.
Annulet. On a bend engrailed an annulet. A.[29]
Annulets. On a bend engrailed three annulets. 792.
Beast. On a bend a lion passant. 398, 419.
Bird. On a bend engrailed a martlet. B.[29]
Crescent. On a bend engrailed a crescent. 639.
Per chief on a bend a crescent. 237.
Crosses. On a bend three crosses croslet fitchy, in sinister chief a crescent. 380.
Escallops. On a bend three escallops. 195, 290, 384, 590.
Quarterly on a bend three escallops. 634.
Fleurs de lis. On a bend three lis. 324, 475.
Foils. A bend gobony, on each division a trefoil slipped. 804.
Heads. Ermine, on a bend two heads (?). 162.
On a bend three dogs' heads erased. 207.
On a bend three horses' heads couped. 212.
On a bend three stags' heads cabossed. 610, 702.
Mullet. On a bend engrailed a mullet. 630.
Mullets. On a bend three mullets pierced. 371 (field ermine), 470 (mullets of six), 539.
Saltire. On a bend a saltire engrailed. A.[13]
Wings. On a bend three pairs of wings. 160, 478.
On one Bend and in chief. On a bend three mullets pierced, in sinister chief a bear muzzled. 784.
On a bend sinister three crescents, on a canton a leopard's face. 42, 43.
On one Bend between. On a bend cotised three mullets pierced. 764.
Three Bends. 383, 523, 671.
Bird.
Eagle. An eagle displayed. 223, 232, 431, 495, 592, 686, 722, 771.
An eagle displayed with two heads. 714.
Peacock. A peacock in its pride. 209.
Birds. Three beckets. 19, 121, 716.
Three eagles displayed. 603.
Three eagles displayed in fess point a lis. A.[28], B.[28]
Three eagles displayed in chief a lis. 443; cf. 603.
Three pelicans. 711, 736, 781.
Barry and an orle of martlets. 173, 569.
Birds and in chief. Three beckets; in chief a lion passant guardant. 139.
Bougets. Three bougets. 411, 439, 585, 598.
Butterflies. Three butterflies. 27, 328.
Canton. A canton sinister a bordure. 51.
Two bars a canton ermine. 449, 542.
On a Canton.
Bars. Three pales; on a canton three bars nebuly. 312, 313.
Cross. Five bars; on a canton a cross patonce. 158, 793.

Chessrook. Plumée, on a canton a chessrook. 558.
Crosier. Four lozenges in pall, on a canton a crosier. 148.
Castle. A castle. 58, 377, 379, 721, 774.
Chain. *See* Net.
Chaplets. *See* Garlands.
Chequy. Chequy or, and azure (Warenne). 1, 11, 12, 14, 39, 189, 393, 414, 427, 493, 583, 650, 655, 659, 690, 749, 752, 755, 763, 764, C.[21], D.[23], E.[23], A.[33]
One Chevron. 141, 163, 391, 441, 458, 490, 505, 549, 656.
A chevron engrailed. 246.
A chevron ermine. 304.
Chequy, a chevron ermine. 407.
Ermine, a chevron. 127, 238, 476, 782.
Per pale indented, a chevron. 149.
One Chevron and in chief. A chevron vair, a chief. 445, 454, 455, 469, 527, 537.
A chevron vair, a label of three. 467, 532.
A chevron vair, on a chief a cross moline in dexter. 468, 529.
One Chevron between.
Beasts. A chevron between three talbots. 32.
A chevron between three lions rampant. 399.
A chevron ermine between three lions rampant. 288.
A chevron between three squirrels. 239.
A chevron ermine between three wolves (?). 288.
Birds. A chevron engrailed between three birds (? partridges). 640, 642.
A chevron between three crows. 33.
A chevron between three eagles displayed. 221.
A chevron engrailed between three martlets. 285.
A chevron between eight martlets. 216.
A chevron between three owls crowned. 193.
Cauldrons. A chevron between three cauldrons, a bordure bezanty. 156; cf. 126, 226.
Chessrooks. A chevron between three chessrooks. 72.
Crosses. A chevron between three crosses moline. 80, 118, 210.
A chevron between three crosses patty fitchy. 492, 596, 622, 623, 624.
A chevron between nine crosslets. 378, 429, 450, 552, A.[23]
A chevron between ten crosslets. 450, 461, 541, 600.
A chevron between ten crosses patty. 326, 413, 440, 605.
Crowns. A chevron vair between three crowns. 52.
Cups. A chevron between three cups. 23.
Flowers. A chevron between three roses. 144, 264.
A chevron engrailed between three roses. 71.
Foils. A chevron between three cinquefoils. 553.
Fruit. A chevron between three pears. 84.
Garbs. Crusily fitchy, a chevron between three garbs. B.[34]
Garlands. A chevron between three garlands. 355, 613, 623.
A chevron engrailed between three garlands. 136.
Heads (*beasts*). A chevron between three boars' heads couped. 574.
A chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed. 545 (? the chevron vair).
A chevron vair between three bulls' heads cabossed. 445, 446, 448, 455, 536, 537, (?) 545.
A chevron between three dogs' heads erased. 43, 68.
A chevron between three leopards' faces. 219, 336.
(*Birds*). A chevron between three cocks' heads. 283.
Lozenges. A chevron between three lozenges. 300.
Merchants' marks. A chevron between three merchants' marks. 134.
Roundels. A chevron between ten bezants. 356.

On one Chevron.
Beasts. On a chevron three lions rampant. 188, 379.
Estoiles. *See* Stars.
Fleurs de lis. On a chevron three fleurs de lis. 46, 179.
Flowers. On a chevron three roses. 107, 108, 798.
Foils. On a chevron three 4-foils. 801.
Keys. On a chevron three keys crowned. 132, 559, 795.
On a chevron three keys, a label of three. 151, 556.
Mullet. On a chevron a mullet pierced. 391.
On a chevron a mullet pierced, a label of three. 611, 625.
Mullets. On a chevron three mullets pierced. 335.
On a chevron three mullets of six pierced. 608.
Stars. On a chevron three stars. 164, 177, 445.

On one Chevron between.
Beasts. On a chevron between three lions rampant a mullet pierced. 399.
Birds. On a chevron between three birds three mullets pierced. 112.
Cauldrons. On a chevron between three cauldrons an annulet; a bordure bezanty. 226.
On a chevron between three cauldrons a martlet; a bordure bezanty. 126.
Fish. On a chevron between three dolphins three escallops. 206, 324.

Two Chevrons. 511.
Two chevrons and a quarter. 67, 254, 271, 503, 507, 581, 582.
Two chevrons, in chief two mullets. 504 (mullets not pierced), 637 (mullets pierced).
Two chevrons between three roses. 367.

Three Chevrons. 168, 244.
Three chevrons, a label of three. 576.
Three chevrons ermine, a label of five. 515, 607.
Three chevrons between three buckles. 54.

Five Chevrons. 271, 573, 577, 582.

Chief. A chief ermine. 104.
Ermine, a chief. 96.
Ermine, a chief quarterly, in second and third quarters an annulet. 526.
Fretty, a chief. 396, 417.
A chief indented. 234, 267, 402, 421.
A chief indented, in dexter a mullet pierced. 234.

On a Chief.
Annulets. Ermine, a chief quarterly, in the second and third quarters an annulet. 526.
On a chief indented five annulets. 196.
Beast. On a chief indented a lion passant; a label. 248.
Barry of eight, on a chief a lion passant guardant. 741.
Crowns. Goutty, on a chief three crowns. 31.
Hands. Ermine, on a chief three sinister hands couped. 606.
Heads. On a chief a roundel between two stags' heads cabossed. 356, 357, 701.
Mullet. On a chief indented, in dexter a mullet pierced. 234.
Mullets. On a chief two mullets pierced. 99, 155, 376, 555.
Crusily fitchy, on a chief two mullets pierced. 318.
Ermine, on a chief three mullets of six pierced. 729.
Pallets. On a chief two pallets between two gyrons, over all an inescutcheon (Mortimer). 174, 187, 301, 372, 420, 489 (an annulet for difference), 757, 762, 765, A.[21], D.[33], E.[33]
Roundel. On a chief a roundel between two stags' heads cabossed. 356, 357, 701.
Roundels. On a chief three roundels. 176, 404, 438, D.[33]
Two bars on a chief three roundels. 149, 569.
On a chief indented three roundels. 610, 702.

Crescent. A crescent and star. 8.
Three crescents. 41.
Semy of crosslets fitchy three crescents. 55.
Three crescents a canton. 36, 447, 448, 545, 552, 806, A.[23]
Three crescents a bordure engrailed. 123.
Three crescents a bordure engrailed ermine. 602.

Crosier. A crosier between two lucies haurient. 34, 305.

Cross. A cross. 4, 13, 66, 187, 213, 372, 420, 424, 459, 535, 550, 563, 604, 715, 717, 757, 762, 765, 784, 790, 805, A.[21], D.[33], E.[33]
A cross chequy. 182, 258, 346.
A cross ermine. 153, 286.
A cross botonny. 292, 428, 785.
A crosslet ermine. 113.
A cross engrailed. 60, 78, 130, 203, 227, 228, 235, 287, 400, 435, 487, 516, 519, 599, 645, 646, 657, 669, 672, 687, 797, 807, A.[17], B.[31]
Ermine, a cross engrailed. 579.
A cross flory. 129, 789, C.[28]
A cross moline. 235, 253, 265, 287, 325, 400, 435, 465, 469, 527, 599, 687, 693, 694, 696, 697, B.[31]
A cross moline ermine. 464, 465, 469, 527, 528.
A cross moline, a label of three. 217.
A cross patonce. 89.
A cross potent engrailed. 21, 36.
A cross voided. 459, 577, 587.
A cross voided and couped. 587.

Cross and in chief. A cross engrailed, in dexter chief a crescent. 198, 601 (*ermine*).
A cross, in dexter chief our Lady. 744.
A cross, in dexter chief a sword. 115.

On a Cross.
Birds. On a cross five eagles. 17.
Crescent. On a cross engrailed a crescent. 487.
Flower. On a cross engrailed a rose. 103.
Letters. On a cross the letters $\overset{i}{\text{x}}$. 430, 562, 594, 689, 788, 808, F.[33], A.[35]
The Saviour on the cross. 732.

A Cross between.
Birds. A cross flory between five martlets. 25, 740.
Bordure. A cross within a bordure charged with annulets. 110, 240.
Bougets. A cross engrailed within four bougets. 93, 391.
Crosses. A cross potent within four of the same. 255, 322, 676, 677, 679–681, 683–685, 687, 698, 699, 705, 743, 753.
A cross between twelve crosslets fitchy. 82.
A cross engrailed between twelve crosslets fitchy. A.[12]
Crowns. A cross patty within three crowns. 85.
Heads. A cross between four leopards' faces. 111.
Letters. A cross between four B's addorsed. 731.
Sword. A cross graded between a sword and a saltire. 761.

On a Cross between.
On a cross between two swords and two crowns a mitre. 28.

Three Crosses.
Three crosses patty in pale; a bordure engrailed. 591.

Crown. A crown enfiled by a sword. 135.
Three crowns. 7, 26, 62, 739, 747, 768.

Cup. *See* Flagon.

Dish. Three dishes. 370.
Ermine. Ermine. 63, 209, 783.
Escallops. Three escallops. 410, 482.
Three escallops, a bordure engrailed. 128.
Six escallops. 101, 483.
Escarbuncle. Three bars, an escarbuncle over all. 742.
Escutcheon. An escutcheon. 662.
An escutcheon, a canton sinister. 51.
An escutcheon within six mullets pierced. 361.
Three Escutcheons. Barry of twelve, three escutcheons. 329.
Feathers. Three ostrich feathers. 197, 494.
Fess. Chequy, a fess. 251, 348, 395, 418, 709, C.[33]
A fess dancetty. 314.
Billety and a fess dancetty. 250, 466, 531.
A fess fretty. 281, 359, 518.
Fess and in chief. A fess and a canton. 736.
A fess and in chief three roundels. 351, 704, 710, 780.
Fess between.
Bars. A fess between two bars gemel. 585 (? 319).
Beasts (*lions*). A fess between six lions rampant. 154, 572, 576, 580, 581.
Billets. A fess dancetty between ten billets. 250.
A fess dancetty between twenty-one billets. 466, 531.
Birds (*choughs*). A fess between three choughs. 215, 233.
Bordure. Chequy, a fess and a bordure. 349.
Chevrons. A fess between two chevrons. 150, 711, 712.
Cotises. A fess trebly cotised. 319.
Crescents. A fess between three crescents. 95, 791.
A fess embattled between three crescents. 338.
Crosses. A fess between three crosslets fitchy. 175, 339.
A fess between six crosslets. 159, 252, 407, 412, 425, 486, 654.
A fess chequy between six crosses patty. 786.
A fess chequy between six crosses patty fitchy. 94.
A fess dancetty between ten crosslets. 30, 88.
Cups. A fess between three cups (?). 83.
Escallops. A fess between three escallops. 73, 229, 270, 284, 332, 510.
Fish. A fess between six fish haurient, a label of three. 564.
Fleurs de lis. A fess between six lis. 53, 131, 502, 565.
Garbs. A fess engrailed between three garbs. 77, 575.
Heads. A fess nebuly between three boars' heads couped. 506.
A fess between three leopards' faces. 160, 478.
A fess vair between three leopards' faces jessant de lis. 456, 546.
Mullets. A fess ermine between three mullets pierced. 512, 586.
On a Fess.
Beast (*lion*). On a fess a lion passant. 145, 777.
Bird (*swan*). On a fess a swan. 194.
Mullets. Paly of six, on a fess three mullets pierced. 352, A.[20]
On a Fess and in chief. On a fess a mullet pierced, in chief three roundels. 704, 710, 780.
On a Fess between.
Annulets. On a fess between three annulets three mullets pierced. 358, 520, 810.
Crosses. On a fess between six crosslets a crescent. 252, 412, 425.
Cups. On a fess between three cups (?) a mullet pierced. 83.
Fleurs de lis. On a fess between five lis, two lis. 309.
On a fess between six lis an annulet. 131.

Fleurs de lis (*cont.*). On a fess between six lis a crescent. 565.
Garbs. On a fess engrailed between three garbs a crescent. 77, 575.
Fish. Crusily patty two fish haurient. 588.
Three lucies haurient. 754, C.[33]
Crusily patty and three lucies haurient. 589.
Crusily fitchy and three lucies haurient. 20.
Three congers in orle. 593.
Flagon. Three flagons. 337.
Fleurs de lis. Azure, three lis or: France (new) alone. 733.
Azure, three lis or quartering England, *see* p. 457.
Six lis. 641, 642.
Ten lis. 47.
Semy of lis. 626.
Semy of lis, a bend gobony. 718 (three lis), 773.
Flowers. *See* Roses.
Foils. A cinquefoil ermine. 146.
A cinquefoil in an orle of crosslets. 378, 429, 462, 548.
Three cinquefoils. 274, 560.
Crusily and three cinquefoils. 186.
Fret. A fret or fretty. 18, 114, 127, 230, 238, 279, 291, 390, 409, 416, 434, 445, 476, 480, 517, 782.
Fretty vair. 365, 501.
Fretty, in chief an annulet. 315.
Fretty, a chief. 396, 417.
Fusils. Three fusils conjoined in fess. 171, 232, 303, 431, 495, 646, 670, 686, 771, 799, A.[24]
Galley. Three galleys. 700.
Three galleys dimidiated by England. 6.
Garbs. Three garbs. 373, 682, 705, 707, 802.
Garlands. Barruly, three garlands. 397.
Gouttes. Per chevron three gouttes; in chief a crescent. 61, 256.
Griffin. *See* Monster.
Hames. A pair of hames. 616.
Within a pair of hames letters xix. 299.
Hammers. Three hammers. 245.
Harp. A harp. 726.
Heads (*beasts*). Crusily three boars' heads couped. 167.
Three leopards' faces jessant de lis. 192, 353.
Three rams' heads. 803.
(*Birds*). Three swans' heads erased. 140, 236.
Hearts. Semy of hearts and three lions passant guardant. 748, 768.
Inescutcheon. *See* Escutcheon.
Insect. *See* Butterflies.
Keys. Three keys crowned. 133.
Six keys crowned. 557.
Legs. The legs of Man. 257, 610, 725.
Lozenges. Three lozenges. 566.
Ermine, three lozenges. 24.
Four lozenges in pall, on a canton a crosier. 148.
And see Fusils.
Lure. A hawk's lure. 273.
Mascles. Seven mascles: 3, 3, and 1. 15, 403, 423, 479, 686, 699, 703, 709.
Maunch. A maunch. 173, 569.
Monster (*griffin*). A griffin segreant. 345, 584, 746, 768.
A griffin segreant ermine. 204.

Monster (*cont.*). (*Unicorn*). A unicorn salient. 626, 636.
Mullet. Quarterly, in the first quarter a mullet. 16, 59, 76, 289, 387, 436, 521, 684, 704, 708.
Two mullets in chief, in base a bird. 92.
Net. The net of Navarre. 718, 773.
Orle. (*See* Net.) An orle. 95, 791.
Pale. A pale indented. 242, 259.
On a pale a demi lucie erect. 331.
On a pale a demi lucie erect, an annulet in dexter chief. 344.
On a pale a demi lucie erect, a crosslet fitchy in dexter chief. 277, 347.
On a pale a sword; on a chief three roundels. 2.
Three pales. Three pales, on a canton three bars nebuly. 312, 313.
Four pales. 730, 735.
Paly of six. 109.
Pickaxes. *See* Hammers.
Pile. A pile ermine. 472, 534.
A pile indented. 242, 259.
Three piles. 261, 554.
Quarterly. Quarterly per fess indented. 260.
Quarterly, in the first quarter a mullet. 16, 59, 76, 289, 387, 436, 521, 684, 704, 708.
Quarterly, in the second and third quarters a fret, over all a bend. 168, 218, 244, 389, 647, 660, 665, 675, 770.
Rose. Three roses. 124, 263, 488, 595.
Roundels. Three roundels. This coat with all its differences will be found collected under Courtenay at p. 460.
Semy of roundels. 357, 701.
Semy of roundels, a canton ermine. 401, 433; cf. 208, 477.
Saltire.
Plain lines. A saltire. 185, 205, 262, 394, 498, 644, 660, 661, 668, 720, 772.
A saltire, a label of three. 666.
Counter-embattled. A saltire counter-embattled. 341, 693, 706.
A saltire counter-embattled, a label of three. 342.
Saltire and in chief.
Escallop. A saltire counter-embattled, in chief an escallop. 79, 334, 350, 694.
A saltire counter-embattled, in chief an escallop charged with an annulet. 323.
Saltire and on a chief.
Beast. A saltire engrailed, on a chief a lion passant guardant. 170.
Escallops. A saltire, on a chief three escallops. 460, 547.
Saltire between.
Birds. A saltire engrailed between two birds and two roses. 382.
A saltire between four martlets. 561.
On a Saltire.
Bird. On a saltire a martlet. 91, 779.
Mullet. On a saltire a mullet. 89.
Ship. *See* Galley.
Staff. *See* Crosier.
Star. *See* Crescent.
Stirrups. Three stirrups. 266, 333.
Tree. A tree. 452, 543.
Van. Three winnowing vans. 364.
Three winnowing vans, a crescent for difference. 514.
Wings. A pair of wings, over all a bend. 222.
Wreath. *See* Garland.

(1) No. 273 (2) No. 223 (3) No. 272 (4) No. 139 (5) No. 636 (6) No. 643 (7) No. 325 (8) No. 501 (9) No. 643 (10) No. 643

(1) No. 610 (2) No. 220 (3) No. 676 (4) No. 211 (5) No. 613 (6) No. 762 (7) No. 558 (8) No. 473 (9) No. 51 (29) A 34

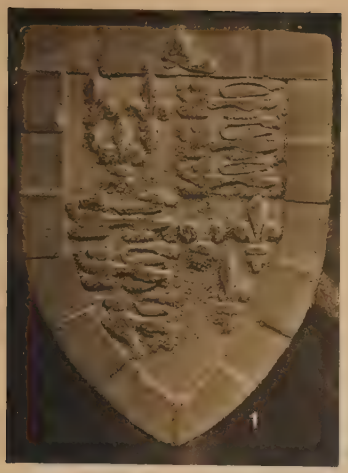
(1) No. 219 (2) No. 19 (3) A 13 (4) No. 142 (5) No. 209 (6) No. 392 (7) No. 667 (8) No. 136 (9) No. 416

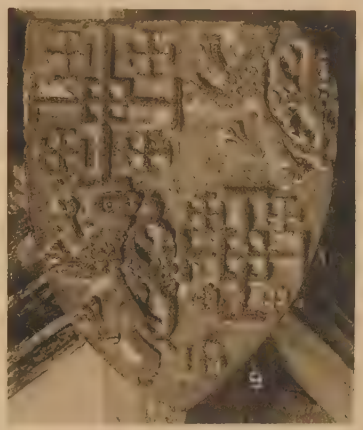
(10) No. 33 (11) No. 196 (12) No. 616 (13) No. 553 (14) No. 1 (15) No. 14.

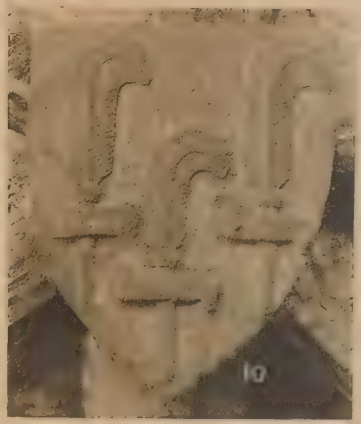
(1) No. 543 (2) No. 224 (3) No. 299 (4) No. 379 (5) No. 181 (6) No. 42 (7) No. 322 (8) No. 191 (9) No. 414

(1) No. 382 (2) No. 628 (3) No. 23 (4) No. 569 (5) No. 699 (6) No. 288 (7) No. 156 (8) No. 52

(9) No. 318 (10) No. 31 (11) No. 8 (12) No. 429







(1) No. 415 (2) No. 313 (3) No. 83 (4) No. 332 (5) No. 337 (6) No. 9 (7) No. 528 (8) No. 602 (9) No. 255 (10) No. 197 (11) No. 48 (12) No. 365 (13) No. 324

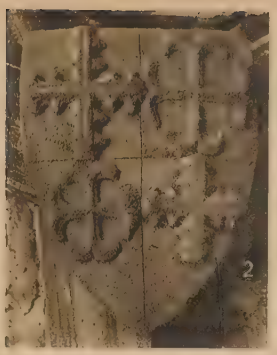
(1) No. 323 (2) No. 692 (3) No. 29 (4) No. 388 (5) No. 592 (6) No. 589 (7) A 33 (8) No. 68 (9) No. 309

(10) No. 133 (11) No. 265 (12) No. 21

(1) No. 135 (2) No. 212 (3) No 53 (4) No. 192 (5) No. 193 (6) No. 370 (7) No. 584 (8) No. 625 (9) No. 737

(10) No. 439 (11) No. 194 (12) No. 700 (13) No. 268 (14) No. 520

(1) No. 134 (2) No. 453 (3) No 593 (4) No. 601 (5) No. 411 (6) No. 452 (7) No. 391 (8) No. 329 (9) No. 412 (10) No. 787 (11) No. 398 (12) No. 640 (13) No. 103 (14) No. 259 (15) No. 776



(1) No. 65 (2) No. 235 (3) No. 236 (4) No. 718 (5) No. 277 (6) No. 170 (7) No. 536 (8) No. 112

(9) No. 544 (10) No. 111 (11) No. 58 (12) No. 148

XV.—*Late-Celtic Dagger, Fibula, and Jet Cameo.* *By* Sir Arthur Evans, *Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President.*

Read 28th January, 1915.

1. Dagger from Hertford Warren, Suffolk.

The iron dagger in its bronze sheath shown in fig. 1, which I am able to illustrate, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Guy Maynard, the Keeper of the Saffron Walden Museum,[1] was found in a rabbit-hole in Hertford Warren.

The dagger presents a well-marked variety of form hitherto not represented among British objects of this class. It has a bronze hilt, and its blade is encased in a bronze-plated sheath. Its present length without the chape, which is broken off, is about 13½ inches, but its original length must have been as nearly as possible 14 inches. The greatest breadth of the sheath is about an inch.

From the advanced character of the work there can be no doubt that the chape was curved back on to the end of the sheath. As there is no trace of this attachment, it looks as if the whole part of the sheath which was in connexion with the chape had been broken off. We may assume that it was of the characteristic open ring shape which succeeds the curved bar of earlier La Tène fabric, illustrated by a dagger from Chelsea in the British Museum.[2] In form it must have closely resembled the chape of another dagger in the National Collection found in the Thames at Wandsworth.[3] The somewhat pronounced curve of the upper outline of the sheath, on the other hand, more nearly approaches that of the dagger with a closely allied form of chape from West Buckland, Somerset.[4]

The hilt with its openwork decoration suggestive of Gothic tracery, the borders of which are followed by a punctuated line, is of extraordinary elegance. In the interstices of the lower part of the openwork are traces of silver plating, and there are some indications of the same on the upper knobs. It looks, therefore, as if the hilt may have been originally plated.

[1] The Trustees of the Museum kindly gave permission for the exhibition of the dagger to the Society.

[2] *Early Iron Age Guide*, p. 98, and pl. vi, fig. 1.

[3] *See* Sir Hercules Read, *Proceedings*, xxv (1913), plate facing p. 58, no. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 57 seqq. and no. 1 of plate.

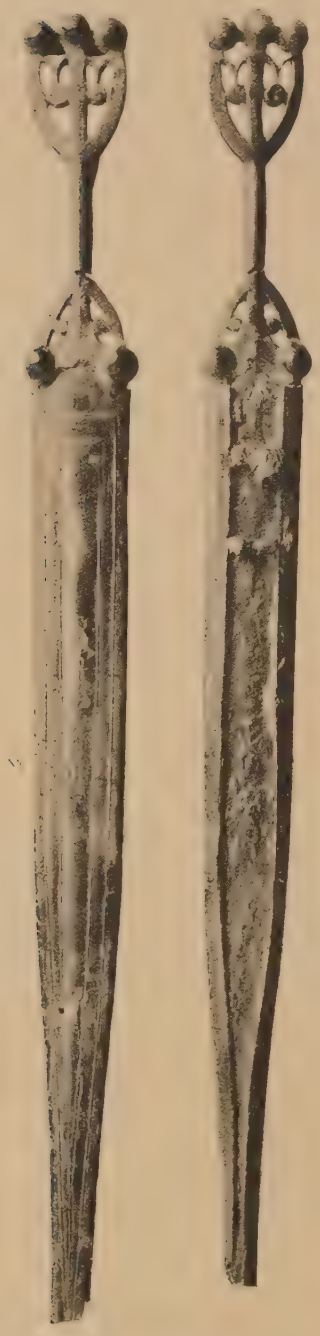


Fig. 1. Dagger from Hertford Warren, Suffolk (½).

The bronze part of the handle is socketed in the iron tang of the blade. The actual stem including its bronze coating is, however, so slender that it could hardly have supplied sufficient grip. Yet to have wound any substance round it to give adequate thickness would have destroyed the symmetry of the whole. It looks as if the weapon could have been little more than a toy for decorative use.

The top of the handle with its three knobbed prongs is clearly a derivative variety of the well-known dagger and sword types of the earlier La Tène Period, themselves the outcome of the 'antenna' Hallstatt class. In the case of the earlier La Tène daggers there are generally only two knobbed offshoots at the top of the handle, while between them appears an anthropoid head or figure. But a simpler form with a third knobbed offshoot between the others, in place of the head, obtained a very wide currency. They are frequently seen on Gaulish coins.

From various concordant indications the Hertford Warren dagger may be assigned to the second century B.C.

2. Bronze Fibula from Beckley, Oxon.

The bronze fibula (fig. 2) found at Beckley, Oxon., now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, represents a new example of a rare and very interesting type, the bow of which curves inward instead of outward, as is otherwise invariably the case with British *fibulae*. Another characteristic of this class is here well illustrated. The pin terminates in a double ring which worked in a circular groove at the back of the brooch. A similar arrangement is seen in a fibula from Danes Graves published by Canon Greenwell in the *Archaeologia* for 1907,[1] and here reproduced (fig. 3), and in a specimen found with a contracted skeleton of a woman at Newnham, Cambridge.[2]

Another fibula from Danes Graves, given in fig. 4,[3]

[1] Vol. lx, p. 267, fig. 14. [2] Cited *op. cit.*, p. 268, note *a*.
[3] Reproduced from Greenwell, *op. cit.*, p. 267, fig. 13.

shows a less pronounced incurving of its front plate, which presents, besides, the interesting peculiarity of having been covered like its posterior ring with decorative incrustations of vitreous paste, recalling the coral ornaments of the brooch from the Queen's Barrow at Arras, Yorks., and others from the Marne, one of which is of early La Tène type.[1]

These comparisons are important as carrying back the date of the introduction into Britain of these 'involuted' fibula types to the time of the earlier wave of Belgic invasion so well represented by the barrow interments of the Yorkshire Atrebates as seen at Arras and Danes Graves. This carries back this

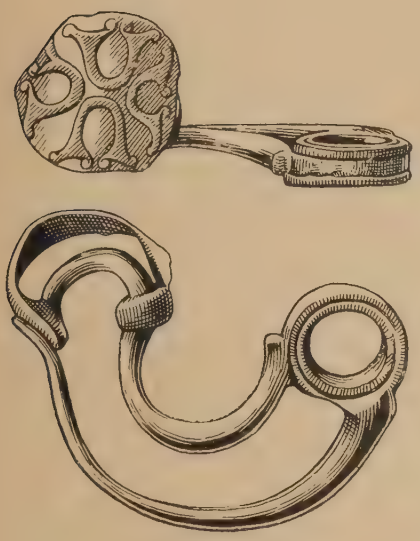


Fig. 2. Bronze fibula from Beckley, Oxon. ($\frac{3}{2}$).

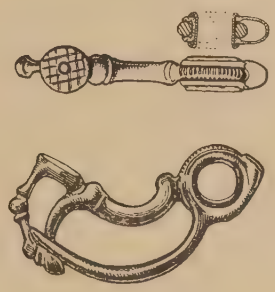


Fig. 3. Bronze fibula from the Danes Graves ($\frac{1}{1}$).

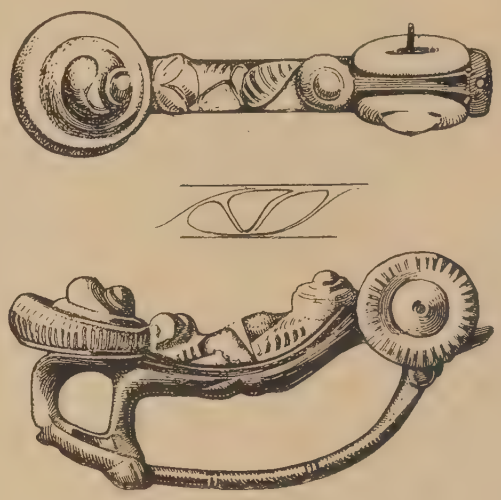


Fig. 4. Bronze fibula with paste decoration from the Danes Graves ($\frac{1}{1}$).

class of *fibulae* to a date approaching 300 B.C., though the Beckley example may be regarded as a slightly later evolution of the type. A distinctive feature on this fibula are the four horse-shoe-like patterns with expanding extremities which appear in relief on the plate.

It may be reasonably hoped that the immediate prototype of this involuted class will ultimately be discovered in some region occupied by the Continental Belgae or their neighbours. Although at present, however, this link is wanting it is not difficult to discern certain general affinities with some Italian Bronze Age forms which show the incurved front. Still more is this the case with certain Early Iron Age types, such as the horned class of *fibulae* belonging to the Third

[1] Greenwell, *op. cit.*, p. 298, fig. 44.

Period of Este,[1] which also present lateral rosettes recalling that of the Danes Graves specimen (fig. 4 above). The formation of the other Danes Graves fibula (fig. 3) also shows analogies with a Marzabotto type.[2]

3. Jet Cameo from near Rochester.

The third object here illustrated (fig. 5) is a jet cameo in the form of a pendant with head of Medusa, facing sideways, of British (or Late-Celtic) fabric. It was suspended to a ring of bronze wire, and had been probably worn round the neck. It was found in 1838 in Churchfield, on the banks of the Medway, between Strood and the Temple Farm and opposite the Castle of Rochester. A small and imperfect figure of this without its characteristic details was given by Roach Smith in the first volume of *Collectanea Antiqua*.[3]

Fig. 5. Jet cameo, found at Strood in 1838 ($\frac{1}{1}$).

It is really an object of unique interest as probably the only example of an Ancient British cameo. It represents an imitation of a Roman class of cameos in the form of Medusa's head, either facing or in profile, which were a favourite kind of amulet. The use of jet for the purpose is also noteworthy, since the fabric of jet ornaments in Britain goes back to the Early Bronze Age. British jet was specially prized by the Romans[4] and amulets of provincial Roman fabric are known in this material, showing the Medusa's head in relief. A specimen from Bonn is in my possession, and a half *krotalon* with a Medusa's head carved upon it was found in a stone coffin outside St. Gereon's Church at Bonn.[5]

The characteristic interlacing of the locks of hair in thick masses recalls some late Gaulish coins of Caesar's time.[6] The fibula and other objects with which this pendant was associated seem to belong to the last period of British independence, and indeed the subject of the cameo itself sufficiently betrays the operation of classical influences.

[1] Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, Atlas, pl. 57, 2, and pl. xviii, 263. Compare too the Bologna (Arnoaldi) forms, pl. xviii, 258, 259.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pl. 20, 282. [3] Pl. xi, 5, and cf. p. 19. [4] Solinus, cap. 22.

[5] In 1846. Cf. King, *Gems and Semi-precious Stones*, p. 132.

[6] E. G. Hucher, *L'art Gaulois*, pl. 79, 2.

INDEX TO VOLUME LXVI

A

Abbon, coiner and goldsmith of Limoges, 124.
Abingdon Abbey (Berks.), 385 *n.*; tenants of, in the twelfth century, 63.
Adrian, St., altar and tomb of, at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 391; translation of remains of, 390–2.
Agilulf, crown of, 145.
Aidan, St., preaching of, 65.
Ainslie, Dr. Gilbert, catalogue of deeds relating to Pembroke College, Cambridge, 401, 402, 419 *n.*, 422, 423, 425 *n.*
Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral, nail-relic from treasury of, 149; pulpit of, 106; treasures deposited by Charlemagne at, 130; twelfth-century chasse of Charlemagne, 147.
Alabaster vases, at or from: Port Royal (France), 118; Quedlinburg Cathedral (Germany), 118; Saint-Denis, Abbey of, 118.
Albany, arms ascribed to, 532.
Albin, abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, translation of remains of, 390–1.
Aldon, d', arms of, 537.
Alexander, Pope, bull by, 63.
Alexander the Great, arms ascribed to, 462, 551.
Alfred the Great, reorganization of the church under, 66, 79.
Allen, arms ascribed to, 468.
Alphegh (or Alphew), arms ascribed to, 528.
Altar, fragmentary, from Phoenicia, 190; with Graeco-Roman inscription, from Phoenicia, 191.
Altar-frontals, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109, 117, 134–6, 139, 146.
Altar-piece, fifteenth century, representing incidents in the legend of St. Giles, 105, 108–10, 113, 114, 125, 131, 134–7, 141, 147, 149.
Amathus (Cyprus), tombs at, 163, 166, 178, 186, 193.
Amber vase, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133.
Amiens (Amyas) in Picardy, cathedral church of St. John, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 291, 312.
Amphorae, clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 250, 255, 258–62; Southwark (Surrey), 250.
Amrît (Phoenicia), tombs at, 182, 183, 187, 189, 190.
Andrew, St., images of, 312, 329, 426, 433; reliquary of, 138.
Angers Museum (France), Cana vase of porphyry, 118.
Angilbert, 109.
Anglo-Saxon: *see* Saxon.
Animal remains: Rickmansworth (Herts.), 202; site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 242, 262, 263.
Anleby of Yorkshire, arms ascribed to, 474.
Anne, St., silver-gilt image of, 292, 311, 329.
Anstey, John de, 411, 414 *n.*
Anstey (Herts.), bequest to hospital at, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 434.
Antiquaries, Society of: assistance from, for excavations on the site of St. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury, 377; heraldic manuscripts in Library of, 448, 463 ff.
Antoninus Pius, coins of, London, 240.
Apuldurfield, arms ascribed to, 470–1, 488.
Aquitaine, Waifar, duke of, bracelets of, 128.
Arc, Jeanne d', sword of, 132.
Arched masonry in the Nearer East, 186, 187.
Arms and armour: *see* Daggers, Flint implements, Spurs, Stirrups, Strap-fastening, Swords, Terrets.
Armstrong, E. C. R., on bronze stirrup-like objects from Ireland, 352.
Arnould, Emperor, gift to St. Emmeran's Abbey, 135.
Arras (Yorks.), brooch from Queen's barrow, 571.
Arthur, King, arms ascribed to, 462, 464, 551.
Arundel, Sir John, marshal of England, 465, 497.
Arundel, Richard, earl of, arms of, 459, 463, 465, 492, 552.
Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 459, 463; arms of, 459, 464, 465, 469, 519, 525, 535, 546, 552.
Arundel, Sir William, arms of, 497.
Ash (Kent), monument of John Septvans in church, 529.
Ash next Sandwich (Kent): arms in church, 473, 495, 502, 510; brass of Richard Clitheroe, 510.

Ashford (Kent): arms of the Manston family in windows of church, 529; brass to the countess of Athol in the church, 480; effigy of Lord Scales, 479.
Ashmole, Elias, on the gold collar of the Garter, 295.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: bronze brooch, 570; bronze lantern, of the twelfth century, set with crystals, 133.
Ashton, Hugh, executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.
Astley, arms ascribed to, 485.
At Bridge, arms ascribed to, 536.
Athelstan, 68.
Athelwold, St., monk of Glastonbury, 385 *n.*
Athiénu (Cyprus), carved sarcophagus from, 190.
Atholl, Aymer of, 417 *n.*, 428.
Athull, arms ascribed to, 476.
Atkinson, Donald, 262, 272.
Aton: *see* Vesci.
atte Lese (or Atleese), arms ascribed to, 480.
atte Lese, Sir Richard, brass of, 480.
Audley, arms ascribed to, 480, 526.
Audley, John Touchet, Lord, arms ascribed to, 482, 498, 525, 556.
Augustus, Emperor, sardonyx cameo of, 137.
Austin, St., archbishop of Canterbury: burying-place, 377, 383, 385, 388, 391–3, 395, 400; death, 386–7; tomb, 385, 393–5.
Austin Canons, priory of, Taunton (Som.), 70.
Austin Friars, bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 433.
Avebury (Wilts.), remains of Saxon work in church at, 73.
Avranches, arms of, 502, 534, 535.
Aylesbury, arms ascribed to, 537.
Aylesford (Kent), brass of John Cossington, 482.
Aynsford, Sir William de, arms ascribed to, 480.

B

Ba, Thomas de, arms of, 479.
Baalbek (Syria), ruins of, 163, 172, 177.
Babylonian architecture, 187.
Badlesmere, arms of, 508, 535.
Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, 152; gold seal of, 152.
Ballard, Gregory, arms ascribed to, 494.
Bamboula Hill (Cyprus), Early Iron Age settlement at, 185.
Baptisteries, polygonal, 383–4.
Barbara, St., silver-gilt image of, 292, 329.
Bardolf, arms of, 503, 533.
Bardolf, William, Baron, arms ascribed to, 533.
Barfreston (Kent), arms of Lichfield in church at, 498.
Bargrave, Isaac, dean of Canterbury, arms of, 453, 463.
Bargrave, John, of Patricksbourne, arms of, 463.
Barker, Robert, palaeolithic implements collected by, 202.
Barnard, arms ascribed to, 529.
Barnes, Prof. A. Schwartz, collection of palaeolithic implements, 202, 203, 204.
Baron, arms of, 557.
Barr, arms ascribed to, 536.
Barrey, arms ascribed to, 470, 471, 528, 533.
Barrey, John, arms ascribed to, 483.
Barrey, Richard, arms ascribed to, 471, 483.
Barrey, Sir William, arms ascribed to, 483.
Bartholomew, St., image of, 329.
Basins, silver, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108.
Bassett, arms ascribed to, 507.
Bathoe, William, bookseller, 1, 2, 9.
Batisford, arms ascribed to, 468, 522, 525, 531, 532, 558.
Batisford, Joan, will of, 469.
Batons, precentors', 156.
Battle Abbey (Sussex), arms of, 465.
Baud, Thomas, seal of, 534.
Baud: *see* le Baud.
Bavaria, Blanche, duchess of, 458.
Baynard, arms ascribed to, 529.
Beauchamp, arms of, 425, 487, 518, 519, 526, 542. *See* Bergavenny, baron of.
Beaufort, Henry, cardinal and bishop of Winchester, arms of, 458, 519.
Beaufort, Lady Margaret: *see* Richmond, countess of.
Beaufort: *see* Somerset, earl of.
Beaulieu Abbey (Hants), 353.
Beaumont, arms of, 460, 468, 499, 500, 509, 544–7, 552; badge of, 464, 544.
Beaumont, Henry, third Baron, arms of, 498, 500, 545.
Beaumont, Henry, fifth Baron, arms of, 544, 546.
Beaumont, John, second Baron, arms of, 459, 545.
Beaumont, Sir John, fourth Baron, 544; arms of, 545.
Beaumont, William, Viscount, 276.
Beaumont, William, second Viscount: brass of, 544; standard of, 544.
Beavor, John de, arms ascribed to, 485.
Becket, St. Thomas à, archbishop of Canterbury, arms ascribed to, 464, 466, 470, 481, 484, 549.
Beckley (Oxon.), bronze brooch from, 570–2.
Bede, on the death of St. Austin, 386–7; on the organization of the Saxon church, 65, 66.

Bedford, John, duke of (son of Henry IV), arms of, 285 *n.*, 458, 488, 493, 553; badge of, 285 *n.*, 286 *n.*
Bedfordshire, early organization of the church in, 90, 92 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Woburn.
Beevor, Sir Hugh, collection of palaeolithic implements, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207.
Beke, arms ascribed to, 530.
Bell, Dr. William, minister of St. Sepulchre's, London, 8.
Bells with coats of arms, in Kent, 467, 481.
Benedict, St., reliquary of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155 *n.*
Benedictine houses in England at the time of the Conquest, 93, 94, 95.
Benham, Canon, the late, 7.
Bennett-Goldney, F., 400.
Berctuald, burying-place of, 386.
Berengar, crown of, 146.
Bergavenny, Joan Arundel, baroness of, seal of, 500.
Bergavenny, William de Beauchamp, baron of, arms of, 425, 500, 519.
Berkeley, arms of, 509, 518, 519, 521.
Berkshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 77, 78 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Abingdon, Reading Abbey, Stratfield Mortimer.
Berlin Museum: excavations on behalf of, at Tamassos (Cyprus), 165; figure of Christ enthroned, on ivory, 135.
Berry, John, duke of: arms of, 153; gift to Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112, 153, 155.
Bertram, arms of, 477–8, 543, 557.
Betshanger (Kent), arms of Clifford in windows of church, 511.
Bifrons (Kent), perforated spoons from, 124.
Bilson, John, on Wulfric's octagonal building at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 384, 385.
Birkenhead (Byrkhed, Birket, or Bryket), arms of, 515.
Birlingham, arms ascribed to, 505.
Blackborough (Norfolk), bequest to nuns of, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Black Death, the, 353, 360.
Black Friars, bequests to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 310, 312, 313.
Blackmore, or Blakamore (Essex), priory of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Blanchet, A., on the buildings of Gaul, 234.
Blois, Charles de Châtillon, count of, 403, 409.
Blois, Guy de Châtillon, count of, 403, 427–8.
Blount, arms ascribed to, 472.
Blount, Sir William, of Midley, arms ascribed to, 503.
Boarhunt (Hants), complete Saxon church at, 75.
Bobbing (Kent), brass of Sir Arnold Savage in church at, 479.
Bocton, Stephen de, arms of, 493.
Bodleian Library, Oxford: Rawlinson manuscripts relating to building of Wren's City churches, 1, 5, 9, 10, 14–60.
Bohemia, arms of, 462, 496.
Bohun, Mary de (queen of Henry IV), 457.
Bohun: *see* Gloucester, duchess of; Hereford, earl of.
Bokyngham, John, bishop of Lincoln: arms of, 505, 520, 556; brass of, 505; chantry, 505; will, 505.
Bolton, William, prior of St. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield, share of, in designing the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 367–71.
Bond, E. A., 410.
Bonn (Germany), jet cameo from, 572.
Book-covers with enamels, 135, 138, 154.
Borden (Kent), brass with genealogy of the Fyge family, 524.
Borges (or Burgess), arms of, 477.
Bosham (Sussex), remains of Saxon work in church at, 79.
Boteler, John, arms ascribed to, 556.
Boteler of Wemme, arms of, 477.
Boughton under Blean (Kent): arms of William Colkin, 511; arms and brass of John Colkin, 511.
Bourbon, Cardinal de, abbot of Saint-Denis, 106, 112.
Bourchier, arms of, 451, 477.
Bourchier, Bartholomew, Lord, arms of, 517.
Bourchier, Sir John, Lord, arms of, 477.
Bourchier, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 454
Bourne of Kent, arms of, 492, 517.
Bowls: clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 250–3; cylindrical, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241; gold, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 121; 'Samian', King William Street, London, 265; silver, plated with gold, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133.
Boxley Abbey (Kent), arms of, 486.
Boys, arms ascribed to, 523, 531.
Bracelets, formerly belonging to Queen Nanthilde and Duke Waifar of Aquitaine, 127, 128.
Bradeston, arms of, 499.
Brass object: latten columns of the high altar, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 110.
Brasses, monumental, at: Ashford (Kent), 480; Ash next Sandwich (Kent), 510; Aylesford (Kent),

482; Bobbing (Kent), 479; Borden (Kent), 524; Boughton under Blean (Kent), 511; Challock (Kent), 557; Chartham (Kent), 511; Cobham (Kent), 472, 487; Constance Cathedral (Germany), 536; Faversham (Kent), 557; Gravenye (Kent), 556; Harrow (Middx.), 514; Herne (Kent), 509; Lingfield (Surrey), 533; Little Horkesley (Essex), 489; New College, Oxford, 503; Newington next Sittingbourne (Kent), 466; Northfleet (Kent), 480; Orpington (Kent), 475; Pluckley (Kent), 526; St. Alphage, Canterbury (Kent), 496; St. Lawrence, Thanet (Kent), 479; Saltwood (Kent), 476; Sawbridgeworth (Herts.), 506, 507; Sheldwich (Kent), 480; Trotton (Sussex), 555; Westminster Abbey, 463, 493; Wivenhoe (Essex), 544.

Brasted (Kent), arms on stained glass and mutilated slab of Edmund de Mepham, 516.

Braybrooke, arms of, 465, 488, 526.

Braybrooke, Sir Reginald, arms ascribed to, 518.

Braybrooke, Robert, bishop of London, arms ascribed to, 518.

Brayley (E. W.) and Neale (J. P.), description of the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey, 366, 372.

Brenchley, Sir William, arms of, 466, 468–9.

Brescia Cathedral (Italy), Byzantine cross at, 153.

Bretagne, Anne de, clasp of, 157.

Brettingham, arms ascribed to, 524, 531.

Bretton, arms ascribed to, 528.

Brian, Sir Guy de, arms of, 501, 532.

Brière, Gaston, on the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 113.

Briset of Wellhall in Eltham, arms ascribed to, 511.

Britford (Wilts.), remains of Saxon work in church at, 73.

British art, ancient: brooch, Beckley (Oxon.), 570–2; dagger, Hertford Warren (Suffolk), 569, 570; jet cameo, with head of Medusa, Strood (Kent), 572.

British Museum: bronze object of the Late-Celtic period recently added to, 349–52; cast of Fitz Dering seal, 511; crystal reliquary, of the ninth century, 137; daggers, Late-Celtic, 569; excavations on behalf of: at Amathus (Cyprus), 193; at Enkomi (Cyprus), 182; at Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195–224; the Waddesdon vase, 120.

Brittany, arms of, 473, 488, 491.

Brittany, Arthur of, 402.

Brittany, Mary of, 402.

Brock, E. P. L., plans by, of excavations carried out in Leadenhall Market, London, 225.

Brocket of Ebeney in Oxney (Kent), arms ascribed to, 482.

Brockwell, Maurice W., notes on the picture of the 'Mass of St. Giles', 158 *n.*

Bromehill (Norfolk), priory of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.

Brony, arms of, 518.

Bronze Age: caves and chambers in Cyprus, 163.

Bronze objects: bronze-gilt brooches, from Valence d'Agen (France), 127; brooch, from Beckley (Oxon.), 570, 571; eagle-lectern, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 106, 107; hilt of dagger, Late-Celtic, Hertford Warren (Suffolk), 569, 570; stirrup-like object, of Late-Celtic period, recently added to the British Museum, 349–52; terrets (rings from horse-trappings), 351.

Brooches: bronze, from Arras (Yorks.), 571; Beckley (Oxon.), 570–2; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 570–2; bronze-gilt, from Valence d'Agen (France), 127; gold, from Ravenna, 127; golden, with three tails, Nagy Mihály (Hungary), 123.

Brookhill (or Brockhull) of Saltwood, arms ascribed to, 476.

Brookhill, Thomas, arms and brass of, 476.

Brosyerde: *see* Bruisyard.

Brotherton, Thomas of: *see* Norfolk, earl of.

Broughton, John and Robert, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 286, 316.

Brown, J. Allen, 211 *n.*, 213, 214.

Browne, Dan, bookseller, 1, 2, 9.

Browne, Jukes, 215.

Bruisyard, Brosyerde, or Brusyerd (Suffolk): bequest to abbey of, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 420, 422, 432; bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 312.

Brunswick, Gonzago vase at, 120.

Bruyn, Sir Ingelram de, arms ascribed to, 500.

Buckinghamshire, early organization of the church in, 92, 95, 97 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Gerrard's Cross, Medmenham.

Burghersh, arms of, 479, 541, 543, 544.

Burgundy, duke of, gift to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112.

Burgundy, dukes of, badge of, 284.

Burial: Graeco-Roman, Salamis (Cyprus), 185.

Burnby, John, on the shields in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 455.

Burton, arms of, 492.

Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk), abbey of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 277, 286, 315, 316.

Bushe-Fox, J. P., excavation work at Corbridge and Wroxeter, 244, 248, 262.
Butler, arms ascribed to, 501, 519.
Buxton, L. H., excavation work in Cyprus, 192.
'Byberon' with lion's head, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108.
Byrkhed, John, master of Cobham College, arms ascribed to, 514.
Byrkhed, Thomas, rector of Hawkhurst, arms and brass of, 514.
Byzantine architecture in Cyprus, 159 ff.; art, examples of, 123, 125, 127, 129, 130, 138, 143, 144, 152, 153, 154, 157; lamps, from Salamis (Cyprus), 193; rock-hewn chambers, Cyprus, 163; silver treasure, from Cyprus, 177 *n.*

C

Cambridge, Richard of Coningsborough, earl of, arms of, 458, 492, 528, 553; portrait of, 492; seal of, 492.
Cambridge:
Black Friars of, bequests to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 310, 312, 313.
Clare College, foundation and statutes of, 424, 428, 429.
Pembroke College and its foundress, 401–46; buildings, 422–4; chapel, 423, 424; — altar clothing, &c., 426, 433; charters and deeds, 401, 406 *n.*, 408, 414, 415, 420–6, 429, 431, 432, 435; course of studies, 424; endowments, 422, 423; foundress's cup, 426; grants obtained on behalf of, by the foundress, 419; inventories, 426; messuages, 422, 423; muniments, 401, 415, 423; plate, jewels, &c., 417, 424, 426, 433; prayers, 427; quincentenary, 401; seal, 423, 427; site, 422, 423; statutes, 411, 420, 421, 423, 424, 429; treasury, 422; University Hostel, 423, 424. *See also* Pembroke, Mary de St. Pol, countess of.
St. John's College, documents from the muniments of, relating to the execution of the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey, 365–76.
University Library: Franciscan breviary, 426.
Cambridgeshire, early organization of the church in, 90, 92 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Cambridge, Denny Abbey, Ickleton, Newnham, Swaffham Bulbeck, Waterbeach.
Cameos: of Chosroes II, king of Persia, 121; agate, on cross of St. Eloy, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 125; jet, with Medusa head, Strood (Kent), 572; sardonyx, of the Emperor Augustus, 137; vases, sardonyx, 120.
Camoys, Thomas, Lord, arms of, 490, 521, 555; brass of, 555.
Campania, arms ascribed to, 467.
Cana vases, 118.
Candelabra, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117, 134, 139.
Candlesticks, gold and silver, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108, 109, 110.
Cantelu, Michael de, seal of, 492.
Canterbury (Kent):
Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ: introductory remarks on the shields, on the building of the cloisters, and the authorities for the ascriptions, 447–62; detailed description of each shield in the cloisters, 463–559; Ordinary of the arms, 560–8. Arms ascribed to: Albany, 532; Aldon, 537; Alexander the Great, 462, 551; Allen, 468; Alphegh, 528; Anleby, 474; Apuldurfield, 470–1, 488; Arthur, King, 462, 464, 551; Arundel, Richard, earl of, 459, 463, 465, 492, 552; Arundel, Archbishop, 459, 464, 465, 469, 519, 525, 535, 546, 552; Astley, 485; At Bridge, 536; Athull, 476; Atleese, 480; Aton, *see* Vesci; Audley, 480, 482, 498, 525, 526, 556; Avranches, 502, 534, 535; Aylesbury, 537; Aynsford, 480; Badlesmere, 508, 535; Ballard, Gregory, 494; Bardolf, 503, 533; Bargrave, Dean, 456, 463; Barnard, 529; Baron, 557; Barr, 536; Barrey, 470, 471, 483, 528, 533; Bassett, 507; Batisford, 468, 522, 525, 531, 532, 558; Battle Abbey, 565; Baud, 534; Beauchamp, 425, 487, 518, 519, 526, 542; *see* Bergavenny, baron of; Beaufort, Henry, Cardinal, 458, 519; Beaufort, *see* Somerset; Beaumont, 460, 468, 499, 500, 509, 544–7, 552; Beavor, John de, 485; Becket, St. Thomas à, 464, 466, 470, 481, 484, 549; Bedford, John, duke of, 458, 488, 493, 553; Beke, 530; Bergavenny, William de Beauchamp, baron of, 425, 500, 519; Berkeley, 509, 518, 519, 521; Bertram, 477–8, 543, 557; Birlingham, 505; Blount, 472; Blount, Sir William, 503; Bohemia, 462, 496; Bohun, *see* Hereford, earl of; Bokyngham, John, bishop of Lincoln, 505, 520, 556; Boteler, John, 556; Bourchier, 451, 477, 517; Bourne, 492, 517; Boxley Abbey, 486; Boys, 523, 531; Braybrooke, 465, 488, 526; Braybrooke, Sir Reginald, 518; Braybrooke, Robert, bishop of London, 518; Brenchley, Sir William, 466, 468–9; Brettingham, 524, 531; Bretton, 528; Brian, Sir Guy de, 501, 532; Briset, 511; Brittany, 473, 488, 491; Brocket, 482; Brookhill (or Brockhull), 476; Brotherton, *see* Norfolk, earl of; Bruyn, Sir Ingelram de, 500; Burghersh, 479, 541, 543,

Canterbury: Heraldry in the Cloisters (*continued*).
544; Burton, 492; Butler, 501, 519; Byrkhed, John, 514; Byrkhed, Thomas, 514; Cambridge, Richard of Coningsborough, earl of, 458, 528, 553; Camoys, Thomas, Lord, 490, 521, 555; Campania, 467; Canterbury: Christ Church Priory, 520, 533, 536, 546, 555, 557, 559; — city of, 462, 484; — St. Augustine's Abbey, 464, 549; — St. Gregory's Priory, 477; — see of, 451, 464, 465, 466, 532; Cantilupe, 431, 492, 512, 523; Cantwell, 494; Castile, 458, 462, 540-1, 549, 555; Causton, Walter, 515; Cawne, 479, 530; Chamberlayne, 513; Charles, king of the Romans and Bohemia, 490; Charlton, 526; Chawntley, 523; Chellesfield, 528; Chevening, 536; Chicheley, Archbishop, 464, 532; Chidcroft, 478; Chilton, 527; Cifrewast, 508; Cinque Ports, 462, 464; Clanvowe, 512; Clare, 489, 499; Clarence, Thomas, duke of, 458, 491, 495, 516, 552, 555; Clarevaux, 494; Clavering, 503; Clifford, 499, 500, 511, 517, 524, 542, 548, 551; Clifford, John, Lord, 500; Clifford, Richard, bishop of London, 514, 521, 537; Clifford, Robert, 511, 521; Clinton, John, Lord, 478; Clinton, Sir William, Lord, 478, 515; Clitheroe, Richard, 510; Clopton, 505; Cobham, 488, 490, 491, 510, 537; Cobham of Cobham, 472, 515; Cobham of Rundale, 470, 473, 490; Cobham of Sterborough, 470, 488, 490; Cobham, Sir Thomas, 470; Cockfield, 490, 500, 511; Colepeper, 478, 495, 538-40; Colepeper, John, 474; Colepeper, Sir William, 548; Colley, John, 484, 498; Coloign, 468; Columbers, 481, 515; Colvile, John, 511; Comyn, 460, 514, 545, 547, 558; Coningsborough, *see* Cambridge, earl of; Constable, 521; Constantinople, 462, 550; Cornwall, Sir John, Baron Fanhope, 457, 554; Cosenton (or Cossington), 482, 501, 526, 536; Courtenay, 460, 467, 471-4, 476, 484, 501, 506, 516, 521, 526, 554; Courtenay of Powderham, 482, 486; Courtenay, Archbishop, 455, 460, 463-5, 469, 476; Courtenay, Sir Edward, 460, 554; Courtenay, Sir Peter de, 474; Cressel, 451; Crevequer, Hamo de, 535; Crey, 530; Criol (or Keriel), 473, 500, 502, 528, 535; Cromer, Sir William, 468; Cromwell of Tatshall, 498; Crosby, 473, 500; Crouch (or Atcrouch), 536; Curteis, 522, 523, 531; Dabernon, 532; Dacre, 518; Dalingrigge, 472, 530; Daniels, 498; Darcy, 491; De Burgh, 490-2, 514, 519, 553-5; Deincourt, 467, 499, 501, 524, 531; Delahay, 505; Delamare, 557; Delaplanche, 479; Delapole, 472, 487, 488, 513, 514, 526; Dene, 508; Denmark, 462, 552

Canterbury: Heraldry in the Cloisters (*continued*).
(*see* Eric); Dering, John, 491; Dering, Sir Richard, 511; Despencer, 489, 495, 499, 516, 541-4, 554; Devereux, 511, 547, 548, 556; Deyvill, 507; Digges, 466; Dike, Reginald de, 503; Dodingfield, 536; Dogett, 494; Dover Monastery (Kent), 480; Dymocke, 542; Echingham, 466, 505, 508, 516, 520, 529; Edith, Queen, 552; Edmund, King, 462, 464, 467, 473, 551; Edward the Confessor, King, 462, 467, 551; Eglisfield, 537; Empire, the, 549; Engayne, 467, 476; Enghurst, 508; England, 457-9, 464, 484, 487-92, 519, 526, 553; Eric, king of Denmark and Norway, 458, 554; Ermine, W. de, 489; Essex, Henry de, 548; Ethelbert, King, 462, 481, 550; Ethiopia, 462, 550; Everingham, Thomas de, 545, 546; Evreux, 462, 549, 555; Exeter, John Holland, duke of, 459, 490, 541, 542; Eynsford, 480; Eyre, 558; Fastolfe, Hugh, 539; Faversham, Thomas de, 477; Felbrigge, Sir Simon, 518; Ferrers, 465, 500, 518, 545-8; Fettiplace, 529; Fitzalan, 459, 463, 465, 488, 492, 497, 503, 517-20, 527, 541, 542, 552, 553, 555; Fitzbernard, 550; Fitz Chamber, 499; Fitz Dering, 511; Fitzpayne, 486, 496, 502, 512, 532, 534; Fitzwalter, 548; Fogge, Sir Thomas, 512, 530, 559; Folman, 471; Foxley, John de, 470, 485; Framlingham, 495; France, 457, 458, 462, 487, 488, 490, 519, 526, 550; Freningham (Frenyngham, or Farningham), John de, 448, 473, 475, 481, 496, 497; Frogenhall, 513; Furnival, 490; Furnivall, Thomas Nevill, Lord, 477; Fyge, Peter, 524; Fyneux, 496; Garnet, 516; Garrard, 485; Garwinton, 476; Gascoigne, Lord Chief Justice, 503, 510, 511; George, St., 465; Gibbes, Walter, 509; Glastonbury Abbey, 551; Gloucester, Humphrey, duke of, 458, 489, 493, 553; Gloucester, Thomas Despencer, earl of, 458, 491, 544; Gorney, 470; Gray, Sir Nicholas, 551; Green, 451; Grenford, 504, 505; Grey, 489, 508; Grey, Sir Thomas, 489; Grey de Codnor, Richard, Baron, 530, 534; Grey de Ruthin, 534; Grey de Wilton, Henry, 477; Greystok, Ralph, 517; Guildforde, 533; Haco, king of Norway, 462, 546; Hadlow (Hadloe, Handlo, or Holowe), 469, 482; Hakebech, 528; Hales, 473-4; Halle, 509; Hallum, Robert, bishop of Salisbury, 448, 536; Harcourt, 518; Hardres, 528; Hardreshull, 474, 495; Harfleet, 513; Harling, 539, 540; Hastings, John de, 490; Haute (or Hawte), 472, 479, 483, 493, 526, 541; Hautot, 550; Hawberk, 514; Helles, 467; Helmebridge, 531; Henry IV, 457, 555; Henry.

Canterbury: Heraldry in the Cloisters (*continued*).
Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V), 457, 492, 493, 521, 552; Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, twelfth earl of, 457, 463, 555 (*see* Bohun); Hereford, Joan, countess of, 463, 525; Heringaud (or Heringod), 466, 533; Heron, 481; Herring, Nicholas, 533; Hever, William de, 479, 495; Heytesbury, 486; Higham, 485; Holland, 474, 491, 503, 543, 553–5 (*see* Exeter, duke of; Kent, earl of); Holowe, Rauf, 482; Hoo, Sir Richard de, 484; Hoorne, Edmund, 513, 528; Hosterley, 512; Hubert, St., 522; Hungerford, Sir Walter, 486; Huntingdon, William de Clinton, earl of, 508; Hussey (Husee, or Hoese), 485, 508, 533; Inge, William de, 488; Ingham, 524; Ireland, 462, 550; Isaac, 469; Isley, 475; Jerusalem, 460, 462, 500, 509, 544–7, 551, 552; Kelsham, 475, 534; Kent, Alice, countess of, 525; Kent, Edmund of Woodstock, earl of, 459, 503; Kent, Joan, countess of, 459; Kent, Thomas Holland, earl of, 458, 459, 527, 553; Kentisbere, 496; Kilwarbie, Robert, cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury, 493, 516; Kington, 468; Knaresborough Priory (Yorks.), 525; Knoel, 536; Knolles, Sir Robert, 479, 557; Knyvett, 481; Kyme, 520, 522, 523, 531, 536; Lacy, 531; Lancaster, Duchy of, 506, 526; Lancaster, dukes of, 459; Lancaster, Edmund, earl of, 526; Lancaster, Henry, earl of, 465, 545, 548, 552; Lancaster, John of Gaunt, duke of, 540–1; Lancaster, Thomas, earl of, 526; Langdon, John, bishop of Rochester, 534; Langham, 476; Langley: *see* York; Langley of Warwickshire, 501, 511; Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, 542; Lathom, 547; Latimer, 495; Latimer, John Nevill, Lord, 477; Laverick (or Leverick), 495, 510; le Baud, 483; Leeds Priory, 523; Lenthal, Sir Rowland, 553–4; Leon, 458, 462, 540–1, 549, 555; Lesnes Abbey, 468, 506; Leventhorp, 504, 506, 507, 538; Leybourne, Sir Thomas de, 502, 507, 535; Lisle, 486, 523, 531, 548; Littlebury, 557; Livonia, 462, 552; Lodbroke, 506; London, City of, 462, 481; Lovaine, 451; Lovel, John, 478; Lovel, Thomas, 498; Lovelace, 502; Lucie (or Lucy), 466, 536, 552, 555; Lutteridge, 502; Luttrell, 490, 502; Mailmains, 509, 537; Maltravers, 459, 466, 480, 497, 503, 518, 519; Man, Isle of, 462, 500, 538, 550; Manston, 529, 535; March, Edmund Mortimer, earl of, 490, 491; Maries, William de, 497; Mauduit, 451; Mayhew, 471; Mepham, 516, 530; Mereworth, 509, 537; Mohun of Dunster, 458, 491, 493, 541–4, 557; Molinton, Sir Thomas,

Canterbury: Heraldry in the Cloisters (*continued*).
524; Mompesson, 516; Monins, 469; Montacute, 489, 497, 506, 520, 527, 528, 541, 543, 545, 555, 558; Montboucher, 482, 487, 497; Monthermer, 489, 497, 520, 527, 545, 555; Mortimer, 458, 490, 492, 506, 514, 515, 519, 527, 553–5; Mortimer of Attleborough, 539; Mortimer, Sir Thomas, 527; Morton, 451; Mowbray, 478, 488, 541–4; Mowbray, John, Lord, 459; Mowbray, Thomas, earl marshal, 459; Muschamp, 467, 509; Navarre, 462, 555; Navarre, Joan of, 457, 549, 555; Nevill, 491, 494, 501, 527, 541–3, 555, 556; Nevill, Sir John, 543, 555; Newburgh, 518; Newenham, 520; Noone, 529; Norfolk, Elizabeth Arundel, duchess of, 459; Norfolk, Thomas de Brotherton, earl of, 459, 488, 543, 544; Norfolk, John Mowbray, duke of, 543; Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray, duke of, 459, 553; Norland, 505; Northumberland, Percy, earl of, 500, 552, 555; Northwood, 461; Norway, 462, 552 (*see* Haco), Nottingham, 493, 516, 536; Odiarne, 467; Ogle, Robert, Baron, 477, 557; Oldcastle, 472, 515; Opsall, 532; Orchard, 476; Oxford, Richard de Vere, earl of, 465, 466; Parr, John, 499; Pashley, 479; Paunton, 522–4, 530, 531; Paunton, Sir Hugh, 523, 524; Paveley, Sir Walter, 557; Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 527; Pedwardyn, 517; Pelham, 548, 551, 556; Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, earl of, 490; Pembroke, John de Hastings, earl of, 490; Penbruge, 509; Penshurst, 473; Percy, *see* Northumberland; Perot, 501; Peter, king of Leon and Castile, 492; Peverel, 487, 526; Peyforer, Fulke, 470, 540; Philibert, St., 530; Philpot, 499, 557; Pix, 490; Pluckley, 501; Plurenden, 477; Poictiers and Cornwall, Richard, earl of, 525; Popham, 512, 547; Porter, 471; Portugal, 462, 546, 550, 559; Portugal, Philipe, queen of, 457; Poynings, 461, 483, 486, 487, 497, 512, 518, 520, 532–5; Poynings, Richard, Lord, 534; Prester John, 550; Proude, 496; Provence, 462, 550; Provence, Eleanor of, 550; Ramsey, 558; Raynsford, 558; Reading Abbey, 526; Rempstone, 542; Rempstone, Sir Thomas, 527 Roberts, 510; Robsart, 518; Rokele, 474; Rokesley, 487, 534, 535; Rome, 462, 496; Roos, William, Lord, 519, 521, 535, 536; Rossell, 479; Royal arms, 457-8, 488-92, 506, 521, 525, 527, 542, 546, 550, 553–5, 559; Royton, 558; St. Albans Abbey (Herts.), 542; St. John, 478, 487, 515, 532; St. John, Sir Thomas Poynings, Baron, 532; St. Leger, 517, 519; St. Lo, 474, 497, 502, 504, 510, 529; St. Nicho-

Canterbury: Heraldry in the Cloisters (*continued*).
las, 530; Salisbury, Thomas de Montacute, earl of, 555; Samson, 515; Sanchet, 472; Sandwich, 497, 502, 518; Sansaver, 472; Savage, Sir Arnold, 496, 502; Savoy, 531, 549; Saxony, 462, 552; Scales, 478, 526; Schepene, John, 558; Scotland, 462, 550; Scrope, 481, 558; Scrope, Henry, Lord, 501, 517, 519, 554; Scrope, Sir Stephen, 487; Scudamore, 501, 510; Segrave, 459, 541, 543; Sepham, William de, 491; Septvans, John, 529; Septvans, Thomas, 529; Septvans, Sir William, 513, 529; Seyliard, 478, 479; Shelton, 509; Shelving, 504; Shurland, 507; Somers, 508; Somerset, John Beaufort, earl of, 458, 527, 541; Stafford, 485, 521, 523, 542; Stafford, Sir Hugh, 516, 517; Standish, 514; Stanley, Sir John, 538, 547; Stapleton, 523; Staresacre, 513; Strabolgi, 480, 550; Strange, 484; Strange, John, Lord, 542; Strange of Knockyn, 484, 541, 542; Strickland, William, bishop of Carlisle, 482; Sudbury, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, 464, 469, 494, 508; Surrenden, John de, 499, 505; Sweden, 462, 552; Swinbourne, Thomas, 489; Talbot, 461, 533; Talboys, 523, 532; Taverner, 536; Thomas, St., *see* Becket; Thornbury, 557; Thowested, 510; Thrace, 462, 550; Thurstone, 557; Touchet, 482, 498, 525, 556; Tracy, 498; Tregoze, 513–14, 551; Troutbeck, 536; Tyes, 528; Ufford, 493, 497, 498, 504, 517, 520, 536, 546, 548; Ulster, John de Burgh, earl of, 491; Umfraville, 515, 520, 523, 532; Umfraville, Gilbert de, 515; Valence, 490; Verdun, 526; Vere, 465, 475, 505, 516, 521, 530, 545, 547; Vesci, 486, 556; Vesci, Sir Gilbert Aton, Lord, 487, 557; Wadham, 485, 501; Wainfleet, 451; Walden, 540, 558; Wales, 462, 549; Wales, Prince of, 457, 492, 493, 521, 552; Waleys, 503; Warenne, 459, 463, 465, 492, 517, 520, 527, 541, 542, 552, 553, 555; Warwick, Newburgh, earl of, 518; Warwick, Richard Beauchamp, earl of, 518; Watevile, 476; Welde, William, 510; Werton (or Weston), 494; Westmorland, Ralph Nevill, earl of, 458, 527, 541; Whetenhall, 499, 529, 557; Widvile, 551; Willington, 537; Willoughby, 495, 504, 507, 520, 536, 546, 548; Wingfield, 488, 526; Winter, 451; Wittlesey, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 517; Wrottesley, 538; Wykeham, William of, 514; York, Edmund of Langley, duke of, 458, 491, 544, 554; York, Edward Plantagenet, duke of, 458, 491, 492, 544; Zouche, 494, 512, 518, 520, 547. Badges: Beaumont, 464, 544; Bohun, 493; Clifford, 500;

Canterbury: Heraldry in the Cloisters (*continued*).
Courtenay, 493; Grey de Codnor, 530; Heytesbury, 486; Hungerford, Sir Walter, 486; Kent, Joan of, 495; Kent, Thomas Holland, earl of, 495; Mortimer, 464; Plantagenet, 464; Poynings, 483; St. John, 538; Wales, Prince of, 462, 493, 527.

Recent discoveries in the Abbey Church of St. Austin, 377–400; aisles, 377, 379, 383, 387, 389, 390, 393; altar of St. Gregory, 387, 392-5, 397, 400; ambulatory, 378, 379; baptistery, 383; Book of Customs, 387; burying-place of St. Austin and his successors, 377, 382–4, 390–400; cemetery of the monks, 381; chapel of St. Stephen and St. Mary Magdalene, 387; — of the Virgin, 387; church of St. Peter and St. Paul, 377, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386, 388–90, 396, 398; crypts, 383, 390, 391, 395; doorway, 379; flooring, 388; foundations, 377, 379, 383, 389, 390, 396; ground plan of the minster, 377; monks' quire, 377; nave, 377, 379, 383, 389, 395;—altar, 378; octagonal building, Wulfric's, 377, 379 ff.; oratory of Our Lady, Eadbald's, 381–3, 387, 390; platforms, earthen and concrete, 377, 378, 388, 396; porches, 381, 395, 400; *porticus*, 386, 388–91, 393, 395, 400; presbytery, 383, 390, 392; *pulpitum*, 377; quire, 387; rood-loft, 377–8; screen foundations and screens, 377, 378, 386, 387, 396; sleeper walls, 380, 389, 390, 396, 397; stone piers, 378, 379; tiles, 387, 388, 396; tombs, 382, 390–9; tower and tower piers, 377, 378, 383; transepts, 377, 390; walls, 379, 380, 387–90, 393, 395.

Christ Church Priory, 383; font of, 292.

St. Alphage, brass at, 496.

St. Augustine's College, excavations carried out by authorities of, 377, 378, 399, 400.

St. Martin's Church, burial of Saxon kings in, 389, 399.

St. Mary Magdalene Church, arms in, 484.

St. Peter's Church, arms of Poynings, 483, 486, 534, 535; monument to Thomas Ikham and his wife Joan, 483.

Cantharus, two-handled, of agate, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 119, 120.

Cantilupe, arms of, 431, 492, 512, 523.

Cantwell, arms ascribed to, 494.

Capet, Hugues, tomb of, 107 *n.*

Carlovingian emperors, ivories made for, 135.

Carmelite Friars, bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 433.

Castile, arms of, 458, 462, 540–1, 549, 555.

Castle Hedingham (Essex), seat of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 276, 286, 288; arms of the earl of Oxford over west window of church and on the tower, 307, 308; chapel at, 303; contents of the chambers in the castle, 288 ff., 316, 323-8; monument of the 15th earl in the church, 308 *n.*, 309 *n.*
Catharine, St., Prison of: *see* Cyprus.
Cauntelow, William de, seal of, 492.
Causton, Walter, prior of St. Martin's, Dover, 480; arms ascribed to, 515.
Cave period, early, flint implements of the, from Rickmansworth (Herts.), 205, 206.
Cawne, arms ascribed to, 530.
Cawne, Sir Thomas, arms ascribed to, 479; monument of, 479.
Celtic crosses, 66.
Celtic, Late: bronze object recently added to the British Museum, 349–52; brooches, from Arras (Yorks.), 571; Beckley (Oxon.), 570-2; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 571; daggers from Chelsea (Middx.), 569; Hertford Warren (Suffolk), 569, 570; Thames at Wandsworth (Surrey), 569; West Buckland (Som.), 569; jet cameo, with head of Medusa, from Strood (Kent), 572.
Censers, silver, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108.
Cesnola, A. P. di, 180.
Cesnola, L. P. di, on Cypriote antiquities, 166, 178, 180.
Chalices: Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108, 115, 117, 121, 123, 141, 143, 144, 155 *n.*; Byzantine, treasury of St. Mark, Venice, 143.
Challock (Kent): arms of Apuldurfield in church, 471; brass of Thurstone of Challock, 557.
Chamberlayne, arms ascribed to, 513.
Charlemagne, 116, 120, 123, 129; chasse of, 147; chessmen and chessboard attributed to, 133, 151; clasp of, 151; cross of, 125 *n.*, 127, 131, 139; crown, 132, 133, 145, 146, 147, 148; 'Escrin de Charlemagne', 109, 123, 128, 146; gold image of, 130; hand of justice, 132, 133; insignia, 132, 150; sceptre, 132, 133; spurs, 132, 133; sword, 132; statuette of, 156; treasures gathered by, 128, 129.
Charles, king of the Romans and of Bohemia (afterwards Emperor Charles IV), arms of, 490.
Charles I of France (Charles the Bald): crown of, 133, 148; gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 109, 110, 120, 121, 123, 125, 128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136 *n.*, 137, 139, 141, 146, 149; inscription on grave of, 149; tomb of, 107, 120 *n.*, 130, 131.
Charles II, king of Navarre, 457.
Charles III of France (Charles the Simple), 120.
Charles V of France, 150, 157; coronation, 156; gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112, 153, 155.
Charles VI of France, 116; gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112, 130.
Charles VII of France, sword of, 132.
Charles IX of France, 150 *n.*
Charles X of France, coronation of, 132.
Charles Martel, representation of, on fifteenth-century altar-piece, 105; tomb of, 107 *n.*
Charlton, arms ascribed to, 526.
Charnay (France), strap-fastening from, 122.
Charnel, arms ascribed to, 493.
Charroux (Poitou), circular shape of church at, 385.
Chartham (Kent), arms and brass of Clifford in church, 511.
Chasses: Abbey of Saint-Denis, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 126, 127, 154; St. Maurice d'Agaune (Switzerland), 125.
Chatham (Kent), perforated silver spoons from, 124.
Châtillon of Châtillon-sur-Marne, family of, 402–3.
Châtillon, Miles de, 402, 403; descendants of, 403.
Chawntley, arms ascribed to, 523.
Chelles type of palaeolithic implements, 197, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 216, 223.
Chellesfield, arms ascribed to, 528.
Cheney, arms of, 507.
Cheshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 93, 96 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Chessell Down (Isle of Wight), perforated spoon from, 124.
Chessmen and chessboard, attributed to Charlemagne, 133, 151.
Chest, wooden, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108.
Chetham, Richard, prior of Leeds (Kent), 372.
Chevening, arms ascribed to, 536.
Chicheley, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, arms of, 464, 532.
Chidcroft of Lamberhurst, arms ascribed to, 478.
Chillenden, Prior, buildings at Canterbury Cathedral by, 447, 448, 455.
Chilton, arms ascribed to, 527.
Chinnor, Thomas, chantry founded by, Abbey of Tower Hill, 356; will of, 362.
Chosroes II, Sassanian king of Persia, bowl of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 121, 123, 133.
Christ, figures of: in mandorlas, 135; on ivory, Berlin Museum, 135; on panel, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 135; on plate of lapis lazuli, Galerie d'Apollon, Paris, 154.
Christian churches, rock-cut, 175–7.
Church plate: Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108, 117.

Churches and buildings of circular shape, 384–5.
Churches of the Domesday Survey, Some remarks on the, illustrating the organization and development of the church, 61–102; abbeys, 61, 62, 63, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 76, 77, 80–4, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94–7; advowsons, 64; alien priories, 79, 95, 102; Benedictine houses, 93, 94, 95; bishops, 65; boroughs as administrative centres, 66, 70, 82, 85, 86, 93; cathedrals, 62, 63, 65; chapels, 63, 65, 73, 74, 75, 78, 85, 86; 'church', the term, 64, 65; churches attached to berewicks, 90, 91, 96, 97; — held by burgesses and freemen collectively, 86, 87, 88, 92; — held by owners of estates, 64, 87, 88, 91, 92, 98–101; — held by religious houses and ecclesiastics, *see below*; — with no land attached, 88; churchscot, 63, 70, 74, 95; class of churches exempt from taxation, 61, 62; colleges of secular priests or canons, 66, 67, 79, 89, 96, 102; crosses associated with churches, 65, 66, 68; endowments, 63, 64, 65, 70, 85, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 102; hundreds as units of administration, 66, 68, 75, 80, 82, 83, 84, 93; lands attached to churches, 62–4; — held by priests in their own right, 63, 71, 72; manorial churches, 63 ff.; minsters, 65 ff.; missionary priests, 65; monasteries, 65, 71, 72, 73, 81, 84, 85, 95, 102; monastic churches, 63; mother churches, 62, 63, 66, 74, 75, 76, 78, 82, 86, 91, 95, 102; nunneries, 80; oratories, 65, 66, 68; parish churches, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 73, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 97, 101, 102; — in rural districts, 86; parochial clergy, 63, 65; parochial system, beginning of, 65, 77; Peter's pence, 70; priories, 82; proprietary character of church organization, 98–101; rural deaneries, 66 *n.*; secular canons, 68, 70, 71, 80, 81, 84, 89, 90, 93, 102; town churches, 85, 86; vicarages, 102; wooden churches, 102.

Churches, chapelries, and places named in association with priests:—

Bedfordshire: Bedford, 90; Clapham, 62; Leighton Buzzard, 90; Luton, 90; Turvey, 62.

Berkshire: Aldermaston, 78; Ashbury, 77; Basildon, 78; Blewbury, 78; Bras (Bray Wood?), 78; Bray, 78; Brightwell, 78; Brimpton, 78; Buckland, 77; Bucklebury, 78; Burghfield, 78; Childrey, 78; Cholsey, 77; Compton Beauchamp, 77; Cookham, 78; Denchworth, 77; Denford, 77; East Hendred, 77; East Lockinge, 77; Faringdon, 77; Great Coxwell, 77; Greenham, 78; Hampstead Norris, 78; Harwell, 78; Hinton Wildrist, 77; Hurley, 78; Kintbury, 77; Leckhampstead, 78; Letcombe Regis, 77;

Churches of the Domesday Survey (*continued*).

Little Wittenham, 77; Marcham, 77; Nachededowne, 78; North Moreton, 78; Pusey, 77; Reading, 78; Shottisbrooke, 78; Shrivenham, 77; Sonning, 78; South Moreton, 78; Sparsholt, 61 *n.*, 77; Stratfield Mortimer, 78; Streatley, 78; Sulham, 78; Thatcham, 78; Wallingford, 78; Wantage, 61 *n.*, 77; West Hanney, 77; West Hendred, 77; White Waltham, 78; Wibaldtone, 78.

Buckinghamshire: Aylesbury, 95; Buckingham, 95; Haddenham (Nedreham), 95; North Crawley, St. Firmin, 95; Wing, 62.

Cambridgeshire: Cambridge, 90; Ely Abbey, 84, 86, 87; Shelford, 90.

Cheshire: Chester—St. John, St. Mary, and St. Werburg, 93; Farndon, 93.

Cornwall: Bodmin (St. Petrock), 67; St. Buryan, 67; St. Constantine, 67; St. Crantock, 68; St. Germain, 67; St. Goran, 68; St. Keverne, 68; St. Michael's Mount, 68; St. Neots, 68; St. Pieran (or Perranzabuloe), 68; St. Probus, 68.

Derbyshire: Barton Blunt, 92; Breadsall, 101; Derby, 90; Eckington, 101; Mugginton, 101; Norbury, 101; Sandiacre, 92; Shirley, 92; Sudbury, 92; Sutton-on-the-Hill, 92.

Devonshire: Axminster, 68; Braunton, 69; Buckfastleigh, 68; Collumpton, 69; Colyton, 69; Crediton, 68; Exeter—St. Laurence, St. Mary of the Castle, St. Olave, St. Peter, and St. Stephen, 69; Exminster, 68; Hartland (or Nectans Stoke), 68; Instow, 69; Kerswell, 69; Pinhoe, 69; Plympton, St. Peter, 69; St. Marychurch, 69; Sidbury, 62, 69; South Molton, 68; Tavistock, 68; Woodbury, 61 *n.*, 69; Yealmpton, 69.

Dorset: Abbotsbury, 71; Beaminster, 71; Bere Regis, 72; Bridport, 71; Burton Bradstock, 71; Cerne, 71; Charminster, 71; Cranbourne, 71; Dorchester, 72; East Chaldon, 72; Fleet, 72; Gillingham, St. Mary, 71; Horton, 71; Milton, 71; Puddletown, 72; Shaftesbury Abbey, 62, 71, 72; Sherborne, 71; Wareham, St. Wandrille, 72; Whitchurch Canonicorum, 71; Wimborne, 71, 72; Winfrith Newburgh, 72; Yetminster, 71.

Essex: Colchester, St. Peter, 83, 84; Dunton, 84; Earls Colne, 84; Great Hallingham, 84; Greenstead, 84; Hadstock, 62, 84; Hatfield Broadoak, 84; Hornden on the Hill, 84; Ongar, 84; Prittlewell, 85; South Benfleet, St. Mary, 84; Stifford, 85; Strethall, or Streethall, 62; Writtle, 84.

Gloucestershire: Boxwell, 95; Brimpsfield, 95;

Churches of the Domesday Survey (*continued*).
Bristol, 95; Cheltenham, 64; Cirencester, 95; Deerhurst, 95; Fairford, 100; Frampton Cotterel, 61 *n.*, 100; Gloucester—St. Oswald, 94; St. Peter's Abbey, 95; Horsley, 95; Kinley in Nimpsfield, 95; Newent, 95; Salperton, 100; Stanway, 95; Swindon (Svintone), 100; Tetbury, 95; Tewkesbury Abbey, 95; Westbury on Trym, 95; Winchcombe Abbey, 95.

Hampshire: Allington, 74; Alresford, Old and New, 75; Alton, 75–6; Anne, 76; Ashe, 76; Avington, 75; Barton, 74 *n.*; Barton Stacey, 75; Basingstoke, 76; Bedhampton, 75; Bishop's Sutton, 75; Bishop's Waltham, 75; Boarhunt, 75; Botley, 74, 99; Breamore, 62; Bramley, 76; Brockenhurst, 74; Broughton, 74 *n.*; Buddlesgate, 74 *n.*; Bullington, 76; Buriton, 75; Chalton, 75; Chilbolton, 74; Chilcomb, 74; Chilworth, 74; Christchurch, 74; Church Oakley, 76; Clatford, 76; Clere, 76; Cliddesden, 76; Compton, 74 *n.*; Corhampton, 75; Crofton, 75; Crondal, 76; Crux Easton, 76; Dogmersfield, 76; Dummer, 75; East Dean, 74 *n.*; East Meon, 75; Easton, 75; Eling, 74; Ellesfield, 75; Exton, 75; Fareham, 75; Fawley, 74; Fifield, 76; Fordingbridge, 74; Froxfield, 75; Froyle, 76; Goodworth, 76; Hambledon, 62; Hannington, 76; Hatch Warren, 76; Headbourne Worthy, 99; Hinton Ampner, 74; Hordle, 74; Houghton, 74; Hound, 75; Hurstbourne Priors, 76; Hurstbourne Tarrant, 76; Kingsclere, 76; King's Sombourne, 74; Laverstoke, 76; Littleton, 74 *n.*; Lockersley, 74 *n.*; Lomer, 75; Longparish, 76; Mapledurham, 75; Medstead, 75; Moreshead, 74 *n.*; Mottisfont, 74; Nether Wallop, 74; Netley in Hound, 74; Newton Valence, 76; North Baddesley, 74; Nursling, 74; Odiham, 76; Otterburn, 74, 99; Overton, 76; Over Wallop, 74; Penton Grafton, 76; Penton Mewsey, 76; Polehampton in Overton, 76; Prittleworth, 74 *n.*; Quarley, 76; Ringwood, 74; Romsey Abbey, 72; St. Faith, 74 *n.*; St. Mary in the Field, 75; Selbourne, 75; Sherborne St. John, 76; Shipton Bellinger, 74; Shirley in Millbrook, 99; Southampton, 74; South Stoneham, 74; Sparshold, 74 *n.*; Steep, 75; Stoke Charity, 74; Stratfieldsaye, 76, 99; Sunworth, 75; Sutton Scotney, 75; Thruxton, 99; Tichborne, 62; Titchfield, 61 *n.*, 75; Titherley, East and West, 74 *n.*; Tufton, 76; Twyford, 75; Upton Grey (Aoltone), 74, 99; Warnborough, 74, 99; Week, 74 *n.*; Westbury, 75; West Meon, 75; West Tisted, 75; Wherwell, 76; Willhall in Alton, 75; Winchester, 72, 74; Winnal, 74 *n.*; Wonston, 75; Worthy, 75; Worting, 76; Yateley, 75.

Herefordshire: Archenfield, 96; Bromyard, 94, 96; Canon Pyon, 94; Donnington, 94; Ewyas Harold, 96; Hereford, 94; Huntingdon, 94; Ledbury, 94; Leominster, 94; Little Hereford, 94: Lulham in Eaton Bishop, 94; Moore near Hereford, 94; Moreton, 94; Preston Wye, 94; Withington, 94; Woolhope, 94.

Hertfordshire: Aspenden, 99; Barley, 97; Bengeo, 99; Benington, 98; Boreson in Little Hormead, 97; Braughing, 96; Buckland, 99; Eastwick, 98; Hitchin, 96; Hormead, 99; Meesden, 99; St. Albans Abbey, 62, 77, 96; — churches of St. Michael and St. Stephen, 62; Sacombe, 98; Studham, 98; Walkern, 99; Ware, 98; Watton, 99; Welwyn, 96; Wyddial, 97.

Huntingdonshire: Houghton, 64; Huntingdon, 90; Ramsey Abbey, 62.

Kent: Acres, 83; Allenton, 100; Allington in Hollingbourne, 100; Barham, 83; Bishopsbourne (Burnes), 83; Bonnington, 83; Boughton Aluph, 83; Buckland, 83; Canterbury—Christchurch, 65; St. Augustine, 82; St. Martin, 62; St. Peter, 65; Chatham, 83; Chislet, 83; Dartford (Tarentefort), 82; Dover, 65, 83; East Farleigh, 83; Elham, 83; Folkestone, 65, 83; Frinstead, 100; Gillingham, 83; Harrietsham, 100; Hoe, 65; Hoo St. Werburg, 83; Leeds, 100; Lyminge, 65, 83; Maidstone, 83; Milton Regis (Middeltune), 82; Minster, 83; Monkton, 83; Norton, 83, 100; Petham, 83; Reculver, 65, 83; Rochester, 65; Sellinge, 83, 100; Sheppey, 65; Southminster, 65; Stoke, 83; Street in Lympne, 83; Sturry, 83; Tonge, 100; Upminster, 65; Wye, 83.

Lancashire: Blackburn, 61 *n.*; Manchester, 61 *n.*, 98; Preston, 98; Walton-on-the-Hill, 98; Winwick, 98.

Leicestershire: Bitteswell, 101; Huncote, 101; Knaptoft, 101; Leicester, 90; Market Bosworth, 101; Melton Mowbray, 91, 101; Ratby, 101; Swepstone, 101.

Lincolnshire: Blyborough, 92; Bourne, 92; Bracebridge, 62; Clee, 62; Crowland Abbey, 62; Glentworth, 62; Grantham, St. Wulfran, 89; Lincoln—All Saints, St. Laurence, St. Mary's Cathedral, and St. Peter, 89; Marton, 62; North Carlton, 92; Pickworth, 92; Rauceby, 92; Ringstone, 92; Stamford, 91; Stow St. Mary, 89; Thorpe, 92; Wellingore, 89; Willoughby, 91.

Churches of the Domesday Survey (*continued*).

Middlesex: London, St. Paul's, 84; Staines, 96; Westminster Abbey, 82, 84, 94, 96.

Monmouthshire: Monmouth, 94.

Norfolk: Elmham, 85, 86; Hempton, 87; Letton, 87; Norwich, 86; Shereford, 87; Shottesham, 88; Stoke Holy Cross, 88; Swanton (Tuanatuna), 87; Thetford, 86.

Northamptonshire: Barnack, 62; Earls Barton, 62; Northampton, 90; Peterborough Abbey, 89; St. Mary de la Pré Abbey, 62; Stamford, St. Peter, 91.

Nottinghamshire: Carlton in Lindwick, 92; East Markham, 92; Granby, 91; Newark, 90; Orston, 91; Rampton, 92; Southwell, 89.

Oxfordshire: Bensington, 95; Dorchester Abbey, 95; Eynsham Abbey, 89, 95; Headington, 95; Oxford—St. Frideswide, St. Michael, and St. Peter, 95.

Rutland: Hambleton, 91; Oakham, 90; Ridlington, 91.

Shropshire: Morville, 93; North Lydbury, 93; St. Mary Broomfield, 93; Shrewsbury—St. Alkmund, St. Chad, St. Juliana, St. Mary, St. Michael in the castle, St. Milburg, and St. Peter's Abbey, 93; Stoke St. Milborough, 93; Stottesden, 93; Wroxeter, 93.

Somersetshire: Athelney, 69, 70; Bath, 69; Bedminster, 71; Cannington, 70; Carhampton, 70; Chewton Mendip, 71; Congresbury, 71; Crewkerne, 70; Curry Rivel, 70; Frome, St. John, 71; Glastonbury, 62, 69, 71, 72; Ilchester, 71; Ilminster, 70, 71; Keynsham, 71; Kilmersdon, 71; King's Brompton, 70; Long Ashton, 71; Milverton, 70; Muchelney, 69; North Petherton, St. Mary, 70; St. Mary 'Warverdinestoch' (or Stogumber), 70; South Cadbury, 71; South Petherton, 70; Stoke St. Mary, 70; Taunton, 70, 71; Wells, 69.

Staffordshire: Hanbury, 94; Lapley, 94; Lichfield, 93; Penkridge, 93; Tattenhall, 93; Trentham, 94; Tutbury, 94; Wolverhampton, 93.

Suffolk: Aldeburgh, 86; Alteston in Trimley, 87; Battisford, 88; Baylham, 88; Blythborough, 85; Braiseworth, 87; Bucklesham, 87; Bungay, 86, 87; Bury St. Edmunds, 86, 88; Chepenhall, 87; Clare, St. John the Baptist, 85; Clopton, 88; Coddenham, 86; Cotton, 87; Creeting St. Peter's, 88; Culpho, 87; Debenham, 86; Dunwich, 86; Elmham, 88; Eye, 85; Helmingham, 88; Hoxne, 85; Ipswich, 85, 86; Kenton, 87; Loudham, 87; Melford, 85; Mendham, 85, 88; Mutford, 87; Rendlesham, 87; Ringsfield, 87; Ringshall, 88; Rumburgh, 88; Saxham, 88; Stoke, 85; Stonham, 86, 87, 88; Sudbury, 85; Thetford, 85; Thorney, 86; Thornham, 87; Wantisden, 87; Westley, 88; Weston, 87; Weybread, 88; Willingham, 87; Wissett, 85; Worlingham, 87.

Surrey: Ash, 61 *n.*; Bentley, 82; Bermondsey, 82; Betchworth, 100; Bramley, 82; Chertsey Abbey, 81; Chobham, 81; Compton, 82; Elsted, 82; Epsom, 81; Farnham, 82; Frensham, 82; Godalming, 82, 102; Kingston, 82; Leatherhead, 82; Long Ditton, 82; Malden, 82; Petersham, 82; Seal, 82; Southwark, 82; Titsey, 100; Sutton, near Cheam, 81; West Horsley, 82; West Moulsey, 100; Wisley, 100.

Sussex: Aldingbourne, 79; Annington, 79; Arlington, 62; Arundel, St. Nicholas, 80; Ashburnham, 80; Barcombe, 81; Barnham, 80; Battle Abbey, 69; Bedingham, 80; Bexhill, 80; Bignor, 80; Binderton, 79; Bishopstone, 62; Bosham, 79; Boxgrove, 79, 102; Burpham, 80; Bury, 80; Chichester, All Saints in the Pallant, 81; Clayton, 81; Climping, 80; Compton, 80; Coombe, 79; Eastergate, 80; Falmer, 81; Felpham, 80; Filsham, 61; Hamsey, 81; Hazelhurst in Ticehurst, 81; Henfield, 80; Hurstmonceaux, 80; Hurstpierpoint, 81; Keymer, 81; Lyminster (or Nonneminster), 80, 102; Middleton, 80; Mundham, 81; North Stoke, 80; Pagham, 80, 81; Patching, 80; Plumpton, 81; Poynings, 81; Preston, 80; Saddlescombe in Newtimber, 81; Salehurst, 81; Selsey, 81; Singleton, 79; Slindon, 80; South Malling, St. Michael, 80; South Stoke, 80; Steyning, 79, 102; Stoughton (Estone), 80; Street, 81; Tangmere, 80; Udimore, 81; Walberton, 80; Warminghurst, 79; Wartling, 80; West Hampnett, 79; Willingdon, 80; Wiston, 79; Woodmancote, 80; Woolbeding, 81.

Warwickshire: Coventry, 62, 92; Kirkbury, 95; Monks Kirby, 95.

Wiltshire: Aldbourne, 73; Alderbury, 73; Avebury, 73; Bedwin, 73; Bradford-on-Avon, 62, 72; Bremhill, 62; Britford, 73; Bromham, 73; Burbage, 73; Calne, 72; Chippenham, 73; Collingbourn Ducis, 73; Combe Basset, 73; Corsham, 73; Damerham, 72; Downton, 72; Enford, 72; Haselbury, 73; Heytesbury, 73, 102; Highworth, 73; Hill Deverell, 102; Honingsham, 102; Knook, 102; Malmesbury Abbey, 62, 72; Melksham, 72; Mere, 102; Nether Avon, 72;

Churches of the Domesday Survey (*continued*).
Pewsey, 73; Pewsham, 73; Ramsbury, 72; Rushall, 73; Sherston Magna, 73; Somerford Keynes, 62; Sonning, 102; Tetherington, 102; Westbury, 73; Wilcote, 73; Wilton Abbey, 62, 72; Winchester, St. Swithun, 72; Winterbourn Stoke, 73; Wootton Rivers, 73.
Worcestershire: Alderminster, 94; Alvechurch, 96; Besford, 97 *n.*; Bishampton, 96; Blockley, 94, 96; Bredon, 94; Broadway, 97 *n.*; Churchill, 96; Church Honeybourne, 97 *n.*; Church Lench, 97 *n.*; Clive, 96; Comberton, 97 *n.*; Cropthorn, 96; Cutsdean, 96; Droitwich, 61 *n.*, 97 *n.*; Eardiston in Lindridge, 96; Evesham Abbey, 63, 94, 97; Fladbury, 94; Great Malvern Abbey, 94; Hanbury, 94, 96; Hartlebury, 96; Inkberrow, 96; Kempsey, 94; Kidderminster, 94; Lapworth, 96; Longdon, 97 *n.*; Mathon, 97 *n.*; Nafford in Birlingham, 97 *n.*; Pershore, 63, 94, 96, 97; Ripple, 96; Rous Lench, 96; Sedgeberrow, 96; Severnstoke, 97; Stoke Prior, 96; Tredington, 96; Wolverley, 96; Worcester, 94, 96.
Yorkshire: Appleton le Street, 98 *n.*; Barton le Street, 98 *n.*; Beverley, 97; Everley, 98; Featherstone, 97; Gilling, 98 *n.*; Hackness, 98; Hemingborough, 97; Hovingham, 98 *n.*; Howden, 97; Kirkby Fleetham, 61 *n.*; Kirkdale, 98 *n.*; Lastingham, 98 *n.*; Old Byland, 98; Ripon, 97; Selby Abbey, 97; Sherburn, 97; Stanwick, 61 *n.*; Suffield, 98; Wakefield, 97; Whitby (or Lastingham), 97; Whixley, 97; York — All Saints, Christchurch (later Holy Trinity), Holy Trinity, Minster, St. Andrew, St. Cross, St. Cuthbert, St. Martin, St. Mary, and St. Olave (or St. Mary), 97.
Religious houses and ecclesiastics holding churches and lands: Almenesches Abbey, 80; Amesbury Abbey (Wilts.), 72, 77; Athelney Abbey (Som.), 62; Bath Abbey (Som.), 62; Battle Abbey (Sussex), 68, 69; Bayeux, bishop of, 62, 82, 83; Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk), abbot of, 86; Canterbury, archbishop of, 62, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86; — St. Augustine's, abbot of, 82; Chertsey Abbey (Surrey), 81; Chester, bishop of, 70, 77; Chichester, bishop of, 62, 79; Corneilles Abbey (France), 99; Coutances, bishop of, 62, 90; Crowland Abbey (Lincs.), 62; Dorchester, bishop of, 95; Durham, bishop of, 62, 78, 97; — monks of, 92; Ely Abbey (Cambs.), 62, 84, 86, 87; Evesham Abbey (Worc.), 63, 94, 97; Exeter, bishop of, 62, 68, 69, 79; Eynsham Abbey (Oxon.), 95; Fécamp Abbey (France), 79; Glastonbury Abbey (Som.), 62, 72; Grestain Abbey (Normandy), 80; Hereford, canons of, 94; Horton (Dorset), 72; Jumièges Abbey (France), 71, 73; Lessay Abbey (France), 79; Lincoln, bishop of, 95; Lisieux, bishop of, 62; London, bishop of, 62, 84; — St. Paul's, canons of, 84; Malmesbury Abbey (Wilts.), 62, 72; Malvern Abbey, Great (Worc.), 94; Monks Kirby Priory (Warwicks.), 95; Mont St. Michel Abbey (Normandy), 69, 77; Muchelney (Som.), 62; Pershore Monastery (Worc.), 94, 97; Peterborough Abbey, 89; — bishop of, 62; Ramsey Abbey (Hunts.), 62; Rochester, bishop of, 82; Romsey Abbey (Hants), 72; St. Albans Abbey (Herts.), 62, 77, 96; St. Mary de la Pré (Northants), 62; St. Michael's Mount (Cornwall), abbey of, 61; St. Nicholas of Angers (France), 62; St. Stephen of Caen (France), 70; St. Wandrille Abbey, near Rouen (France), 71, 73; Salisbury, bishop of, 71, 72, 77, 78, 89; Shaftesbury Abbey (Dorset), 62, 72; Thorney Abbey (Cambs.), 90; Westminster Abbey, 82, 84, 94, 96; Wherwell Abbey (Hants), 76; Wilton Abbey (Wilts.), 62, 72; Winchester, bishop of, 62, 72, 74, 82; — monks of, 74; — prior of St. Swithun's, 72; Worcester, bishop of, 62, 63; — abbot of St. Mary's, 94; York, archbishop of, 74, 95.
Cifrewast, arms ascribed to, 508.
Cinque Ports, arms of, 462, 464.
Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill (St. Mary Graces): *see* London.
Cistercian Order in England, 353 ff.
Claire, Godefroy de, of Huy in the Lower Lorraine, enamelled work by, 140.
Clanvowe, arms ascribed to, 512.
Clapham, A. W.: On the Topography of the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill, 353-64.
Clare, arms of, 489, 499.
Clare, Elizabeth de Burgo, countess of, 422; documents relating to, 408; foundress of Clare College, Cambridge, 424, 428, 429; will, 428.
Clarence, Lionel, duke of, 422.
Clarence, Margaret Holland, duchess of, 458.
Clarence, Thomas, duke of (son of Henry IV), arms of, 458, 491, 495, 516, 552, 555; effigy of, 527.
Clarevaux, arms ascribed to, 494.
Claudius, coins of, London, 240, 270.
Clavering, arms ascribed to, 503.
Clay objects: flat circular clay mould, with an erotic subject, site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 240; head of a pipe-clay statuette of Venus,

St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241; pottery, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 248-62.
Clayton (Sussex), remains of Saxon work in church at, 81.
Clement III, Pope, reliquary made by, 153; reliquary of the cross of, 155 *n.*
Clifford, arms of, 499, 500, 511, 517, 524, 542, 548, 551; badge of, 500.
Clifford, John, Lord, arms ascribed to, 500.
Clifford, John de, of Ellingham, seal of, 521.
Clifford, Lewis de, arms of, 511.
Clifford, Richard, bishop of London, 511; arms of, 514, 521, 537; seal of, as archdeacon of Canterbury, 514, 521.
Clifford, Robert, of Bobbing, arms of, 511, 521; brass of, 521.
Clinton, John, Lord, arms ascribed to, 478.
Clinton, Sir William, Lord, arms ascribed to, 478, 515.
Clinton, William de, seal of, 508.
Clitheroe, Richard, of Goldstanton in Ash, arms and brass of, 510.
Clodomir, tomb of, 107 *n.*
Clopton, arms of, 505.
Clotaire II, 125.
Clouston, Mr., flint implements discovered by, 216.
Cnut, King, 390; monasteries in time of, 85.
Cobham, arms ascribed to, 488, 490, 491, 510, 537.
Cobham of Beluncle, arms of, 470.
Cobham of Blackburgh, arms of, 470.
Cobham of Chafford, arms of, 470.
Cobham of Cobham, arms of, 472, 515.
Cobham of Rundale, arms of, 470, 473, 490.
Cobham of Sterborough, 509; arms ascribed to, 470, 488, 490.
Cobham, C. D., 178, 180.
Cobham, Sir John, 480; arms of, 470.
Cobham, Sir Robert, arms ascribed to, 486.
Cobham, Sir Thomas, arms ascribed to, 470.
Cobham (Kent), arms of the Delapoles on brasses in church at, 472, 487.
Cock, Dr. F. W., owner of manuscript relating to the heraldry in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 450, 453 *n.*, 463 ff.
Cockerhurst Farm, near Shoreham (Kent), palaeolithic and eolithic implements from, 213, 214.
Cockfield, arms ascribed to, 490, 500, 511.
Coffins: terra-cotta, from Salamis (Cyprus), 185; wooden, of Archbishop Justus, St. Austin's, Canterbury, 398–9; of Archbishop Laurence, St. Austin's, Canterbury, 396–7.
Coins: Jewish, Second Revolt of the Jews, London, 240, 241. Roman—Antoninus Pius, 240; Claudius, London, 240, 270; Domitian, London, 240, 265; Faustina I, London, 270; Marcus Aurelius, London, 248; Nero, London, 240; Trajan, London, 240; Valentinian I, London, 240; Victorinus, London, 240.
Colchester (Essex): monastery of St. John at, 286; bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 316; stuff deposited in the monastery belonging to the earl of Oxford, 288, 303, 347, 348.
Cole, William, the antiquary, 422.
Colepeper, arms of, 478, 495, 538–40.
Colepeper, John, 495; arms of, 474.
Colepeper, Thomas, seal of, 495.
Colepeper, Sir William, altar-tomb and arms of, 548.
Colkin, John, arms and brass of, 511.
Colkin, William, of Colkin, arms of, 511.
Colley, John, arms of, 484, 498.
Colley, Robert, arms of, 484.
Colne Priory (Essex): bequests to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 277–80, 284, 285, 293, 297, 311, 312, 317; stuff deposited in the priory belonging to the earl of Oxford, 287–9, 291, 298, 301, 320–2, 327, 338; tomb of the earl of Oxford and of Margaret his wife, 276–8, 310, 311.
Colne valley, gravels of the, 202, 209, 211, 213, 216, 220.
Cologne (Germany), Byzantine crosses at, 153.
Coloign, arms ascribed to, 468.
Columbers, arms of, 481, 515.
Colvile, John, arms ascribed to, 511.
Comber, H. G., 401 *n.*
Commont, Prof., 216 *n.*
Compiègne (France), sudarium of Christ deposited at, by Charlemagne, 130.
Compton (Surrey), remains of Saxon work in church at, 82.
Comyn, arms of, 460, 514, 545, 547, 558.
Conder, C. R., 182.
Coningsborough, Richard of: *see* Cambridge, earl of.
Conques (France): enamels on a portatile, eleventh century, 138; golden tenth-century statue of St. Foy, 146.
Conrad II, crown of, 146, 147.
Constable, arms ascribed to, 521.
Constance (Germany), brass in the cathedral to Robert Hallum, bishop of Salisbury, 536.
Constantine the Great, bust of, 157; gift to St. Peter's, Rome, 123.
Constantinople, 141, 143; arms of, 462, 550; treasures looted from, 152, 154.
Conway, Prof. R. S., 122 *n.*
Conway, Sir W. Martin: The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its ancient treasures, 103–58.

Cooke, Dr. William, executor of will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Copenhagen, enamelled ewer at, 156.
Copper-gilt objects: chasses, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 117; column supporting a wooden cross, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107.
Corby, arms of, 475.
Corby, Robert de, arms of, 475.
Corey, John, Cistercian chapel founded by, at Tower Hill, 353, 360.
Corhampton (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 75.
Cornwall, Sir John (afterwards Baron Fanhope), arms ascribed to, 457, 554.
Cornwall: crosses in, as resting-places and places of prayer, 66, 68; early organization of the church in, 64, 67, 68 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Cosenton (or Cossington), of Cosenton in Aylesford (Kent), arms ascribed to, 482, 501, 526, 536.
Cossington, John, shield on brass of, 482.
Coucy, Enguerrand de, 409.
Coucy, William de, 403.
Coupland, John de, 414.
Courtenay, arms of, 460, 467, 471–4, 476, 484, 501, 506, 516, 521, 526, 554; badge of, 493.
Courtenay of Powderham, arms of, 482, 486.
Courtenay, Sir Edward, arms of, 460, 554.
Courtenay, Sir Hugh, arms of, 471, 474, 484.
Courtenay, Sir Peter de, arms ascribed to, 474; seal of, 484.
Courtenay, Philip de, arms of, on seal, 482.
Courtenay, William, archbishop of Canterbury, arms of, 455, 460, 463–5, 469, 476; bequest for reconstruction of cloisters at Canterbury, 447; legatees, 448, 468, 474, 477, 495, 502, 505, 514, 515, 518; will and executors, 447, 448, 455, 468, 475, 480, 514, 515, 536.
Crécy, battle of, 409.
Crespi, V., 190.
Cressel of Frognal, arms of, 451.
Crevequer, Hamo de, arms of, 535.
Crey, arms ascribed to, 530.
Criol (or Keriel), 476; arms of, 473, 500, 502, 528, 535.
Criol, Bertram de, arms of, 502.
Cromer, Sir William, of Tunstall, arms ascribed to, 468.
Cromwell of Tatshall, arms ascribed to, 498.
Crosby, arms of, 473, 500.
Crosses: Byzantine, 152–3; Celtic, Danish, and Saxon, 66; as resting-places and places of prayer, 65, 66, 68; foot of, twelfth century, St. Omer Museum (France), 140; of gold and emeralds from the Holy Land, 426, 434; of Velletri, 138; Soltykoff, the, Victoria and Albert Museum, 138; table-cross in the cathedral, Limburg-on-the-Lahn (Germany), 153; the true, fragment of, set in gold, 426. *See also under* Saint-Denis, Abbey of.
Crouch (or Atcrouch), arms assigned to, 536.
Crouchback, Edmund, 459.
Crowns: dedication of, 146; funeral, 147; imperial, 145–8; 'La Sainte Couronne', 147–9; of Charlemagne, 147; of Charles the Bald, 133; of St. Louis, 147, 148, 150, 155; of the kings of France, 145; Visigothic, 145; votive, 147.
Crucifixes, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 106, 113, 117, 128, 153, 155 *n.*; 'talking crucifix', 114, 149.
Crucifixion, repousée group of the, on book-cover in the Louvre, 138.
Crundale (Hunts.), perforated spoon from, 124.
Crystal: bottle, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 142; bowl, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 144; chalices, in the Louvre, 144; ewers, of the tenth century, in the Louvre, 137; reliquary, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 156; — of the ninth century, British Museum, 137; vases, Fatimite, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 142; vessels, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 141.
Cumbwell Priory (Kent), charters of, 479, 492.
Cup, clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 252.
Curle, James, on Roman remains in Britain, 237, 239 *n.*, 244, 262.
Curteis, arms of, 522, 523, 531.
Curteis, Reginald, arms and seal of, 522.
Cuthbert, St., builds church of St. John the Baptist at Canterbury, 383; preaching of, 65.
Cyprus, rock-cutting and tomb-architecture in, during the Graeco-Roman occupation, 159–78; quarries, and mode of working, 159–63; tombs: Amathus, 163, 166, 178, 186, 193; Dali, 178; Khrysokava, near Kyrenia, 160; Lambousa, chapel of Acheiropoietos, 175–7; Larnaca (Kition), 164, 169–72, 178, 186, 187; — shrine of the Phaneroméni, 169–71, 180, 181, 184–6; — Turabi Teke, 187; Larnaca, Old, 189; Paphos, 167–9, 175, 178; Poli, 'Kokim' tombs at, 164, 165, 177, 178; Politiko, 182, 190; Salamis (Enkomi), 182, 184, 185, 192, 193; — 'Prison of St. Catharine', near Famagusta, 171–5, 179–94 (see below); Tamassos, 163, 165, 166, 168; Xylotymbou, 187. 'Prison of Saint Catharine' at Salamis, 171–5, 179–94; arches, 182, 186, 187; chambers, inner and outer, 179, 181, 183–6; cornices, 179, 182, 183, 186, 188–94; date of construction, 171, 185,

191; doorway, entrance, 172, 180, 182, 183, 194; entrance, (ancient) 172, 173, 180, 182, 183, 192, (modern) 179, 181, 194; façade, 182, 183, 187-9, 192, 193; ground levels and methods of construction, 193; lintel, 180; plans, 172-4, 183; portcullis, stone, 172-5, 180, 182, 186; roof, vaulted, 171, 185, 186; roof-slab, 179; rubble and cement, ancient, 182-4, 192-4; staircases, 174, 179, 180, 183; stone, large, 173, 180, 182; theories as to use of the building, 180; vault, semicircular, 173, 179, 182; 'well' or spring, 180, 181.
Cyprus Museum, excavations on behalf of, 182, 192-4.

D

Dabernon, arms ascribed to, 532.
Dacia, James Nicholas de, poem by, in honour of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, 427, 443-6.
Dacre, arms ascribed to, 518.
Daggers: Late-Celtic, from Chelsea (Middx.), 569; Hertford Warren (Suffolk), 569, 570; Thames at Wandsworth (Surrey), 569; West Buckland (Som.), 569; pre-Roman 'anthropoid', found in Southwark (Surrey), 250.
Dagobert, king of the Franks, 107, 114, 121, 124, 126, 149; gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 110, 115, 119, 127; mantle-clasp of, 127; sceptre of, 120, 150; throne of, 115, 139; tomb of, 105, 109, 113, 114.
Dali (Cyprus), tombs at, 178.
Dalingrigge, arms ascribed to, 472, 530.
Dalton, O. M., 154 *n.*
Danes Graves (Yorks.), brooches from, 570-2.
Daniels, arms ascribed to, 498.
Danish crosses, 66.
Danish Mercia: *see* Mercia.
Dante, on the nine worthies, 347 *n.*
Danyell, John, executor of will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Darcy, arms ascribed to, 491.
Darcy, Sir Arthur, grant to, of the precinct of the Abbey of Tower Hill, 356, 358.
Dartford (Kent), remains of Saxon work in church at, 82.
Davies, Randall, collection of palaeolithic implements, 202, 206.
Debenham (Suffolk), Saxon tower of church at, 86.
De Burgh, arms of, 490-2, 514, 519, 553-5. *See* Ulster.
Dechélette, J., on Gaulish pottery, 240, 241, 244.
Deerhurst (Glos.), Saxon minster at, 95.
Deincourt, arms ascribed to, 467, 499, 501, 524, 531.
Delahay, arms ascribed to, 505.
Delamare, arms of, 557.
de la Mare, John, of Essex, arms of, 509.
Delaplanche, arms ascribed to, 479.
Delapole, arms of, 472, 487, 488, 513, 514, 526.
Delapole, Sir John, 487; arms of, 472.
Dene of Boughton Malherbe, arms ascribed to, 508.
Denis, St., objects at or from the Abbey of Saint-Denis associated with: altar, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115, 118, 121, 128; chalice, 121; coffin, 115; flag, 116; head, 128; image, 125, 155 *n.*; ink-stand, 121, 122, 124; legend of, on screen, 106; pastoral staff, 115, 116, 121; paten, 124; relics, 121; ring, 121; sculptures representing martyrdom of, 107; shrine, 139; staves, 121; tomb, 126; walking-stick, 121. *See also* Saint-Denis, Abbey of.
Denis, St., of Corinth, chasse of, 107.
Deniseburn, cross erected on site of battle of, 66.
Denmark, arms of, 462, 552. *See* Eric.
Denmark and Norway, Philipe, queen of, 458.
Denny Abbey (Cambs.), foundation and endowment of, 406, 413, 415, 417, 419-22, 425, 429 *n.*, 430, 432, 433, 435; remains of, 422; a residence of the foundress, 416, 419, 422.
Deonotus, Gocelin's account of the discovery of, at the abbey church of St. Austin, Canterbury, 394, 397.
Derbyshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 90, 92, 100, 101 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Dering, John, of Westbrooke, arms ascribed to, 491.
Dering, Sir Richard, of Westbrooke, arms ascribed to, 511.
Dersingham, Roger de, 429.
Despencer, arms of, 489, 495, 499, 516, 541-4, 554. *See* Gloucester, earl of.
Despencer, Edward, Lord, arms of, 541.
Despencer, Hugh, the younger, 489.
Despencer, Richard, Lord, arms ascribed to, 542.
Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, burying-place of, 391-3.
Devereux, arms ascribed to, 511, 547, 548, 556.
Devereux, Sir John, Lord, arms of, 547; seal of, 547.
Devizes Museum (Wilts.), iron spokeshave from Romano-British settlement, 241.
Devon, Thomas Holland, second earl of, 474.
Devonshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 68, 69 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Sidbury.
Dewey, Henry, 195, 197, 202; Geological report on excavations at Rickmansworth (Herts.), 217-24.
Deyvill, arms ascribed to, 507.

Dickinson, William, surveyor-general of repairs at Westminster, 2.
Dieulafoy, Mons., on the sword of Charlemagne, 132.
Digges of Digges Court in Barham (Kent), arms ascribed to, 466.
Dijon (France), circular shape of the church of St. Benignus, 385.
Dike, Reginald de, arms ascribed to, 503.
Dishes, clay, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 246, 248, 253.
Documents: accounts of the bursar of the Cistercian abbey of Tower Hill, 354 ff.; building accounts of the City churches designed by Sir Christopher Wren, 1–60; contracts for tomb and grate of the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, 365–76; contract for tomb of Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth, 365; contract for tomb of Henry VIII and Queen Katharine, 365; documents and records of the fourteenth century, 406 *n.*, 407–9; last testament and inventory of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310–48; letters and last testament of Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 432–43; payments and receipts relating to the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, by the colleges of Christ and St. John, Cambridge, 369–72; wardrobe accounts of Queen Isabel, 410, 411.
Dodingfield, arms ascribed to, 536.
Doget, Walter, of Kent, seal of, 494.
Dogett, arms ascribed to, 494.
Dolphins, figures of, in Byzantine art, 123.
Domesday Survey: *see* Churches of the Domesday Survey.
Dominicans: *see* Friars Preachers.
Domitian, coin of, London, 240, 265.
Dorling, Rev. E. E., 308, 484 *n.*
Dorset, early organization of the church in, 64, 71, 72 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Doublet, Jacques, on the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 103, 106, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 125, 126, 127, 131, 133, 134, 138, 140, 141, 148, 149, 150, 152.
Dover (Kent), arms ascribed to monastery, 480.
Drake, C. H., 456.
Drift period, deposits and implements of the, 196, 203, 205, 206, 208, 214, 215, 222, 223.
Druce, G. C., 308.
Drury, Sir Robert, executor of will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Dublin Museum: bronze stirrup-like objects, 352.
Duchesne, André, 402, 403 *n.*
Dudley Collection, altar-piece from, representing legend of St. Giles, 105.
Duncan, L. L., 447.
Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, dedication of church in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul and of St. Austin, 389.
Durham, monastical church of, image of Our Lady, 300 *n.*
Dymocke, arms ascribed to, 542.

E

Eadbald, king of Kent, builds oratory of Our Lady at Canterbury, 381–3, 387, 390; burying-place of, 389; translation of remains, 391.
East Anglia, early organization of the church in, 63, 64, 85–8, 92, 102.
Echingham, arms ascribed to, 466, 505, 508, 516, 520, 529.
Edith, Queen, 88, 100; arms ascribed to, 552.
Edmondson, Joseph, Somerset herald, notes of heraldry in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 450.
Edmund, King, arms of, 462, 464, 467, 473, 551.
Edward the Black Prince, shield on tomb of, 493.
Edward the Confessor, 69, 72, 79, 80, 86, 87, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102; arms of, 462, 467, 551.
Edward the Elder, reorganization of the church under, 66, 70.
Edward I, 404, 459.
Edward II, 404–6, 413 *n.*
Edward III, 406, 410, 413 *n.*, 428; arms of, 363, 364; figure of, on seal, 363; foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill by, 353.
Eglesfield, Robert de, founder of Queen's College, Oxford, arms of, 521.
Eglisfield, arms ascribed to, 537.
Egyptian architecture, 187, 189, 190, 191; vases, 118.
Eleanor, Queen, vase of, 141, 142, 144.
Eling (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 74.
Ellis, Sir Henry, on the Domesday Survey, 61.
Elmes, James, account of the condition of the site of the old General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, 237.
Elmham (Norfolk), Saxon bishopric of, 85, 86.
Eloy, St., bishop of Noyon: fame as a goldsmith, 124–6, 128; objects made by, for the Abbey of Saint-Denis: chairs, 121; chasses, 126; chasse for bones of St. Denis, 113 *n.*; gold cross, 107, 109, 125, 126, 131; jade gondola, 126, 141; tomb for St. Denis, 126.
Empire, the, arms ascribed to, 549.
Enamel work, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117; base of statuette of the Virgin, in the Louvre, 156;

book-covers, Milan Cathedral and Munich Library, 138; chasses of Limoges workmanship, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155; cross, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 140; cross of Velletri, 138; emblems of Evangelists on book-cover in the Louvre, 138; ewer, Copenhagen, 156; medallions on Queen Eleanor's vase, from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 142; portatile at Conques (France), 138; roundels on sardonyx gondola, from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 153; St. Andrew reliquary at Trèves, 138; Soltykoff cross, Victoria and Albert Museum, 138.
Encre, Jacques, Seigneur d', 403.
Engayne, arms of, 467, 476.
Engayne, John d', 429.
Enghurst, arms ascribed to, 508.
England, arms of, 457–9, 464, 484, 487–92, 519, 526, 553.
Enkomi (Cyprus): *see* Salamis.
Enlart, Camille, on polygonal baptisteries, 384.
Eoliths: Cockerhurst Farm, near Shoreham (Kent), 213, 214; Rickmansworth (Herts.), 204.
Eric, king of Denmark and Norway, arms of, 458, 554.
Ermine, W. de, arms ascribed to, 489.
Escures, arms of, 548.
Essen (Germany), crown of the Empress Gisela at, 146, 147.
Essex, Henry de, constable of England, arms ascribed to, 548.
Essex, early organization of the church in, 64, 83–5 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Blackmore, Castle Hedingham, Colchester, Colne, Great Hallingham, Greenstead, Hadstock, Harwich, Hatfield Broadoak, Hedingham Nunnery, Little Horkesley, Saffron Walden, St. Osithe's Abbey, Thremhale, Wivenhoe.
Ethelbert, king of Kent: arms of, 462, 481, 550; builds church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, 377, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386, 388–90, 396, 398; burying-place of, 389.
Ethelred, King, 72.
Ethiopia, arms of, 462, 550.
Eu, Alphonse, count of, tomb of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117.
Eugenius, Pope, 63, 140.
Euodos, portrait by, of Julia, daughter of Titus, 129.
Evangelists, the four, enamelled figures of, on book-cover in the Louvre, 138; on cross in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 140.
Evans, Sir Arthur: On a Late-Celtic dagger, fibula, and jet cameo, 569–72; palaeolithic implements owned by, 202.
Evans, Sir John, palaeolithic implements collected by, 202, 203, 216.
Everingham, arms and seal of, 507.
Everingham, Thomas de, arms of, 545, 546.
Evreux, arms of, 462, 549, 555.
Evreux, Jeanne d', 111.
Ewers: crystal, of the tenth century, 137; silver-gilt, of Abbot Suger, 142, 143.
Exeter, John Holland, duke of, arms of, 459, 490, 541, 542.
Exeter, Thomas Beaufort, duke of, 458.
Eynsford, arms ascribed to, 480.
Eyre, arms ascribed to, 558.

F

Fanhope: *see* Cornwall, Sir John.
Farningham: *see* Freningham.
Fastolfe, Hugh, arms and seal of, 539.
Fastolfe, Sir John, arms of, 539.
Fatimite art, works of, 142, 144.
Faustina I, coin of, London, 240.
Faversham, Thomas de, arms ascribed to, 477.
Faversham (Kent), brass of William Thornbury, vicar, 557.
Felbrigge, Sir Simon, arms ascribed to, 518; chantry of, 515.
Félibien, Michel, drawings, plans, and remarks on the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 103, 104, 106–8, 110–12, 116, 118–22, 126–8, 130, 131, 142, 143, 144, 147–53, 155, 157, 158.
Ferard, A. G., 262.
Ferguson, James, on Jewish sepulchres, 165.
Ferrers of Groby, arms ascribed to, 465, 500, 518, 545–8.
Ferrers, Robert, of Wem, 458.
Ferrières, Abbot Loup de, 136.
Fettiplace, arms ascribed to, 529.
Fibulae: *see* Brooches.
Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester, executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366–72.
Fitzalan, arms of, 459, 463, 465, 488, 492, 497, 503, 517–20, 527, 541, 542, 552, 553, 555.
Fitzbernard, arms ascribed to, 550.
Fitz Chamber, arms ascribed to, 499.
Fitz Dering, arms and seal of, 511.
Fitzpayne, arms of, 486, 496, 502, 512, 534.
Fitzpayne, Robert, Lord, arms ascribed to, 532.
Fitzrobert, Robert, chantry founded by, Abbey of Tower Hill, 356.
Fitzwalter, arms ascribed to, 548.
Flagons, clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 252.

Flambard, Ranulf, 82.
Flanders, Margaret, countess of, gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155.
Fleury, Rohault de, 110 *n.*, 124, 153.
Flint implements: Gray's Inn Lane, London, 216; King's Langley (Herts.), 216; Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195–208, 214, 216, 217, 223; Watford (Herts.), 216.
Florence (Italy), Archaeological Museum: wooden objects on yoke of an Egyptian chariot, 350.
Fogge, Sir Thomas, arms of, 512, 530, 559; bequests by, 512, 513.
Folman, arms ascribed to, 471.
Fonts, silver-gilt, 292, 293.
Fotheringay (Northants), a residence of Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 414, 416, 428 *n.*
Fowler, Rev. Dr. J. T., 400.
Fox, Richard, bishop of Winchester, executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.
Foxley, John de, arms of, 470, 485.
Foy, St., golden tenth-century statue of, at Conques (France), 146.
Framlingham, arms of, 495.
France, arms of, 457, 458, 462, 487, 488, 490, 519, 526, 550.
Franciscans (Friars Minors), bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 420, 433, 434.
Freeman, Albert, on the geology of the Rickmansworth district (Herts.), 209.
Freningham (Frenyngham, or Farningham), John de, arms of, 448, 473, 475, 481, 496, 497; seal of, 475.
Friars Preachers, bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 434.
Frogenhall, arms ascribed to, 513.
Froissart, 407, 427, 428.
Furnival, arms ascribed to, 490.
Furnival, Thomas Nevill, Lord, arms ascribed to, 477.
Fyge, Peter, of Fyge Court in Borden, arms of, 524.
Fyneux, of Kent, arms ascribed to, 496.

G

Ganneau, Clermont, 174, 186.
Gardner Collection, plans and drawings of Roman discoveries in London, 228.
Garendon, abbot of, grant to, 419.
Garnet, arms ascribed to, 516.
Garrard of Sittingbourne, arms ascribed to, 485.
Garter, Order of the: foundation of, 406; gold collars of, 295, 299, 301.
Garwinton, arms ascribed to, 476.
Gascoigne, John, arms ascribed to, 503.
Gascoigne, Richard, arms and brass of, 503.
Gascoigne, Sir William, Lord Chief Justice, arms ascribed to, 503, 510, 511.
Gaveston, Piers, 404.
Gem-engraving, development of the art, 157.
Geoffroy-Dechaume, M., 106.
Geological Museum, Jermyn Street, London, palaeolithic implements presented by Sir Hugh Beevor, 202, 204.
Geological Survey Map, 211, 212, 213, 215, 217, 220.
Geology: Colne valley, 202, 209, 211, 213, 216, 220; Rickmansworth (Herts.), 196 ff., 209–21; Swanscombe (Kent), 198, 202, 214–16; Thames valley, 212–15, 221–4.
George, St., arms ascribed to, 465; images of, 292, 294, 329, 332.
Gerrard's Cross (Bucks.), palaeoliths from, 216 *n.*
Gibbes of Devon, arms of, 510.
Gibbes, Walter, arms ascribed to, 509.
Gilbertson, Rev. Lewis, on building accounts of the London City churches, 9.
Giles, St., incidents in the legend of, represented on a fifteenth-century altar-piece, 105, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 125, 131, 134–7, 141, 147, 149, 158 *n.*
Gisela, Empress, crown of, 146, 147.
Glass mosaic, on the 'Cross of St. Eloy', Abbey of Saint-Denis, 125. *See* Crystal.
Glass, stained, at: Ash next Sandwich (Kent), 502; Brasted (Kent), 516; Hardres, Upper (Kent), 529; Hoo St. Werburg (Kent), 508; Pluckley (Kent), 537; Saint-Denis, Abbey of, 139; St. Peter's, Canterbury (Kent), 486; Sittingbourne (Kent), 508.
Glastonbury Abbey (Som.), arms ascribed to, 551.
Gloucester, Eleanor Bohun, duchess of, brass of, 463, 493.
Gloucester, Humphrey, duke of (son of Henry IV), arms of, 458, 489, 493, 553.
Gloucester, Thomas Despencer, earl of, arms of, 458, 491, 544.
Gloucester, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of, 463, 541.
Gloucestershire, early organization of the church in, 64, 94, 95, 100 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Deerhurst.
Gocelin, on the buildings of St. Austin's, Canterbury, 381–3, 390–5, 397, 399, 400.
Godalming (Surrey), remains of Saxon work in church at, 82.
Gold objects: altar-casing, ninth century, Milan Cathedral, 134; altar-frontal, Abbey of Saint-

Denis, 109, 134–6, 139, 141; Boîte d'évangéliaire, in the Louvre, 138; bowl of Chosroes II, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 121, 133; boxes, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107; brooch, from Ravenna, 127; candlesticks, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109; Nagy Mihály (Hungary), 123; chalice of Gourdon, 123; chasse of St. Louis, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112; collars and chains, belonging to John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 286, 295, 296, 299, 301, 306, 307, 316, 332; cross, from the Holy Land, 426, 434; — of St. Eloy, formerly in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 109, 125, 126, 131; crown, Monza (Italy), 145; — of St. Oswald, on the head of reliquary at Hildesheim (Hanover), 146, 147; crucifix, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 139, 140; cup set with stones, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107; encasement of altar, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 110; high altar, Sant'Ambrogio, Milan, 141; images: St. Andrew, 426, 433; Charlemagne, 130; St. John the Evangelist, 155 *n.*, 156; St. Paul, 109, 128; St. Peter, 109, 128, 426, 433; St. Vincent, 418, 426; perforated spoon, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 124; plaque from Siberia, 123 *n.*; plaques, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 134; reliquaries, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 152; retable, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109; ring, site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 240; sceptre of Dagobert, 120, 150; seal of the Emperor Baldwin, 152; signet-ring attributed to St. Louis, 157; tables, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109, 110.

Goldsmith, art of the, 124–6, 128, 134, 136, 154.

Goldsmiths Company, London, makes grant for excavation work at St. Martin's-le-Grand, 242, 262.

Gondola, jade, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 126, 141.

Goodneston next Wingham (Kent), arms in window of church, 466.

Gorney, arms ascribed to, 470.

Gospels, manuscript of the, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108.

Gostling, William, on the shields in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 455.

Gothic art, 127, 128, 152, 156.

Graeco-Phoenician architecture and tombs in Cyprus, 163, 187; pottery, from Salamis (Cyprus), 185, 193.

Graeco-Roman occupation of Cyprus, rock-cutting and tomb architecture during the, 159–78, 182, 184–7, 189.

Granson, Monsire de, arms ascribed to, 493.

Graveney (Kent), arms and brass of de Faversham in church at, 477, 556.

Gray, Sir Nicholas, arms ascribed to, 551.

Great Hallingham (Essex), remains of Saxon work in church at, 84.

Green of Drayton, arms of, 451.

Greenhithe (Kent), palaeoliths from, 205.

Greenstead (Essex), Saxon timber church at, 84.

Greenstreet and Russell, on the painting of the shields in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 454.

Greenwell, Canon, 570, 571.

Gregory I, Pope, 387, 393–5, 397.

Gregory XI, Pope, 423.

Gregory, Prof. J. W., on the evolution of the Thames, 212.

Grenford, arms ascribed to, 504, 505.

Grey, arms of, 489, 508.

Grey, Sir John, arms of, 534.

Grey, Sir Thomas, of Heton, arms ascribed to, 489.

Grey de Codnor, Richard, Baron, arms ascribed to, 530, 534; badge of, 530.

Grey de Ruthin, arms of, 534.

Grey de Wilton, Henry, arms ascribed to, 477.

Greystok, Ralph, Baron de, arms ascribed to, 517.

Griffin, Ralph: The Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury, 447–568.

Guarrazar, find of Visigothic crowns at, 145.

Guibert, J., 128, 143, 144, 145.

Guildforde, arms ascribed to, 533.

Guildhall Library and Museum, 242; antiquities from King William Street, London, 264; plans and drawings of Roman discoveries in London, 228; Roman pottery and other objects of Roman date, 236, 237, 241, 248, 252, 253, 266.

Gulby, William, arms on brass of, 475.

Guyart, Guillaume, on the oriflamme, 116.

H

Haco, king of Norway, arms of, 462, 546.

Hadley, W. S., 401 *n.*

Hadlow (Hadloe, Handlo, or Holowe) family, arms of, 469, 482.

Hadstock (Essex), remains of Saxon work in church at, 84.

Hakebech, arms ascribed to, 528.

Hales, arms of, 473–4.

Hales, Sir Robert, 474.

Halle of Herne, arms of, 509.

Halle, Sir Peter, arms and brass of, 509.

Hallstatt class of implements, 570.

Hallum, Robert, bishop of Salisbury, arms of, 448, 536; brass of, 536.

Hampshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 73–7, 99, 101 (*see also under* Churches of the

Domesday Survey). *See* Beaulieu, Boarhunt, Corhampton, Eling, Headbourne Worthy, Hinton Ampner, Laverstoke, Little Sombourne, Titchfield, Whitchurch.
Harcourt, arms ascribed to, 518.
Harding, Sam, bookseller, 1, 2, 9.
Hardres, arms ascribed to, 528.
Hardres, Upper (Kent), arms of the Hardres family in windows of church, 529.
Hardresham, arms of, 533.
Hardreshull, arms of, 474, 495.
Harfleet, arms ascribed to, 513.
Harlestone, arms ascribed to, 543.
Harling, arms of, 539, 540.
Harold, Earl, 84, 87, 98, 100.
Harrow (Middx.), arms and brass of Thomas Byrkhed in church, 514.
Harwich (Essex), bequest towards building of church by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 317.
Hasted, Edward, notes on heraldry in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 450, 451, 463 ff.
Hastings, John de, of Bergavenny, arms of, 490.
Hastings, John and Laurence de: *see* Pembroke, earls of.
Hastings, Reginald de Grey, Lord, seal of, 534.
Hatfield Broadoak (Essex), priory of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 312, 313.
Haute (or Hawte), arms ascribed to, 472, 479, 483, 493, 541.
Haute, Edmund, will of, 479.
Haute, Sir Edmund, arms of, 479.
Haute, John, 491, 499; arms of, 526.
Hautot, arms ascribed to, 550.
Haverfield, Prof., 246 *n.*
Hawberk, arms ascribed to, 514.
Hawberk, Sir Nicholas, arms of, 514.
Hawkhurst (Kent), arms formerly in windows of church at, 467.
Hawksmoor, Nicholas, clerk to Sir Christopher Wren, 2, 5, 9.
Hawte, Elizabeth, tenement of, Tower Hill, 358, 360.
Headbourne Worthy (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 99.
Headcorn (Kent), arms of Kelsham in church at, 475.
Hedingham Castle: *see* Castle Hedingham.
Hedingham Nunnery (Essex), bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Heinrich II, Emperor, gift of altar-frontal to Basle Cathedral, 136 *n.*
Hellenic Studies, Society of, investigation of Cyprus tomb archaeology by, 164, 165.
Helles, arms ascribed to, 467.
Helmebridge, arms ascribed to, 531.
Hemp, Wilfrid J., 398 *n.*
Hempton (Norfolk), priory of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Henri IV of France, burial in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 113; coronation of, 150; hand of justice, 150.
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 142.
Henry II, 142.
Henry IV, 459, 463; arms of, 457, 555; jewelled collar of, 295 *n.*
Henry V, dismemberment of, 111 *n.*; great seal of, 551.
Henry VI, will of, 447.
Henry VII, coronation of, 276, 283, 285, 315; introduction of gold collar of the Order of the Garter by, 295; — and Queen Elizabeth, contract for tomb of, 365.
Henry VIII, arms of, 297, 333; coronation of, 333, 334; gold collar of the Order of the Garter, 295; inventory of jewels and plate belonging to, 292; — and Queen Katharine, contract for tomb of, 365, 372.
Henry, Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V), arms of, 457, 492, 493, 521, 552.
Heraclius, Emperor, gift to Dagobert, 127.
Heraldry: arms ascribed to: Arundel, Sir William, 497; Ba, Thomas de, 479; Bargrave, John, 463; Baynard, 529; Berry, John, duke of, 153; Birkenhead, 515; Bocton, Stephen de, 493; Borges (or Burgess), 477; Boteler of Wemme, 477; Bradeston, 499; Brony, 518; Cheney, 507; Cistercian abbey of Tower Hill, 363, 364; Clifford, Lewis de, 511; Cobham of Beluncle, Blackburgh and Chafford, 470; Cobham, Sir John, 470; Cobham, Sir Robert, 486; Colkin, 511; Colley, Robert, 484; Corby, 475; Courtenay, Sir Hugh, 471, 474, 484; Courtenay, Philip de, 482; Criol, Bertram de, 502; de la Mare, John, 509; Delapole, Sir John, 472; Edward III, 363, 364; Eglesfield, Robert de, 521; Escures, 548; Everingham, 507; Fastolfe, Sir John, 539; Gascoigne, John, 503; Gascoigne, Richard, 503; Gibbes, 510; Granson, Monsire de, 493; Grey, Sir John, 534; Halle, Sir Peter, 509; Hardresham, 533; Harlestone, 543; Haute, Sir Edmund, 479; Hawberk, Sir Nicholas, 514; Henry VIII, 297; Hussey, Sir Edmund, 486; Ikham, 483; Lancaster, Henry, duke of, 526; Langley of Knowlton, 501; Laud, Archbishop, 453; le Baud, Sir Walter, 483; Lenham, 470, 540; Lichfield, 498; London, City of, 363; Loverick, 485; Luttrell, Sir Hugh, 502; Maidstone College

Heraldry (*continued*).
(Kent), 504; Manston, Nicholas, 479; Mepham, Edmund de, 516; Montagu, 305; Monthermer, 305; Morley, Robert de, 475; Morteyn, 478; Norton, 480; Nowers, 453; Oldcastle, Sir John, 472; Oxford, John de Veer, 13th earl of, 277 ff.; Oxford, Margaret Nevill, countess of, 285, 302, 305; Parry, 506; Pashley, Sir John, 479; Pekham of Wrotham, 478; Pelham, Sir John, 548; Peverel, 486; Peyforer, 470; Potyn, 470, 540; Ros, 482; St. Nicholas of Thanet, 478; Salisbury, Richard Nevill, earl of, 305; Salisbury, William de Montacute, earl of, 541; Sandwich, Nicholas de, 498; Savage of Bobbing, 502; Scales, Robert, Lord, 478; Scales, Roger, Lord, 478; Scrope, 306; Segrave, Gilbert de, 542; Sewers (or Sewards), 512; Standish, Hugh, 514; Streynsham, 499, 501; Thornbury, William, 557; Tiptoft, 306; Twychet, 507; Wadham, Sir William, 485; Wandeford, William, 480; Willoughby, Robert, Lord, 498; Willoughby, William, Lord, 498. Badges: Bedford, John, duke of, 285 *n.*, 286 *n.*; Burgundy, dukes of, 284; Oxford, John de Veer, earl of, 284, 285, 301, 302, 304, 306–9; York, Edward of Langley, duke of, 541 *n.* *See also* Heraldry in the Cloisters of the Cathedral, *under* Canterbury.
Herbert, Lord, executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.
Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, 12th earl of, arms of, 457, 463, 465, 555; badge of, 493.
Hereford, Joan, countess of, arms of, 463, 525; seal of, 463.
Herefordshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 94, 96 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Hereward, 100.
Heringaud (or Heringod), arms ascribed to, 466, 533.
Herne (Kent): arms of d'Aldon on font, 537; brass of Sir Peter Halle, 509.
Heron, arms ascribed to, 481.
Herring, Nicholas, 535; arms ascribed to, 533.
Hertfordshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 96–9 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Anstey, Hormead, King's Langley, Measden, Rickmansworth, Royston, St. Albans, Sawbridgeworth, Walkern, Watford, Westmill.
Hertford Warren, near Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk), Late-Celtic dagger from, 569, 570.
Hever, William de, arms ascribed to, 479, 495; seal of, 479.
Heytesbury, arms and badge of, 486.
Higham of Patricksbourne, arms ascribed to, 485.
Hilaire, St., fragment of jewellery from the reliquary of the head of, 137.
Hildesheim (Hanover): crown and reliquary of St. Oswald, 146, 147; porphyry fragment of Cana vase, 118.
Hinton Ampner (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 74.
Hippolyte, St., chasse of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 116.
Hobert, Sir James, executor of will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Hodge, H., plans and drawings by, of excavations in Leadenhall Market, London, 228.
Hodges, T. R., 456.
Hogarth, D. G., 175.
Holland, arms of, 474, 491, 503, 543, 553–5.
Holland, John: *see* Exeter, duke of.
Holland, Sir Thomas: *see* Kent, earl of.
Holowe, Rauf, arms ascribed to, 482.
Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury: burying-place of, 392; tomb of, 393, 398.
Hoo, Sir Richard de, arms ascribed to, 484.
Hoorne, Edmund, arms ascribed to, 513, 528.
Hoorne, Sir John de, arms of, 513.
Hoo St. Werburg (Kent), arms of Grey in old glass, 508.
Hope, Sir William: Recent discoveries in the abbey church of St. Austin at Canterbury, 377–400; The last testament and inventory of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 275–348; *Stall-plates*, cited, 470, 486, 491, 497, 498, 517, 518, 527, 534, 545, 547, 551, 554, 557.
Hopkinson, J., on the gravel of the Rickmansworth district (Herts.), 209, 210, 219.
Hormead (Herts.), manor of, 418.
Hornby, Henry, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, executor of will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366–9.
Horns: of Roland, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133; unicorn's, *ibid.*
Horton Kirby (Kent), arms of Sir John de Hoorne, formerly in windows of church, 513.
Horwood, Bros., Messrs., owners of pits at Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195.
Hosterley, arms ascribed to, 512.
Howard, Sir John, 275, 305; arms of, 277, 283, 284, 293, 296, 297, 301, 305, 315, 330, 333, 335–7, 339, 340.
Hubert, St., arms of, 522.
Hulsbergh, H., emblematical design, with names and costs of Wren's buildings, 1, 2, 8, 9.
Human remains: Newnham (Cambs.), 570; St. Leo-

nard's, Foster Lane, London, 235; site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 245.
Hungerford, Sir Walter, arms and badge of, 486.
Huntingdon, Elizabeth, countess of, 457.
Huntingdon, John, earl of, 457.
Huntingdon, William de Clinton, earl of, arms of, 508.
Huntingdonshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 90, 92 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Crundale, Ramsey Abbey.
Hussey (Husee, or Hoese), arms ascribed to, 485, 508, 533.
Hussey, Sir Edmund, of Holbrook, 486.

I

Ickham (Kent), arms in window of church, 479.
Ickleton, or Ikelton (Cambs.), bequest to nuns of, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Ightham (Kent), monument to Sir Thomas Cawne in the church, 479.
Ikham, arms of, 483.
Ikham, William, memorial to, 483.
Illingworth, W., 365.
Implements: *see* Bronze, Flint, Iron, Palaeoliths.
Inge, William de, arms ascribed to, 488.
Ingham, arms ascribed to, 524.
Inkstand of St. Denis, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 121, 122, 124.
Inscriptions: in tomb, Râs-el-Ekra, near 'Amwas (Palestine), 174; on Abbot Suger's ewer, in the Louvre, 143; on altar, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109; on altar from Phoenicia, 191; on common seal of the abbey of Tower Hill, 363; on crystal ewer at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 137; on Egyptian vase of grey granite, 118; on grave of Charles the Bald, 149; on planks of a Roman well discovered in London, 246; on porphyry vase, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 145; on Queen Eleanor's vase, from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 142; on seal of Abbot Paschal, 363; on shield in cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 448; on signet-ring attributed to St. Louis, 157; on silver-gilt staff of the precentor of Saint-Denis, 156; on the 'Coupe des Ptolémées', from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 120, 144; on walking-stick of St. Denis, 121.
Intaglios: dolphin, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 123; portrait of Julia, daughter of Titus, 129; standing figure of a French king, in the Louvre, 157.
Ireland: arms of, 462, 550; bronze 'stirrups' from, 350, 352.
Iron objects: crown, Monza (Italy), 146; dagger, Late-Celtic, Hertford Warren (Suffolk), 569; screen, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108; spokeshaves, Copthall Court, London, 241; Rushall Down (Wilts.), 241; St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241; spur-like object, found in the Lake of Paladru, near Voiron (Isère), 352.
Isaac of Kent, arms attributed to, 469.
Isabella of France (queen of Edward II), 404, 427; wardrobe account of, 410, 411.
Isili, John, seal of, 475.
Isle of Wight: *see* Chessell Down.
Isley, arms of, 475.
Ivory carvings: Carlovingian, 135 *n.*; chessmen, attributed to Charlemagne, 133, 151; hand of justice, in the Louvre, 150; image of Christ, with symbols of the Evangelists, Victoria and Albert Museum, 135 *n.*; image of Christ enthroned, Berlin Museum, 135; image of the Virgin, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155 *n.*; pyxes, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117; statuette of the Virgin, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 157; tablets sculptured with figures, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 106.
Izant, Frederick, 264, 269.

J

Jade gondola, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 126, 141.
James, Dr. M. R., 347 *n.*
James, St., image of, 312, 329.
Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen, gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155.
Jeffery, George: Rock-cutting and tomb architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman occupation, 159–78; 180, 182, 187, 188, 191, 192.
Jenkinson, Hilary: Mary de Sancto Paulo, countess of Pembroke, foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 401–46.
Jerusalem, arms of, 460, 462, 500, 509, 544–7, 551, 552; caverns of, 159; church of the Holy Sepulchre, 163; stone vaults, 187; tombs, 165, 168, 173, 175, 178.
Jet cameo, Late-Celtic, from Strood (Kent), 572.
Jews, Second Revolt of, coin of the period of, London, 240, 241.
John, king of England, 404.
John of Gaunt: *see* Lancaster, duke of.
John the Baptist, St., heads of, 297, 335; images of, 280–3, 312, 329; relic of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 127; relic of part of head of, cathedral church of Amiens, 280 *n.*

John the Evangelist, St., images of, 106, 140, 155, 156, 278, 279, 291, 311–13, 329, 426, 434.
Josselyn, John, executor of the will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Judas, lantern of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133.
Jude, St., image of, 291, 292, 329.
Julia, daughter of Titus, intaglio portrait of, 129.
Julius Severus, governor of Britain, 241.
Justus, archbishop of Canterbury: burying-place of, 392; tomb of, 388, 393, 395, 398–9; wooden coffin of, 398–9.

K

Kekewich, C. G., 262.
Kelsham of Kelsham, arms of, 475, 534.
Kendall, Rev. H. G. O. collection of palaeolithic implements, 202, 206.
Kent, Alice, countess of, arms of, 525.
Kent, Edmund of Woodstock, earl of (son of Edward I), arms of, 459, 503.
Kent, Joan, countess of (the Fair Maid of Kent), arms of, 459; badge of, 495, 553.
Kent, Thomas Holland, earl of, 457, 465, 501; arms of, 458, 459, 527, 553; badge of, 495.
Kent Archaeological Society, 456.
Kent and Canterbury Hospital, part-owner of site of St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury, 377, 380, 389, 399.
Kent, early organization of the church in, 64, 65, 82, 83, 100 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Ash, Ash next Sandwich, Ashford, Aylesford, Barfreston, Betshanger, Bifrons, Bobbing, Borden, Boughton under Blean, Boxley, Brasted, Canterbury, Challock, Chartham, Chatham, Cobham, Cockerhurst Farm, Cumbwell, Dartford, Dover, Faversham, Goodneston, Graveney, Greenhithe, Hardres, Hawkhurst, Headcorn, Herne, Hoo St. Werburgh, Horton Kirby, Ickham, Ightham, Leeds Priory, Lesnes Abbey, Linstead, Littlebourne, Lymhill (or Lymne), Maidstone, Milton by Sittingbourne, Milton near Gravesend, Monkton, Nettlestead, Newington next Sittingbourne, Northfleet, Orpington, Otham, Peckham (West), Pembury, Pluckley, Rainham, Reculver, Rochester, St. Lawrence, St. Nicholas at Wade, Saltwood, Sarre, Sheldwich, Sibertswold, Sittingbourne, Stodmarsh, Strood, Swanscombe, Tunstall, Warehorne, Woodnesborough.
Kentisbere (or Kentishbere), arms ascribed to, 496.
Kettle, Bernard, 262.
Khareibet-es-Sûk (Palestine), Graeco-Roman tomb at, 182.
Khrysokava, near Kyrenia (Cyprus), quarry at, 160, 161; rock-cut tomb, 160.
Kidner, H., on the gravel of the Reading beds, 209 *n.*, 210, 219 *n.*
Kilwarbie, Robert, cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury, arms ascribed to, 493, 516.
King's Langley (Herts.), flint implements from, 216.
Kington, arms ascribed to, 468.
Kitchin, V. P., collection of palaeolithic implements, 202, 206, 207.
Knaresborough Priory (Yorks.), arms ascribed to, 525.
Knight, Bishop, warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, 399, 400.
Knight, Val, 'Plan and proposals of a new model for rebuilding the City of London', 2.
Knoel, arms ascribed to, 536.
Knolles, Sir Robert, arms ascribed to, 479, 557; benefaction to Rochester (Kent), 479–80.
Knyvett, arms ascribed to, 481.
Kunigunde, Empress, crown of, 146, 147.
Kyme, arms of, 520, 522, 523, 531, 536.

L

Labarte, J., 115, 125 *n.*, 136.
Lacy, arms ascribed to, 531.
La Graufesenque (France), pottery from, 238, 244, 246, 256, 260, 261, 269; distribution in London, 272, 273; potters' stamps, 239, 256.
Lambert, Frank: Recent Roman discoveries in London, 225–74.
Lambousa (Cyprus), rock-hewn chapel of Acheiropoietos, 175–7.
Lamplugh, Bertram, 400.
Lamps: Byzantine, from Salamis (Cyprus), 193; gold, St. Peter's, Rome, 123; silver, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 117, 134, 139.
Lancashire, early organization of the church in, 98 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Lancaster, Duchy of, arms of, 506, 526.
Lancaster, dukes of, arms of, 459.
Lancaster, Edmund, earl of (son of Henry III), arms of, 526.
Lancaster, Henry, duke of, arms of, 526.
Lancaster, Henry, earl of, arms of, 465, 545, 548, 552.
Lancaster, John of Gaunt, duke of, 457; arms of, as king of Castile and Leon, 540–1; descendants of, 457, 458.
Lancaster, Thomas, earl of, 404; arms of, 526; death of, 405, 406.
Langdon, John, bishop of Rochester, arms of, 534.
Langham, arms ascribed to, 476.

Langley, Edmund and Edward of: *see* York, dukes of.
Langley of Knowlton, arms of, 501.
Langley of Warwickshire, arms ascribed to, 501, 511.
Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, arms of, 542.
Lanterns: bronze, twelfth-century, set with crystals, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 133; copper-gilt, set with crystals, formerly at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133.
Larnaca = Kition (Cyprus): shrine of the Phaneromeni, 169–71, 180, 181, 184–6; tombs, 164, 169–72, 178, 186, 187; Turabi Teke, 187.
Lasteyrie, Robert de, on polygonal baptisteries, 384.
La Tène type of implements, 569–71.
Lathom, arms of, 547.
Latimer, arms ascribed to, 495.
Latimer, John Nevill, Lord, of Danby, arms ascribed to, 477.
Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, arms of, 453.
Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury: burying-place of, 391, 392; tomb of, 388, 394–8; wooden coffin of, 396–7.
Laurence, St., cross of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 131–2.
Lavenham (Suffolk): badge of the Veers on south door and in clerestory windows of church, 307, 308; bequest towards making aisles of the church by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 286, 317.
Laverick (or Leverick), arms of, 495, 510.
Laverstoke (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 76.
le Baud, arms of, 483, 534.
le Baud, Sir Walter, arms ascribed to, 483.
Leeds Priory (Kent), arms ascribed to, 523.
Leicestershire, early organization of the church in, 64, 90, 91, 92, 101 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Le Moustier style of implements, 202, 203, 206, 207, 208, 216.
Lenham, arms of, 470, 540.
Lenthal, Sir Richard, 465.
Lenthal, Sir Rowland, arms ascribed to, 553–4.
Leon, arms of, 458, 462, 540–1, 549, 555.
Lesnes Abbey (Kent), arms of, 468, 506.
Levant, architecture and rock-cutting in the, 159 ff., 187, 189. *See* Cyprus.
Leventhorp, arms of, 504, 506, 507, 538.
Leventhorp, John: arms of, 506; brass of, 506; will of, 507.
Leybourne, Sir Thomas de, arms ascribed to, 502, 507, 535.
Lezoux (France), pottery from, 238, 240, 244, 250, 257, 260, 261, 266, 268, 269; distribution in London, 273; potters' stamps, 239.
Lichfield, arms of, 498.
Limburg-on-the-Lahn (Germany): Byzantine table-cross in the cathedral, 153; staff of St. Peter, 122.
Limoges (France), work of, 117, 124, 125, 128, 155, 157.
Linas, C. de, on nail relics, 130 *n.*; on treasures in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 131; restoration of jade gondola, 126.
Lincoln (Lincs.), Saxon remains at church of St. Peter, 89.
Lincolnshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 88, 89, 91, 92 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Lincoln, Stow St. Mary.
Lingard, John, on the Domesday Survey, 61, 67.
Lingfield (Surrey), arms and brass of Hardresham, 533.
Linstead (Kent), arms of Sewers in church, 512.
Lisle, arms ascribed to, 486, 523, 531, 548.
Littlebourne (Kent), arms of Higham in church at, 485.
Littlebury, arms ascribed to, 557.
Little Horkesley (Essex), brass of Sir Thomas Swinbourne, 489.
Little Sombourne (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 74.
Litton, prior of, bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 433.
Livonia (Lifeland), arms ascribed to, 462, 552.
Lodbrooke, arms ascribed to, 506.
London:
Bartholomew Close, Tower Hill, 358.
Bergavenny House, residence of Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 416.
Charterhouse, the, 353; bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310; gifts to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 418.
Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill (St. Mary Graces), Topography of the, 353–64; abbey arms and seals, 363, 364; abbot's lodging, 354, 360; bell-tower, 356; benefactors, 353, 354; burials, 358, 362; bursar's building accounts, 354 ff.; camera, 354; candlesticks, 354; cemetery, 353; chantries, 356; chapel, 362; — of Our Lady, 356, 362; — of St. Anne, 356, 362; chapter-house, 362; cloisters, 360; convent garden, 358; conventual church, 360; courtyards, 362; dedication, 354, 362; doors, 354; doorway, 362; dove-house, 358; endowment, 353, 354; farmery, 362; foundations, 354; frater, 362; gardens, 354, 357, 360; gatehouse, 360; great court, 360; high altar, 354, 362; houses, 354, 360; nave, 360;

London (*continued*).
paving, 354, 356, 362; Pine Apple-tree garden, 357, 358; plans of the site, 355-62; porch, north, 360; presbytery, 362; processional entrance, 360; pulpitum, 362; revenues, 354; ritual arrangements, 362; stalls, 362; stonework, 363; tenements, 354, 358; tiles, 354; transepts, 360; vestry, 354, 356, 362; walls, 358, 360, 362; windows, 362; window tracery, 363.
City, arms of, 363, 462, 481.
City Churches (Parochial) designed by Sir Christopher Wren, Complete Building Accounts of, 1-60; architects' office expenses, 3, 4; bills of the parochial churches, 1, 6, 7, 14, 15; commission payments to Wren, 5; comparison of building prices for labour and materials, 1671-87 and 1915, 7, 11-13, 23-60; drawing-paper, expenditure on, 3, 4; general account of disbursements, 1, 2, 3, 6; legal advice, expenditure on, 4; leger of the parochial churches, 1, 2, 6, 7, 15-22; rent for store-house, 25, 26, 27, 31; tabernacle leger, 1, 2; 'tabernacles', 2, 3, 6; tabular statement of tradesmen and sums paid to them, 15-22; total costs of each church, 14-22; 'types' (cupolas), 3; use of old material in rebuilding, 10, 12.
Disbursements on account of churches: Allhallows Bread Street, 21; Allhallows Lombard Street, 6, 22; Allhallows the Great, 3, 20; Christ Church, 6, 19; St. Alban's Wood Street, 2, 3, 21; St. Andrew's Wardrobe, 22; St. Anne and St. Agnes, 16; St. Antholin's, 21; St. Austin's, 21; St. Bartholomew Exchange, 17; St. Benet Fink, 4, 18; St. Bennet's Gracechurch, 20; St. Bennett's Paul's Wharf, 19; St. Bride's, 18; St. Christopher's, 8, 17; St. Clement's East Cheap, 21; St. Dionis Backchurch, 18; St. Dunstan's in the East, 7, 8, 15; St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street, 7, 19; St. George Botolph, 17; St. James Garlickhithe, 19; St. Lawrence Jewry, 18; St. Magdalen Old Fish Street, 20; St. Magnus, 19; St. Margaret's Lothbury, 22; St. Margaret Pattens, 21; St. Martin's Ludgate, 6, 20; St. Mary Abchurch, 3, 8, 9, 20; St. Mary Aldemary, 3, 16; St. Mary at Hill, 8, 16; St. Mary-le-Bow, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 19; complete bills for church and tower, 23-46; St. Mary Somerset, 22; St. Mary Woolnoth, 8, 9, 17; St. Matthew's Friday Street, 21; St. Michael Bassishaw, 17; St. Michael's Cornhill, 19; St. Michael's Crooked Lane, 22; St. Michael's Queenhithe, 16; St. Michael's Royall, 22; St. Michael's Wood Street, 15; St. Mildred Bread
London (*continued*).
Street, 21; St. Mildred Poultry, 18; St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, 16; St. Olave's Jewry, 7, 15; St. Pancras Soper Lane, 3, 12; St. Peter's Cornhill, 19; St. Sepulchre's, 8, 17; St. Stephen's Coleman Street, 8, 17; St. Stephen's Walbrook, 7, 10, 11, 13, 16; complete bills for, 46-60; St. Swithin's, 6, 8, 20; St. Vedast Foster Lane, 8, 17.
Payments to master tradesmen, craftsmen, &c.: anchor-smith, 36; bricklayers, 3, 8, 15-24, 27, 29, 31, 33, 43, 54; carpenters, 3, 8, 15-22, 24, 28-31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48-50, 52-4, 58; carters, 15-22, 32; carvers, 6, 7, 15-22, 41; clerks, 4, 5; contractors, 7, 8, 12, 23, 24, 27; coppersmiths, 8, 15-22, 40, 54; draughtsmen, 4; gilders, 40; glaziers, 3, 8, 15-22, 33, 42, 45, 55, 58; joiners, 3, 7, 8, 15-22, 29, 31, 34, 35, 43, 56; labourers, 6, 12, 13, 15-24; masons, 7, 8, 15-22, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 39-41, 43, 46-8, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59; painters, 13, 15-22, 30, 40, 44, 56, 60; plasterers, 6-8, 15-22, 29, 32, 44, 45, 50, 54, 55, 58; plumbers, 3, 8, 15-22, 28, 34-6, 38, 41, 42, 45, 49, 53-5, 58; slaters, 8; smiths, 3, 8, 15-22, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 36-8, 41, 44, 51, 53, 59; surveyors, 4, 5, 6.
City Corporation, excavations on property of, 264, 265.
Coppid Hall, Tower Hill, 358.
Copthall Court, iron spokeshave from bed of the Walbrook, 241.
Court of Common Council, grant for excavation work at St. Martin's-le-Grand by, 242, 262.
Cripplegate, foundation of chantry in hermitage of, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 418.
Franciscan nuns, abbey of, 353.
Friars Minors, church of, gifts by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 418, 420, 434.
Hogg (or Hogges) Lane, Tower Hill, 358, 360.
Roman discoveries in London, Recent, 225-74. Roman walls discovered in 1880-81 on the site of Leadenhall Market, 225-35. Excavations on the site of old General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, 235-63; animal remains, 242, 262, 263; coins, 240; foundations, 235, 236; human remains, 245; objects found, 236, 240, 241, 246; pits, 237, 241, 242 *n.*, 244, 245, 248, 250, 258-62, 270, 272; pottery, 238, 240-62; roofing-tiles, 246; well, 246; 'wood-and-daub' house, 246. Excavations on the site of Nos. 3-6 King William Street, 263-9; objects found, 265, 266; pits, 238, 264-7, 270, 272; pottery, 265-9. The growth of Londinium, 269-74; areas in the first

London (*continued*).
to third centuries A.D., 270–4; burials, 269; rubbish-pits, 270, 272; size of, 270; spots on which antiquities have been found, 270, 272.
Roman remains in other localities: Cheapside, 238; Christ's Hospital, rubbish-pits, 238; Finsbury Circus, coin and pottery, 248; Gracechurch Street, site of Roman walls, 225, 228, 235; Royal Exchange, rubbish-pits, 237; St. Paul's Churchyard, 237, 238; Southwark, amphora and pre-Roman 'anthropoid' dagger, 250; Walbrook, the, coins from the neighbourhood, 270, 272; Wall, the, 229, 234, 245, 272.
Rosemary Lane, Tower Hill, 360.
Royal Mint, 356, 358.
Royal Mint Street, 360.
St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, cost of building, 8.
St. Clement Danes, cost of building, 8.
St. James's Church, Westminster, cost of building, 8.
St. Katherine by the Tower, hospital of, 353.
St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, Norman crypt near, 235; objects found at, 245.
St. Paul's Cathedral, accounts relating to, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10.
St. Paul's Church (the old), bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 433.
Tower, silver-gilt font, 293.
See also British Museum, Guildhall Museum, National Gallery, Victoria and Albert Museum.
London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 356.
Longford, William, vice-master of St. John's College, Cambridge, 373, 374.
Lorraine, cardinal of, chasses restored by, in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117.
Lothair, son of St. Sexburgh, burying-place of, 391.
Louis VI of France (Louis le Gros), gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109, 110, 126, 127, 139.
Louis VII of France, 142.
Louis VIII of France, tomb of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 111.
Louis IX of France (St. Louis), bears the oriflamme, 116; bones buried at Saint-Denis, 111; canonization of, 108, 111; chasse of, 105, 108, 110, 111; clasp of, 151; crown of, 147, 148, 150, 155; dismemberment of, 111; gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117, 154; hand of justice of, 150; images of, gold and silver, 108, 130; jaw-bone of, 111; reconstructs Dagobert's monument, 109; reliquary of, 155; remains of, 111; signet-ring attributed to, 157; skull of, 111; sword of, 155; tomb of, 108, 111; tombs of the children of, 117.
Louis XVI of France, coffin of, in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 114.
Lovaine, arms of, 451.
Lovel, John, ninth Baron, of Tichmersh, arms of, 478; effigy of, 478.
Lovel, Sir Robert, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 318; executor of the will of the earl, 287, 318.
Lovel, Sir Thomas, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 286, 287, 313, 316; executor of the will of the earl, 287, 318; executor of the will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.
Lovel, Thomas, of Milstead, arms ascribed to, 498.
Lovelace, arms ascribed to, 502.
Loverick, arms of, 485.
Loveyne, Sir Nicholas, bequest to the Cistercian abbey of Tower Hill, 353.
Lucie (or Lucy), arms of, 466, 536, 552, 555.
Lunn, William H. H., comparison of building prices (1671–87 and 1915), 11–13, 23–60.
Lusignan family, the, 403, 404.
Lusignan, Hugh de, 403, 404.
Lutteridge, arms ascribed to, 502.
Luttrell, arms ascribed to, 490, 502.
Luttrell, Sir Hugh, arms and seal of, 502.
Lymhill, or Lymne (Kent), arms in chancel window, 496.
Lynne (Norfolk), bequest to the White Friars of, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310.

M

Macartney, Mervyn, 237 *n.*
Mackenzie, Mrs. Stewart, owner of the wing of a late fifteenth-century altar-piece, representing St. Giles saying Mass, 105, 126.
Madrid, Visigothic crown at, 145.
Magdalen, the, statuette of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 153.
Maidstone (Kent), arms in church at, 464, 467, 471, 475; arms of Maidstone College, 504; seal of the hospital of St. Mary and All Saints, 464.
Maitland, Prof., on communal holding of churches, 86, 87.
Majendie, Mrs. James, owner of manuscript volume of transcripts of documents relating to the family of the Veres, 275.
Majendie, Lewis, 275.
Majendie, Rev. Severne A. Ashhurst, on the family of De Vere, earls of Oxford, 275.
Malchus, lantern said to belong to, formerly in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133.
Mâle, Prof. E., 139.

Malmains, arms of, 509, 537.
Malmesbury, William of, 399.
Malta, cornice of the 'ancient house' in, 190.
Maltravers, arms of, 459, 466, 480, 497, 503, 518, 519.
Maltravers, John, Lord, 465.
Man, Isle of, arms of, 462, 500, 538, 550.
Manston of Manston, arms ascribed to, 529, 535.
Manston, Nicholas, arms ascribed to, 479.
Manston, Roger, effigy of, in Ashford church (Kent), 529.
Manuscripts: formerly belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Denis (France), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), 138 *n.*; heraldic collections of William Tillotson (now in the Society's Library), 307, 308; St. Emmeran's Gospels at Munich, 135. *See also* Documents.
Marble altar, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 109.
March, Edmund Mortimer, earl of, arms of, 490, 491. *See* Mortimer.
Marcus Aurelius, coin of, 248.
Margaret, Lady: *see* Richmond, countess of.
Margaret, St., image of, 292, 311, 329, 341.
Marie Antoinette, coffin of, in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 114.
Maries, William de, arms of, 497.
Marney, Sir Henry, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 317; executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.
Marriott, Reginald, auditor for the accounts of Wren's City churches, 6.
Marseilles, convent of St. Paul at, porphyry Cana vase from, 118.
Martin, St., of Tours, 119.
Martini, John de Castro, 414 *n.*
Mason, Rev. Canon A. J., 401 *n.*
Mauduit, arms of, 451.
Mayence Museum (Germany), gilt bronze brooches, 122.
Mayhew, arms ascribed to, 471.
Maynard, Guy, keeper of the Saffron Walden Museum, exhibit of Late-Celtic dagger by, 569.
Measden (Herts.), manor of, 418.
Medain Salih (North Arabia), rock-tombs of, 191.
Médicis, Marie de, coronation of, 112, 113.
Medmenham (Bucks.), abbey of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Medracen or 'Tomb of King Juba', 190.
Medusa head, jet cameo, 572.
Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury: burying-place of, 392; tomb of, 388, 393, 395, 397.
Mély, F. de, on the so-called Cana vases, 118 *n.*
Mepham, Edmund de, arms and slab of, 516.
Mepham, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, arms of, 516, 530.
Mercia, organization of the church in: Danish Mercia, 88–93; English Mercia, 93–7.
Mereworth, arms ascribed to, 509, 537.
Merkédes, Menélaos, excavation work in Cyprus, 192.
Mersan, Marion de, 143.
Metcalf, Nicholas, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, indenture of, regarding the grate for the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey, 373-6.
Middlesex, early organization of the church in, 64, 96 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Harrow, Stratford, Syon.
Migeon, M., 144.
Milan Cathedral, book-cover with enamels, 138; gold altar-casing, 134, 135, 141.
Mildenhall (Suffolk), palaeolithic implements from Warren Hill, 200, 203.
Mildred, St., burying-place and translation of remains of, 390, 392; tomb of, 394, 400.
Millet, S. G., in the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 103, 110–12, 116, 120, 121, 125–7, 130, 137, 141, 148, 151.
Milton by Sittingbourne (Kent), arms in church at, 471.
Milton, near Gravesend (Kent), bequest to church, 417, 418, 434; Lord Justice Coke's house at, 422.
Minns, E. H., 401 *n.*
Minoan remains in Cyprus, 182, 184, 185, 187, 189, 192, 193.
Mithridates, vase of, in the Louvre, 142.
Mittelzell in Reichenau, Cana vase at, 118.
Mohun of Dunster, arms of, 458, 491, 493, 541–4, 557.
Mohun, Joan, Lady, benefactor to the cathedral and priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, 543 monument and will, 543.
Molinier, M., 153, 154.
Molinton, Sir Thomas, arms of, 524.
Mompesson, arms ascribed to, 516.
Monceau, Abbot Guy de, gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155, 157.
Monfaucon, Bernard de, 104, 122.
Monins, arms ascribed to, 469.
Monkton (Kent), arms in church ascribed to Queen Edith, 552.
Monolithic chambers: Amrît (Phoenicia), 182; 'Annunciation Chapel', near Larnaca (Cyprus), 184; Phaneroméni Chapel, Larnaca, 181, 184; Selwân = Siloam (Judaea), 182, 186, 187, 190.

Montacute, arms of, 489, 497, 506, 520, 527, 528, 541, 543, 545, 555, 558.
Montagu, arms of, 305.
Montboucher, arms of, 482, 487, 497.
Montgomery, Earl Roger de, 93.
Montgomery, Sir Thomas, rebuilds the chapel of Our Lady, abbey of Tower Hill, 356, 362.
Monthermer, arms of, 305, 489, 497, 520, 527, 545, 555.
Monuments: Ash (Kent): John Septvans, 529. Canterbury, Abbey church of St. Austin: St. Adrian, 393; St. Mildred, 394; Saxon archbishops—St. Austin, 393–5; Deusdedit, 393; Honorius, 393, 398; Justus, 393, 395, 398–9; Laurence, 388, 393, 395–8; Mellitus, 393, 395, 397. Canterbury, St. Peter's Church: Thomas Ikham and his wife, 483. Castle Hedingham church (Essex): John de Veer, 15th earl of Oxford, 308 *n.*, 309 *n.* Colne Priory (Essex): John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, and his wife Margaret, 276–8, 310, 311. Ightham Church, (Kent): Sir Thomas Cawne, 479. Ravenna: Theodoric, 384. Saint-Denis, Abbey of: Alphonse, Count of Eu, 117; Charles Martel, 107 *n.*; Charles the Bald, 107 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 130, 131; Clodomir, 107 *n.*; Dagobert I, 108, 109, 114; Hugues Capet, 107 *n.*; Othon, 107 *n.*; St. Louis, 108; kings of France and other royal tombs, 107, 155. Westminster Abbey: Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, 406, 425, 443; Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, 365–76; William de Valence, 117. West Peckham (Kent): Sir William Colepeper, 548.
Monza (Italy), crown given by Theodelinde at, 145; ninth-century iron crown, 146.
Moretain, count of, 69, 97.
Morley, Robert de, arms of, 475.
Mortaria, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 253–5, 258–62.
Morteyn, arms ascribed to, 478.
Mortimer, arms of, 458, 490, 492, 506, 514, 515, 519, 527, 553–5; badge of, 464.
Mortimer of Attleborough, arms of, 539.
Mortimer, Roger, conspiracy of, 404, 405, 410.
Mortimer, Sir Thomas, arms of, 527.
Morton, arms of, 451.
Morton, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 451, 454.
Mowbray, arms of, 478, 488, 541–4, 553.
Mowbray, John, Lord, arms of, 459.
Mowbray, Thomas, earl marshal, arms of, 459.
Munchensy, Dionysia de, 421, 422.
Munchensy, Richard de, 428.
Munich (Germany): book-cover with enamels in Library, 138; crown of the Empress Kunigunde at, 146, 147; St. Emmeran's Gospels at, 135.
Murray, Sir James A. H., 3, 447.
Muschamp, arms ascribed to, 467, 509.
Mussulman art, 137, 142, 144.
Myres, Prof. John L.: Notes on the 'Prison of St. Catharine' at Salamis in Cyprus, 179–94.

N

Nangis, William de, 149.
Nanthilde, Queen, bracelets of, 127, 131; image of, 106, 109.
Naples, Antony of, house and garden of, Tower Hill, London, 358, 360.
Naples, Farnese Tazza vase at, 120.
Napoleon, coronation of, 120, 132, 150, 156.
National Gallery: wing of a late fifteenth-century altar-piece, representing incidents in the legend of St. Giles, 105.
Navarre, arms of, 462, 555.
Navarre, Joan of (queen of Henry IV), arms of, 457, 549, 555.
Nero, coin of, London, 240.
Nether Avon (Wilts.) remains of Saxon work in church at, 72.
Nettlestead (Kent), emblem of St. John the Evangelist in church window, 308.
Neury-Saint-Sépulcre (Indre), circular shape of church of, 384.
Nevill, arms of, 491, 494, 501, 527, 541–3, 555, 556.
Nevill, Sir John (son of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland), arms of, 543, 555.
Nevill, Sir Thomas, 458.
Newburgh, arms of, 518.
Newenham, arms ascribed to, 520.
Newington next Sittingbourne (Kent), arms and brass ascribed to the Digges family in church at, 466; arms of Lucies, 466.
Newnham (Cambs.), skeleton found at, 570.
Newton, E. T.: Note on the remains of animals found during excavations on the site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 262–3.
New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, carved sarcophagus from Cyprus, 190.
Nicholas of the Thorn, abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, 387.
Nickalls, Guy, palaeoliths collected by, 216 *n.*
Noone, arms ascribed to, 529.
Norfolk, Elizabeth Arundel, duchess of, arms of, 459.
Norfolk, John Mowbray, duke of, arms of, 543.
Norfolk, Margaret Brotherton, duchess of, seal of, 488.

Norfolk, Thomas de Brotherton, earl of, arms of, 459, 488, 543, 544.
Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray, duke of, 459, 465, 553.
Norfolk, early organization of the church in, 63, 64, 85–8 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Blackborough, Bromehill, Elmham, Hempton, Lynne, Walsingham.
Norland, arms ascribed to, 505.
Norman, Philip: excavations by, on site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241, 242, 262; on Roman remains in London, 225, 228, 235, 238, 241.
Northamptonshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 90, 91 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Northbourne, Lord, 400.
Northfleet (Kent), monument to William Wandeford and his wife in the church, 480.
Northumberland, Percy, earl of, arms ascribed to, 500, 552, 555.
Northwood, arms of, 461.
Norton, arms of, 480.
Norway, arms of, 462, 552.
Norway, king of: *see* Haco.
Nottingham, arms of, 493, 516, 536.
Nottinghamshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 89–92 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Nowers of Kent, arms of, 453.
Nowers, Francis, herald-painter, 453.
Nuns Minoresses and Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 420 *n.*, 421, 423.
Nuremberg Museum (Germany), gold brooch from Ravenna, 127.

O

Odiarne, arms ascribed to, 467.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, 391.
Ogle, Robert, Baron, of Bothall, arms ascribed to, 477, 557.
Ohnefalsch-Richter, Max, on Cypriote antiquities, 180–2, 186, 187, 192.
Okeley, William, executor of the will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Oldcastle, arms of, 472, 515.
Oldcastle, Sir John, arms of, 472.
Oldcastle, Lady (Joan Delapole), arms of, on brass at Cobham Church (Kent), 472.
Omont, H., on the inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 103, 104.
Opsall, arms ascribed to, 532.
Orchard, arms of, 476.
Orfèvrerie, 124, 125, 134, 151.
Oriflamme, history of the, 116.
Orpington (Kent), arms on brass of William Gulby in church at, 475.
Oswald, Dr. Felix, 262.
Oswald, king of Bernicia, cross erected by, 65, 66.
Oswald, St., crown and reliquary of, Hildesheim (Hanover), 146, 147.
Otham (Kent), arms on tomb of Nicholas de Sandwich, 498.
Othon, tomb of, 107 *n.*
Our Lady, images of, 277–81, 290–3, 310–13, 329, 345; with the Trinity in her womb, 300, 342.
Oxford, Elizabeth Howard (*suo juris* Baroness Plaiz), countess of, 275, 305.
Oxford, Elizabeth Scrope, countess of, 276; arms of, 306, 332; bequest to, 281, 282, 286, 293, 297; executor of will of her husband John de Veer, 13th earl, 287, 318.
Oxford, John de Veer, 12th earl of, 275.
Oxford, John de Veer, 13th earl of: Admiral of England, 276, 295, 307; annuities and bequests, 287, 316–19; apparel, 282, 291, 301, 342, 343; arms, heraldic, 277, 281, 283–5, 287, 293, 294, 296, 297, 301–9, 311, 314, 315, 328, 330, 332–40, 345; badges, 284, 285, 301, 302, 304, 306–9; — 'caly greyhound', 284, 285, 298, 301, 303, 304 *n.*, 308, 309, 315, 327, 328, 337–41, 348; biographical details, 275, 276, 305; burial, 276; chains, 286, 294–6, 298, 332; collars, 294, 295, 298, 331; death, 276, 288; executors, 287, 313, 318; gold chain and whistle, 286, 295, 296, 307, 316, 332; gold collar of the Order of the Garter, 295, 299, 301; hereditary Great Chamberlain, 275, 276, 278, 283, 285, 294, 297, 308, 311, 315, 333; landed estates, 287; marriages, 276, 305, 306; monument, 276–8, 310, 311; robes, 301, 302, 342, 343; seal, 287, 304, 305; whistles, 286, 295, 301, 302, 343, 347; will and testament, last, 276 ff., 287, 310–20.
Inventory of goods and chattels of the 13th earl of Oxford: At Colne Priory—plate, 338; revestry, 288, 291, 301, 327; white chamber, 287, 320–2. At Hedingham Castle—armery house (arms and weapons), 288, 290, 323; armory chamber (storehouse), 288, 290, 324; chamber over the porch, 290, 327; clerk of the kitchen's chamber, 288, 290, 324; countess's inner chamber, 282, 288, 290, 326; earl's great chamber, 283, 288, 290, 315, 325; earl's lodging chamber, 282, 314; ewery, 288, 290, 325; gentlewomen's chamber, 282, 288, 290, 314, 326; king's chamber, 283, 314; kitchen, 283, 288, 324; Mr. Burton's chamber, 288, 324; Mr. Veer's chamber, 288,

Oxford, Earl of (*continued*).
324; Mr. Voyelly's chamber, 288, 324; Mr. Walgrove's (Waldegrave's) chamber, 288, 327; parlour, 288, 290, 325; parlour under Mr. Veer's chamber, 288, 327. At the monastery of St. John, Colchester, 288, 303, 347, 348. At Sudbury College (Suffolk), 288, 291, 300, 302, 338-47. Goods and chattels—altar-cloths, 277-9, 281, 284, 285, 290, 299, 301, 311-13, 315, 326, 338-42, 347; altar-frontlets, 299, 301, 339-42; arms and armour, 283, 290, 291, 300, 301, 315, 323, 341; arras, and counterfeit arras, 283, 289, 302, 303, 315, 321, 322, 325, 327, 345, 347; bankers (cushions), 302, 345, 346; basons and bowls, silver, 296-8, 309, 312, 329, 332-8; beds and bedroom furniture, 282, 283, 285, 287, 289-91, 302, 303, 314, 320, 323, 324, 326, 327, 344, 346, 347; books, 278, 281, 300, 311, 314, 316, 338, 341, 342; candlesticks, 278, 281, 284, 311, 313-15, 335-7, 342, 347; canopies, 303, 341, 346; carpets, 282, 283, 289, 290, 303, 304, 314, 322, 345, 348 (*see* tapets); church and chapel stuff, 277-81, 288, 291, 298-301, 310, 311, 313, 338-42; coffers, 288, 294, 296, 298, 327, 331, 336; copes, 299, 311-13, 315, 339-41; counterpoints (counterpanes), 283, 289, 302, 303, 314, 315, 321, 322, 324, 326-8, 343-7; coverlets, 302, 303, 322; crosses, 278, 279, 281, 283-5, 293, 294, 311-14, 329, 330, 336, 338, 342; cups and flagons, gold and silver, 278, 279, 281, 283, 293, 294, 296-8, 306, 311-15, 330-2, 334, 336-8; curtains, 289, 302, 314, 326, 342, 346; cushions, 302, 303, 306, 307, 343, 346-8; dornix, 302, 323, 325, 327, 344, 346; embroidery, 328; fire-irons and fire-dogs, 284, 290, 326; font, silver-gilt, 292, 293; gold eagle, 277, 284, 310, 315, 326; horses and geldings, 288, 291, 328; images of saints, 277-86, 290-3, 310-13, 329, 342; jewels, 277-80, 283, 288, 290, 291, 294, 311-15, 329, 332; kitchen stuff, 314, 328; linen, 283, 290, 302, 314, 321, 325, 327, 341, 343; monstrances, 278, 293, 311, 329; organs, 291, 300, 328; ornaments, 277, 285, 286, 299, 313, 314; paxbredes, 278, 298, 335, 336; pewter vessels, 283, 290; plate, gold and silver, 278-82, 284, 285, 288, 293, 296, 298, 299, 311-15, 329-37; reliques, 329, 335; salts, 282, 293, 294, 298, 312-14, 329, 330-2, 337; sparvers, 282, 285, 302, 314, 321, 322, 324, 327, 344, 346; spoons, 335-7; standards, 283, 293, 296, 299, 314, 332, 338, 340, 343; tapestry, 282, 283, 289, 302, 303, 314, 315, 321, 322, 324-6, 328, 343-7; tapets (carpets), 283, 289, 312-14, 322, 325, 326, 328, 344-7; vestments, 277, 281,

Oxford, Earl of (*continued*).
284, 299, 301, 310-13, 315, 326, 339-42; wardrobe stuff, 282, 301, 302, 320, 342, 343; wine, 290, 328.

Oxford, John de Veer, 14th earl of, bequest to, 286, 315.

Oxford, John de Veer, 15th earl of, monument in Castle Hedingham church (Essex), 308 *n.*, 309 *n.*

Oxford, Margaret Nevill, countess of, 276, 277; arms of, 285, 302, 305, 314, 328, 330, 333; tomb of, 277, 310.

Oxford, Richard de Veer, 11th earl of, arms ascribed to, 465, 466.

Oxford: All Souls College, 'Huntsman' salt at, 282; Balliol and Merton Colleges, statutes of, 424; Black Friars of, bequests to, by John de Veer, earl of Oxford, 280, 310, 313; New College, arms of Richard Gascoigne on brass at, 503. *See also* Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library.

Oxfordshire, early organization of the church in, 89, 95, 97 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Beckley, Oxford.

P

Page, William: Some remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey, 61-102.

Painting: fifteenth-century altar-piece, representing incidents in the legend of St. Giles, 105, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 125, 131, 134-7, 141, 147, 149, 158 *n.*

Paladru, Lake of, near Voiron (Isère), iron spur-like object from, 352.

Palaeoliths: Cockerhurst Farm, near Shoreham (Kent), 213, 214; Gerrard's Cross (Bucks.), 216 *n.*; Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195-208, 213, 214, 216, 217, 223.

Palestine, tombs of, 165, 168, 173-5, 178, 182, 186, 187, 189, 190.

Palmyra (Syria), tombs of, 171, 172, 175.

Panels: of frontal of the golden altar in St. Ambrose, Milan, 135; of retable, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 134, 135; of the binding of St. Emmeran's Gospels, Munich, 135.

Paphos (Cyprus), tombs at, 167-9, 175, 178.

Papworth's *Ordinary*, roll of Richard II, 463 ff.

Paris: Archives nationales: inventory of the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 103. Bibliothèque nationale: manuscripts and book-covers once belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 103, 104, 138 *n.* Cabinet des Estampes: drawing of the 'Ecrin de Charlemagne', 104, 128; drawings by Peiresc, 104, 143. Cabinet des Medailles: alabaster vase,

fragment of, 118; Byzantine intaglio of a dolphin, 123; chair from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 121; chalcedony bust of Constantine, 157; 'Coupe des Ptolémées', 119, 120; 'Cuve de porphyre', 118; gold chalice, 123; ivory chessmen (twelfth century), 151–2; jade gondola, 126; jewellery, fragment of, 137; sardonyx gondola, 153; throne of Dagobert, 115. Cluny Museum: bronze-gilt brooches from Valence d'Agen, 127; Carlovingian ivory belonging to a binding, 135 *n.*; clasp, attributed to the fourteenth century, 151; golden altar-frontal, 136 *n.*; Visigothic crowns, 145. École des Beaux-Arts: stone lavabo from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155. La Sainte Chapelle, relics in, 111, 149. Louvre (Galerie d'Apollon): chalices, crystal, 144; chasse, thirteenth century, 117; clasp, attributed to St. Louis, 151; coronation clasp, 151; crown, jewelled, of silver-gilt, 157; ewer, Abbot Suger's, 142; — crystal, of the tenth century, 137; mantle-clasp, jewelled, 157; paten of green serpentine, 123; plate of lapis lazuli, 154; — silver-gilt, 154; ring, gold, attributed to St. Louis, 157; — of fourteenth century, 155; sceptre, gold, surmounted by statuette of Charlemagne, 150, 156; spurs, gold, 150–1; statuette of the Virgin, silver-gilt, 156; vase, alabaster Cana, 118; — Egyptian porphyry, 118; — of Mithridates, 142; — of Queen Eleanor, 142.

Parr, John, arms ascribed to, 499.

Parry, arms of, 506.

Paschal, Abbot, seal of, 363.

Pashley of Pashley, in Ticehurst (Sussex), arms ascribed to, 479.

Pashley, Sir John, arms of, 479.

Patens, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108, 117, 123, 124, 141, 143, 144, 155 *n.*

Paul, St., gold and silver-gilt images of, 109, 128, 426, 433.

Paunton, arms of, 522–4, 530, 531.

Paunton, Sir Hugh, arms of, 523, 524.

Paveley, Sir Walter, arms ascribed to, 557.

Pax, silver, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108.

Pearce, Canon E. H., 366.

Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, arms ascribed to, 527.

Peckham, West (Kent), altar-tomb of Sir William Colepeper, 548.

Pedwardyn, arms ascribed to, 517.

Peers, C. R., 102 *n.*

Peiresc, M., of Aix-en-Provence (France), drawings by, 104, 143, 144, 145.

Pekham of Wrotham, arms of, 478.

Pelham, arms ascribed to, 548, 551, 556.

Pelham, Sir John, arms and seal of, 548.

Pembroke, Agnes de Mortimer, countess of, 411.

Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, earl of: arms of, 490; career and character, 404, 405; death and burial, 406, 409, 420, 425–7, 430, 435, 436 *n.*, 446; lands and property, 404, 412, 414, 437–40; marriage (1) to Beatrice of Clermont Néele, 405; (2) to Mary de St. Pol, 354, 403, 405; poem in honour of, 443–6; tomb, 406, 425, 443; will, 412, 430.

Pembroke, John de Hastings, earl of, 413 *n.*; arms of, 490.

Pembroke, Laurence de Hastings, earl of, 411.

Pembroke, Mary de St. Pol, countess of, 401–46 bequests and benefactions, 354, 417, 418, 420, 432–5; birth and family connexions, 402–3; breviaries and books of devotion, 420, 425–6, 432–3; calendar of references relating to, 408; charities of, 414, 416–19; collection of church hangings, relics, and images, 426, 433; court rolls, 414, 441–2; death of, 413, 417, 420, 430; deeds and charters, 413–15, 417, 425, 429; dower, 412, 413, 430; economies by, 413; foundress of chantry in Cripplegate, 418; — of Denny Abbey, 406, 413, 415, 417–22, 441; — of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 401, 406, 411, 413, 415, 419, 420, 422–4, 430, 441; grants and privileges obtained by, 419; household accounts, fragment of, 436; itinerary of, 431–2; lands and possessions, 412–16, 422–6, 430, 431, 442–3; letters, 426, 435–43; loans by, 414, 441–2; manor rolls, 414; marriage, 403, 405, 428; materials for life of, 401, 402, 408; pedigree, 402–3, 405 (*see* genealogical tree facing p. 402); personal friends, 427, 428; petitions of, 426, 435; plate, jewels, &c., 417, 424, 426, 433; relations with England and France, 409–12, 430, 442; religious life, 416, 419–21, 427, 429, 430; residences, 416, 419, 422; seals, 425; servants and dependents, 429; will, 417, 418, 420, 432–5. *See also* Pembroke College *under* Cambridge.

Pembury (Kent), shields of Colepeper and Hardreshull on buttresses of church, 495.

Penbruge, arms ascribed to, 509.

Penshurst, Stephen de, arms ascribed to, 473.

Percy: *see* Northumberland, earl of.

Perot of Knowlton, arms ascribed to, 501.

Peter, king of Leon and Castile, arms of, 492.

Peter, St., gold and silver-gilt images of, 109, 128, 291, 292, 312, 329, 426, 433; staff of, 122.

Petra (Arabia Petraea), architecture of, 163, 175; rock-cuttings, 177.

Petrie, Prof. Flinders, 190.

Peverel, arms of, 486.
Peverel of Castle Ashby, arms ascribed to, 487, 526.
Peyforer, arms of, 470.
Peyforer, Fulke, arms ascribed to, 470, 540.
Philibert, St., arms ascribed to, 530.
Philip I of France, adopts the oriflamme, 116.
Philip II (Philip Augustus) of France, carries the oriflamme, 116; gifts to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 149, 152, 153; Oratory of, 152; tomb of, 111.
Philip VI of France, 403.
Philip, St., silver-gilt image of, 291, 292, 329.
Philipot, John, Somerset herald: church notes in Kent, 470, 477, 480, 490, 537, 557; notes on the heraldry in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 450, 451, 463 ff.
Philippa of Hainault (queen of Edward III), 427.
Phillips, John, auditor for the accounts of Wren's City churches, 6.
Philpot, arms of, 499, 557.
Phoenicia: altars from, 190, 191; tombs, 183, 186, 191.
Phoenix Assurance Company, London, excavation on site of new offices, 263, 267, 269.
Pits: Barnfield, Swanscombe (Kent), 205, 217; Cheapside, London, 238; Christ's Hospital, London, 238; Croxley Green, Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195, 197, 199, 201–8, 210, 211, 215–17, 220, 221, 223, 224; Croxleyhall Wood, Rickmansworth (Herts.), 198–201, 204, 207, 209; King William Street, London, 238, 264–7, 270, 272; Long Valley Wood, Rickmansworth (Herts.), 197–200, 202–4, 207, 209–11, 213, 215, 216, 218, 220; Mill End, Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195–7, 201, 204, 206–9, 211, 213, 215, 217, 220, 221, 229; Royal Exchange, London, 237, 264; St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 236, 270, 272; St. Paul's Churchyard, London, 237, 238.
Pix of Hawkhurst, arms ascribed to, 490.
Planché, J. R., *A Corner of Kent*, cited, 473, 495, 498, 530.
Plantagenet, badge ascribed to, 464.
Plaques: copper-gilt, with image of St. Denis and two angels, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 125; gold, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 134; from Siberia, 123 *n.*
Plates, clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 250, 252.
Platter, Thomas, the younger, of Basle, account of the treasures of Saint-Denis, 104 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 119 *n.*, 150 *n.*
Pluckley, arms ascribed to, 501.
Pluckley (Kent): arms in painted glass, 537; arms on brass, 526.
Plurenden of Plurenden, arms ascribed to, 477.
Poictiers and Cornwall, Richard, earl of, arms of, 525.
Poitiers (France): battle of, 409; treasures from, 119.
Poli (Cyprus), 'kokim' tombs at, 164, 165, 177, 178.
Politiko (Cyprus), 190; 'Royal Tomb', 182.
Pompeii, Temple of Isis at, 190.
Popham, arms of, 512, 547.
Porcien, family of, 403.
Porphyry: altar, portable, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107; columns, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 109; table of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 139; vases, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 118, 141, 144; Convent of St. Paul at Marseilles (France), 118; Hildesheim (Hanover), 118; Ravenna (Italy), 118.
Porter, arms attributed to, 471.
Portrait, intaglio, of Julia, daughter of Titus, 129.
Port Royal (France), alabaster Cana vase from, 118.
Portugal, arms of, 462, 546, 550, 559.
Portugal, Philipe, queen of, arms of, 457.
Pots, clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 248, 250, 252, 253.
Potters' stamps: La Graufesenque, 239, 256 ff.; Lezoux, 239, 240, 244, 258 ff.; London, 240, 244, 253–62, 266–9; Rheinzabern, 239, 240; various, 239, 240.
Pottery: geometrical, Salamis (Cyprus), 185. Graeco-Phoenician, Salamis (Cyprus), 185, 193. Roman: King William Street, London, 265–9; Royal Exchange, London, 237; St. Paul's Churchyard, London, 237, 238. *See also* Samian ware.
Potts, Rev. R. U., director of excavations on site of St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury, 378, 390 *n.*, 399, 400.
Potyn, arms of, 470, 540.
Poynings, arms of, 461, 483, 486, 487, 497, 512, 518, 520, 532–5; badge of, 483; pedigree of, 461.
Poynings, Sir Michael de, seal of, 483.
Poynings, Richard, Lord, arms ascribed to, 534.
Poynings, Thomas, Lord, will of, 487.
Prag Museum (Bohemia), silver perforated spoon, 124.
Prester John, Emperor, arms ascribed to, 550.
Prestwich, Sir Joseph, 211, 212.
Prideaux, Sir Walter, 262.
Proude of St. Alphage, Canterbury, arms of, 496.
Provence, arms of, 462, 550.
Provence, Eleanor of (queen of Henry III), arms of, 550.
Pyner, Harold, 400.
Pyxes, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117.

Q

Quarries: *see* Cyprus.
Quedlinburg Cathedral (Germany), alabaster Cana vase in, 118.

R

Rabel, Daniel, 145.
Rainham (Kent), arms in windows of church, 536.
Ramsey, arms ascribed to, 558.
Ramsey Abbey (Hunts.), bull confirming privileges of, 63.
Râs-el-Ekra, near 'Amwâs (Emmaus), Judaea, tombs at, 174, 186.
Rashdall, Rev. H., on Universities in the Middle Ages, 424.
Ravenna (Italy): church of San Vitale, 379 *n.*; gold brooch from, 127; porphyry Cana vase in Santa 384.
Maria in Porto, 118; tomb of Theodoric at,
Rawlinson, Bishop Richard, purchase of manuscripts relating to the building of City churches by Sir Christopher Wren, 1, 9, 10.
Raynsford, arms ascribed to, 558.
Read, Sir Charles Hercules: On a bronze object of the Late-Celtic period recently added to the British Museum, 349-52.
Reader, Francis W., on Roman remains in London, 225, 228, 235, 238, 241, 269 *n.*
Reading Abbey (Berks.), arms ascribed to, 526.
Reculver (Kent), remains of Saxon work in church at, 83.
Reichel, Rev. O. J., on churches and church endowments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, 64, 67.
Reims, coronation of the kings of France at, 145.
Reliquaries: crystal, of the ninth century, British Museum, 137; gold, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 152; nail-reliquary, tenth-century, Trèves Cathedral, 130; of St. Andrew, at Trèves (Germany), 138; of St. Oswald, Hildesheim (Hanover), 146, 147; of the head of St. Hilaire, 137; silver-gilt, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 127, 152, 153.
Rempstone, arms ascribed to, 542.
Rempstone, Sir Thomas, arms of, 527.
Renan, E., on Phoenician antiquities, 183, 186, 189, 190, 191.
Rendlesham, Lord, owner of pits at Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195.
René, King, 118.
Repoussé work: gold panel of the binding of St. Emmeran's Gospels at Munich, 135; group of the Crucifixion on book-cover in the Louvre, 138; two Maries with the angel at the grave of Christ, on silver-gilt plate, 154.
Retables, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 109, 110, 115, 125, 128, 134, 135, 140, 155 *n.*
Richard of Coningsborough: *see* Cambridge.
Richards, Ivo, 262.
Richmond and Derby, Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of: death, 366, 369; executors of will, 366, 369; tomb in Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster Abbey, 365-76; — contract for the grate, 373-6; — contract for the tomb, 366-72; — payments on behalf of, 369-76.
Richmond, John, earl of (*d.* 1334), 409, 413-15, 428, 435, 439 *n.*
Rickmansworth (Herts.), Researches at: Report on excavations made in 1914 on behalf of the British Museum, 195-224; animal remains, 202; eoliths, 204, 206, 208; excavation sites: Croxley Green, 195, 197, 199, 201-8, 210, 211, 215-17, 220, 221, 223, 224; Croxleyhall Wood, 198-201, 204, 207, 209; Long Valley Wood, 197-200, 202-4, 207, 209-11, 213, 215, 216, 218, 220; Mill End, 195-7, 201, 204, 206-9, 211, 213, 215, 217, 220, 221, 229; gravels and geology of the district, 196 ff., 209-21; palaeoliths, 195-208, 213, 214, 216, 217, 223.
Rickmansworth Gravel Co., owners of pits, 195, 209.
Ridgeway, Prof. William, on bronze stirrup-like objects found in Ireland, 350, 351.
Rieux-Mérinville (Aude), circular building at, 385.
Rigord, a monk of Saint-Denis, 113 *n.*
Rings: gold, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 240; of St. Denis, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 121; pontifical, 117; signet-ring, attributed to St. Louis, 157.
Robert, abbot of Corbie, 107.
Roberts, arms ascribed to, 510.
Robsart, arms ascribed to, 518.
Rochester (Kent), the old bridge at, 479-80.
Rock-cutting and tomb-architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman occupation, 159-78.
Rocquemont, Guillaume de, precentor of Saint-Denis, silver-gilt staff of, 156.
Roger, king of Sicily, 142, 154.
Rokele, arms ascribed to, 474.
Rokesley, arms of, 487, 534, 535.
Roland, horn of, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133.
Roman remains: Canterbury, St. Austin's Abbey, 379, 387, 388, 390, 396; Rushall Down (Wilts.), 241. *See also under* London.
Roman walls discovered on the site of Leadenhall Market, London, 225-35.

Rome: arms of, 462, 496; Barberini Collection, silver perforated spoons, 124; circular shape of church of St. Constance, 384.
Roos, William, Lord, arms ascribed to, 519, 521, 535, 536.
Ros, arms of, 482.
Ross, L., on Cypriote antiquities, 177, 178, 180.
Rossell, arms ascribed to, 479.
Rothe, or Roche, Sir William, 358.
Rothyng, Richard, chantry founded by, abbey of Tower Hill, 356.
Round, J. H., 102 *n.*
Royal arms, 457–8, 488-92, 506, 521, 525, 527, 542, 546, 550, 553–5, 559.
Royal Institute of British Architects, 'Designs for Public Buildings' in Library of, 9.
Royaumont (France), abbey of, tombs in, 117.
Royston (Herts.), priory of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Royton, arms of, 558.
Rushall Down (Wilts.), iron spokeshave from, 241.
Rutland, early organization of the church in, 64, 90, 91, 92 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Ryan, Sir Gerald H., 269.

S

Sadler, Fred., collection of palaeolithic implements, 202, 208.
Saffron Walden Museum (Essex), Late-Celtic dagger, 569.
St. Acheul type of palaeolithic implements, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 216, 223.
St. Albans Abbey (Herts.): arms ascribed to, 542; bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417–18, 433.
St. Albans, Herts. County Museum, palaeolithic implements, 200, 202, 203; sarsen, 210 *n.*
Saint-Denis (France), Abbey of, and its ancient treasures, 103–58; altars: Matutinal (altar of the Trinity, Choir, or 'l'Autel Sainct'), 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 114, 126, 131, 133 *n.*, 137, 139, 140, 141; — of St. Denis, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115, 118, 121, 128; — of St. Peter and St. Paul (the High altar, 'Maître Autel', or grand altar), 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 125, 128, 131, 134, 140, 149; — of the Martyrs (St. Denis), 106, 114; — of the Relics, 103, 114, 115; — portable, 107; altar-frontals, 109, 117, 134–6, 139, 141, 146; altar-tables, 133; ancient arrangement of the church, 106; apse, 115; apse-walls, 114; arcade, 114; armoires, 104, 115; basins, silver, 107, 108; bath, 118, 119; 'Boîte d'évangéliaire', 138; book-covers, 138; bottles, of beryl and crystal, 142; bowls: of Chosroes II, 121, 123, 133; — of St. Louis, 155; — silver, 134; boxes, gold, 107; bracelets: of Duke Waifar of Aquitaine, 128; — of Queen Nanthilde, 127, 131; bronze throne of Dagobert, 120; bronze-work, 121; burettes, 144; 'byberon' with a lion's head, 108; candelabra, 117, 134, 139; cantharus, 119, 120; candlesticks, 108, 109, 110; capitals of silver-gilt, 107, 108; censers, silver, 108; chairs, 121; chalices, 108, 115, 117, 121, 123, 141, 143, 144, 155 *n.*; — of St. Denis, 121; chapels, 116; chapel of the Abbot, 117; — of Notre-Dame-la-Blanche, 115; — of Our Lady, 106; — of St. Demetrius, 114, 115; — of St. Eustace, 115; — of St. Hilaire, 115; — of St. Louis, 137; chasses, 112, 115, 116, 117, 126, 127, 154; chasse of St. Denis of Corinth, 107; — of St. Louis, 105, 108, 110, 112; chessmen, 133, 151; chevet, 112, 114, 115, 116, 118, 121, 128, 139; choir, 106; choir-screen, 108, 140; choir-stalls, 139; coffer, 115; coffins of royal personages, 114; — of St. Denis, St. Rusticus, and St. Eleutherius, 115; — with bones of St. Louis, 111; columns: of copper-gilt, 107; — of porphyry, 109; — of the High altar, 110; 'Coupe des Ptolémées', 119, 120, 123, 133, 143, 144; crosiers, 117; crosses: cross of Abbot Suger, 105, 110, 114, 128, 139, 140, 141; — of Charlemagne, 125 *n.*, 127, 131, 139; — of St. Eloy, 107, 109, 125, 126, 131; — of St. Laurence, 131–2; — over entrance to crypt, 139; — processional, 132; — silver-gilt, 155 *n.*; — wooden, 107, 141; crowns, imperial, 145–8; crown of Charlemagne, 147; — of Charles the Bald, 133; — of St. Louis, 155; — 'La Sainte Couronne', 147–9; crucifixes, 106, 113, 117, 128, 139, 140, 153, 155 *n.*; — 'talking crucifix', 114, 149; crypt, 114, 149; crystal bowl and knob, 144; cups: agate, 143; — gold, 107; 'Cuve de porphyre', 115, 118; drawings of the treasures, 104; destruction during religious troubles, 106, 115, 117, 140, 149; — during Revolutionary period, 113, 115, 126, 134, 136, 153; eagle, silver-gilt, 127, 144; eagle-clasps, 127, 151; eagle-lectern, 106, 107, 115, 139; effigies, *see* images; enamel work, 117; 'Escrin de Charlemagne', 109, 128, 146; ewer, agate, 141, 142; — crystal, 137; — of Abbot Suger, 142, 143; goldsmiths' work, 128, 136, 154; gondola, jade, 126, 141; — sardonyx, 153; hands of justice, 145, 150, 155; horns, 133;

Saint-Denis, Abbey of (*continued*).
images: of Queen Nanthilde, 106, 109; — of St. Catherine, 155 *n.*; — of St. Denis, 125, 155 *n.*; — of St. John the Evangelist, 106, 140, 155, 156; — of St. Louis, 108; — of St. Nicholas, 155 *n.*; — of St. Peter and St. Paul, 109, 128; — of the Trinity, 110; — of the Virgin, 106, 140, 155 *n.*; inkstand of St. Denis, 121, 122, 124; insignia: coronation, 145, 150; — of Charlemagne, 132, 150; intaglio portrait of Julia, daughter of Titus, 129; inventories of the treasures, 103 ff.; jewels, 109, 112, 120, 126, 128, 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 149, 150, 152, 153, 157; jubé, 113; lamps, 107, 117; — seven silver, 134, 139; lantern, copper-gilt, 133; lavabo, stone, 155; mantle-clasps, 145, 151, 155, 157; manuscripts, 108, 138; Martyrium, 128; minor implements, 108; mitres, 117; monuments: of Dagobert, 105, 108; — of royal persons, 107 *n.*, 108, 114, 155; — wooden, 117; nave, 106; 'nef', 107; oriental pearl, 130; oriflamme, the, 116; panels, 110, 134, 135; pastoral staff of St. Denis, 115, 116, 121; patens, 108, 117, 123, 124, 141, 143, 144, 155 *n.*; pax, 108, 155 *n.*; phial, agate, 145; piers, arcading, 107; plaques, gold, 134; platform, latten, 110; pontifical rings, 117; porphyry columns, 109, 128; precious stones, 109, 120, 126, 128, 130, 131, 134–7, 139–43, 150, 152, 153, 157; pulpitum, 106, 139; relics, 113, 116, 121, 130; — cross, piece of the true, 125, 130, 152; — Crown of Thorns, 130, 148–9; — hairs of Our Lord, 148, 152; — head of St. Denis, 128; — holy nails, 114 *n.*, 127, 130, 149, 155 *n.*; — holy wood, 152; — purple robe, part of the, 152; — rib and tooth of St. Philip, 152; — shoulder of St. John the Baptist, 127; — swaddling clothes, 152; — thorns of Our Lord's crown, 114 *n.*, 148, 149, 152; — tooth of St. John the Evangelist, 156; reliquaries, 111, 115, 117, 125, 127, 128, 130, 150, 152, 153, 155, 156; retables, 107, 109, 110, 115, 125, 128, 134, 135, 140, 155 *n.*; ring of St. Denis, 121; rood, the, 140; sceptres, 120, 145, 150, 155 *n.*, 156; screens, 106, 107, 108, 114; shrine of St. Denis, 139; signet-ring, 157; spoon, gold, 124; — perforated, 108; spurs, 145, 150; staff of the precentor, 156; stained-glass windows, 139; staircases, 114; stalls, 107; statuettes: of Charlemagne, 156; — of the Magdalen, 153; — of the Virgin, 117, 155 *n.*, 156, 157; staves of St. Denis, 121; swords, 132, 145, 150, 155; tabernacle, 112, 114, 115; tables: gold, 109, 110; — porphyry, 139;

Saint-Denis, Abbey of (*continued*).
tablets of ivory, sculptured, 106; tapestries, 114; throne, Dagobert's, 139; tombs: of Charles the Bald, 107, 131; — of St. Denis, 126; — of St. Louis, 108; — royal, 107 *n.*, 111, 113, 117; treasury, the, 112, 117, 131, 138, 142; unicorn's (narwhal's) horn, 107; vases, 118, 133, 139, 141, 144, 153; — Queen Eleanor's, 141, 142, 144; vaults, 108, 113, 114; vessels, crystal, 141; walking-stick of St. Denis, 121; wooden chest, 108.

St. Emmeran's Abbey, the Emperor Arnould's gift of manuscript Gospels to, 135.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye (France), Musée de, perforated spoons, 124; strap-fastening, 122.

St. John, arms ascribed to, 478, 487, 515, 532; badge of, 538.

St. John, Sir John, executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.

St. John, Sir Thomas Poynings, Baron, 532.

St. Lawrence, Thanet (Kent): arms of the Manston family in window of church, 529; brass in church, 479.

St. Leger, arms ascribed to, 517, 519.

Saint-Léonard (Haute-Vienne), building of circular shape at, 385.

St. Lo, arms ascribed to, 474, 497, 502, 504, 510, 529.

St. Lo, Lady (Margaret Courtenay), will of, 474.

St. Marcel, near Paris, breviary from, 420, 425, 426, 432, 433.

St. Maurice d'Agaune (Switzerland): chasse, 125; ewer of St. Martin, 120.

St. Nicholas of Ash (Kent), arms ascribed to, 530.

St. Nicholas of Thanet, arms of, 478.

St. Nicholas at Wade (Kent), arms of Abbot Welde in window of church, 510.

St. Omer Museum (France), foot of twelfth-century cross, 140.

St. Osithe's Abbey (Essex), bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.

St. Pol, Beatrice, Dame de Nesle, 403.

St. Pol, Guy de Châtillon, count of, 402, 403, 425.

St. Pol, Guy of Luxembourg, count of, 409.

St. Pol, Isabel, 403.

St. Pol, Jean, count of, 403.

St. Pol, John de, 416, 429.

St. Pol, Mary de: *see* Pembroke, countess of.

St. Pol, Maud, wife to Charles of Valois, 403.

Salamis = Enkomi (Cyprus): antiquities from, 185; excavations at, 182, 192–4; necropolis, Late Minoan, 182, 184, 185, 192, 193; 'Prison of St. Catharine', 171–5, 179–94 (*see under* Cyprus); rocks of, 181; tombs, Late Minoan, 184.

Salamis, the Hellenic (Cyprus), of the Early Iron Age, 185.
Salisbury, Richard Nevill, earl of, 276; arms of, 305.
Salisbury, Thomas de Montacute, earl of, arms ascribed to, 555.
Salisbury, William de Montacute, earl of, arms and seal of, 541.
Salter, A. E., 214 *n.*, 215.
Salt Lake (Cyprus), Minoan remains at, 185.
Salts: 'Huntsman', All Souls College, Oxford, 282; various, belonging to John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 282, 293, 294, 298, 312–14, 329–32, 337.
Saltwood (Kent), arms and brass of Thomas Brookhill in church at, 476.
Salzmann, L. F., 66 *n.*
Samian ware: King William Street, London, 265–9; London, 270–3; St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 236, 238, 242 *n.*, 244, 245, 258–62; St. Paul's Churchyard, London, 237, 238; stamps, 256, 257.
Samson, arms ascribed to, 515.
Sanchet, arms ascribed to, 472.
Sancta Cruce, Walter de, Warden of the Cistercian abbey of Tower Hill, 353.
Sandwich, arms ascribed to, 497, 502, 518.
Sandwich, Nicholas de, 497; arms and tomb of, 498.
Sansaver of Tramhatch, arms ascribed to, 472.
Sarcophagus, carved, from Athiénu (Cyprus), 190.
Sardonyx: cameo of the Emperor Augustus, 137; cameo-vases, 120; gondola, from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 153; vase, 'La coupe des Ptolémées', Abbey of Saint-Denis, 119, 120.
Sarre (Kent), perforated spoons from, 124.
Saull, W. D., on Roman remains in Cheapside, London, 238.
Savage of Bobbing, arms of, 502.
Savage, Sir Arnold, Speaker of the House of Commons, 466; arms of, 496, 502.
Savage, Sir Arnold, the younger, arms on brass of, 479.
Savoy, arms of, 531, 549.
Sawbridgeworth (Herts.), arms on brasses of Leventhorps at, 506, 507.
Saxon archbishops, tombs of, in the abbey church of St. Austin, Canterbury, 382, 390–9.
Saxon church, organization of the, 64–6.
Saxon churches: remains of pre-Conquest work at—Avebury (Wilts.), 73; Boarhunt (Hants), 75; Britford (Wilts.), 73; Clayton (Sussex), 81; Compton (Surrey), 82; Corhampton (Hants), 73; Dartford (Kent), 82; Debenham (Suffolk), 86; Deerhurst (Glos.), 95; Eling (Hants), 74; Godalming (Surrey), 82; Great Hallingham (Essex), 84; Greenstead (Essex), 84; Hadstock (Essex), 84; Headbourne Worthy (Hants), 99; Hinton Ampner (Hants), 74; Laverstoke (Hants), 76; Lincoln (Lincs.), 89; Little Sombourne (Hants), 74; Nether Avon (Wilts), 72; Reculver (Kent), 83; Sidbury (Devon), 69; Singleton (Sussex), 79; Stow St. Mary (Lincs.), remains of Saxon work in church at, 89; Stratfield Mortimer (Berks.), 99; Titchfield (Hants), 75; Tredington (Worc.), 96; Walkern (Herts.), 99; West Hampnett (Sussex), 79; Whitchurch (Hants), 76; Woolbeding (Sussex), 81.
Saxon crosses, 66.
Saxony, arms of, 462, 552.
Scales, arms ascribed to, 478, 526.
Scales, Robert, Lord, 478; effigy of, 479.
Scales, Roger, Lord, 478.
Scarlett, Richard, notes on the heraldry in the cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral, 450, 451, 452, 467 ff.
Schepene, Frater Johannes, 543; contribution from, for reconstruction of the cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral, 448; shield of, with his picture, 448, 558.
Scotland, Abbot, buildings by, at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 382–3, 387, 389–91, 394.
Scotland, arms of, 462, 550.
Scott, Robert Forsyth: On the contracts for the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, and foundress of the Colleges of Christ and St. John in Cambridge, 365–76.
Scrope, arms ascribed to, 306, 481, 558.
Scrope, Henry, third Lord, of Masham, arms ascribed to, 501, 517, 519, 554.
Scrope, Sir Stephen, arms ascribed to, 487.
Scudamore, arms ascribed to, 501, 510.
Sculptures at Abbey of Saint-Denis (France): ivory, 106; marble, representing martyrdom of St. Denis, 107; monuments of kings of France, 155; tablets of ivory sculptured with figures, 106.
Seals of: Baldwin, the Emperor, 152; Baud, Thomas, 534; Bedford, John, duke of, 285 *n.*; Bergavenny, Joan Arundel, baroness of, 500; Cambridge, Richard of Coningsborough, earl of, 492; Cantelu, Michael de, 492; Cauntelow, William de, 492; Cistercian abbey of Tower Hill, 363; Clifford, John de, of Ellingham, 521; Clifford, Richard, as archdeacon of Canterbury, 514, 521; Clinton, William de, 508; Courtenay, Sir Peter

de, 484; Courtenay, Philip de, 482; Cumbwell Priory (Kent), 479; Curteis, Reginald, 522; Colepeper, Thomas, 495; Devereux, Sir John, 547; Doget, Walter, of Kent, 494; Everingham, 507; Fastolfe, Hugh, 539; Fitz Dering, Richard, 511; Frenyngham, John de, 475; Hastings, Reginald de Grey, Lord, 534; Henry V, 551; Hereford, Joan, countess of, 463; Hospital of St. Mary and All Saints, Maidstone (Kent), 464; Isili, John, 475; Luttrell, Sir Hugh, 502; Norfolk, Margaret Brotherton, duchess of, 488; Oxford, John de Veer, earl of, 287, 304, 305; Paschal, Abbot, 363; Pelham, Sir John, 548; Pembroke, Mary de St. Pol, countess of, 423; Pembroke College, Cambridge, 423, 427; Poynings, Sir Michael de, 483; Salisbury, William de Montacute, earl of, 541; Segrave, John, 542; Spigurnell, Elizabeth, 472; Willoughby family, 498; Zouche, Eudo de, 518.

Segrave, arms of, 459, 541, 543.

Segrave, Gilbert de, arms of, 542.

Segrave, John, seal of, 542.

Selwân = Siloam (Judaea): monolithic chamber, 182, 186, 187, 190; tombs, 186, 187.

Semitic 'kokim' type of tomb, 164, 165, 169, 177, 178.

Sepham, William de, arms ascribed to, 491.

Septvans, John, arms of, 529; monument of, 529.

Septvans, Thomas, arms of, 529.

Septvans, Sir William, arms of, 513, 529.

Sewers (or Sewards), arms ascribed to, 512.

Seyliard, arms ascribed to, 478.

Seyliard of Seyliard in Hever, arms ascribed to, 479.

Sheldwich (Kent): arms in church, 469, 536, 537; brass of Sir Richard atte Lese, 480.

Shelton, arms ascribed to, 509.

Shelving, arms ascribed to, 504.

Shene (Surrey), abbey of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310.

Shropshire, early organization of the church in, 93, 96 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).

Shurland of Shurland, arms ascribed to, 507.

Sibertswold (Kent), perforated spoons from, 124.

Sidbury (Devon), remains of Saxon work in church at, 69.

Sidon (Phoenicia), tomb at, 186.

Silver objects: at or from the Abbey of Saint-Denis—basin, 107; bowl, plated with gold, 134; candelabra, 117, 134, 139; candlesticks, 108; censers, 108; chalices and patens, 117; effigy of St. Louis, 108; hand of justice, attributed to St. Louis, 150; lamps, 117, 134; pax, 108; — perforated spoons, from Chatham (Kent), 124; treasure, Byzantine, 177 *n.*

Silver-gilt objects: capitals of chasse, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107, 108; chasses, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112, 117; crown, jewelled, in the Louvre, 157; eagle, set with stones, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 127; ewer of Abbot Suger, 142, 143; fonts, 292, 293; images, 107, 277–86, 290–3, 310–13, 329, 342, 426, 433; openwork lantern, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107; plate, in the Louvre, 154; reliquary, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 127, 152, 153; retable for the altar, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 107; staff of the precentor of Saint-Denis, 156; statuette of the Virgin, in the Louvre, 156.

Simon, St., silver-gilt image of, 291, 292, 329.

Singleton (Sussex), remains of Saxon work in church at, 79.

Sion (Middx.): *see* Syon.

Sittingbourne (Kent), arms in stained glass in church, 508, 529.

Skeleton of a woman, Newnham (Cambs.), 570.

Smirke, Sir Robert, architect of the old General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, 235, 236; of the Royal Mint, 360.

Smith, Reginald A.: Researches at Rickmansworth (Herts.), 195–217; on the primitive site of London, 269.

Smith, Roach, 572; on Roman remains in London, 235.

Somers, arms ascribed to, 508.

Somerset, Sir Charles, executor to will of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 366.

Somerset, John Beaufort, earl of, arms of, 458, 527, 541; effigy of, 527.

Somersetshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 69–71 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Glastonbury, West Buckland.

Somner, William, on the heraldic shields in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, 455.

Spigurnell, Elizabeth, seal of, 472.

Spokeshaves, iron, from: Copthall Court, London, 241; Rushall Down (Wilts.), 241; St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241.

Spoons, perforated: Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108, 124; Barberini Collection, Rome, 124; Bifrons (Kent), 124; Chatham (Kent), 124; Chessell Down (I.W.), 124; Crundale (Hunts.), 124; France (Dept. Aisne), 124; Germany, 124; Sarre (Kent), 124; Sibertswold (Kent), 124; Stodmarsh (Kent), 124; Svetec (Bohemia), 124.

Spurs: gold, twelfth-century, 150–1; part of coronation insignia, 145.

Stafford, arms of, 485, 521, 523, 542.

Stafford, Sir Hugh, arms ascribed to, 516, 517.
Staffordshire, early organization of the church in, 93, 94, 96 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Standish, arms ascribed to, 514.
Standish, Hugh, arms of, 514.
Stanley, Sir John, arms of, 538, 547.
Stapleton, arms ascribed to, 523.
Staresacre, arms ascribed to, 513.
Statuettes: of Charlemagne, in the Louvre, 156; of the Magdalen, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 153; of Venus, pipe-clay, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241; of the Virgin, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117, 155 *n.*, 157; in the Louvre, 156.
Stephen II, Pope, vision of, 108, 109.
Stirrups: bronze stirrup-like object, of the Late-Celtic period, recently added to the British Museum, 349–52; bronze 'stirrups' from Ireland, 350, 352.
Stodmarsh (Kent), perforated spoons from, 124.
Stoke-by-Nayland, or Stoknailond (Suffolk), bequest to church by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 286, 317.
Stone lavabo from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 155.
Stow, John, on the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill, 356.
Stow St. Mary (Lincs.), remains of Saxon work in church at, 89.
Strabolgi, arms ascribed to, 480, 550.
Strange, arms ascribed to, 484.
Strange of Knockyn, arms of, 484, 541, 542.
Strange, John, Lord, arms of, 542.
Strap-fastening from Charnay (France), 122.
Stratfield Mortimer (Berks.), Saxon tombstone in church, 99.
Stratford (Middx.), bequest to nuns of, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Streatfeild, Rev. Thomas, 454, 467, 475, 511, 541; *Excerpta Cantiana*, 452, 453, 488, 496, 546.
Streynsham of Faversham, arms of, 499, 501.
Strickland, William, bishop of Carlisle, arms ascribed to, 482.
Strood (Kent): jet cameo, with head of Medusa, 572; manor of, 418.
Stunt, Walter, 456.
Sudbury, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, arms of, 464, 469, 494, 508; on the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill, 354.
Sudbury College (Suffolk): plate and jewels within the college belonging to John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 291, 294, 296, 329–38; stuff in the chapel, 288, 291, 299, 300, 338–43; wardrobe stuff, 288, 302, 343–7.
Suffolk, early organization of the church in, 63, 64, 85–8 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Bruisyard, Bury St. Edmunds, Debenham, Hertford Warren, Lavenham, Mildenhall, Stoke-by-Nayland, Sudbury.
Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis: descriptions by, of the Abbey in his day, 109, 125, 127, 131, 139; gifts to the Abbey by, 110, 126, 127, 139, 141, 142; objects added to the church by: altars, 107, 109, 114, 115, 133, 134, 139; bronze-work, 121; chalice, 123, 143; 'Coupe des Ptolémées', gold and jewelled setting for, 119; — inscription at foot, 120; cross, great, 105, 110, 114, 128, 139, 140, 141; crucifixes, 106, 113; — 'talking', 114, 149; ewer, 142, 143; ornaments, 139; panels, 110; precious vessels, 139, 141, 142; porphyry vase, design for, 118; pulpitum, 106, 139; retable enriched with gems, 107; shrine for St. Denis, 139; stained-glass windows, 139; tabernacle, 115; vases, 139; — setting of gold and jewels for, 119; works as a builder, 112, 139; works in precious metals, 139.
Sulcis (Sardinia), Punic tombstone from, 190.
Surrenden, John de, arms of, 499, 505.
Surrey, early organization of the church in, 64, 81, 82, 99, 100, 101, 102 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Compton, Godalming, Lingfield, Shene, Wandsworth.
Sussex, early organization of the church in, 64, 79–81, 102 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Battle Abbey, Bosham, Clayton, Singleton, Trotton, West Hampnett, Woolbeding.
Svetec (Bohemia), perforated spoon from, 124.
Swaffham Bulbeck (Cambs.), bequest to nuns of, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Swanscombe (Kent), gravel-deposits at, 198, 202, 214, 215, 216; palaeoliths from, 205, 206, 207, 217.
Sweden, arms of, 462, 552.
Swinbourne, Thomas, of Smeeth, arms and brass of, 489.
Swords: of Archbishop Turpin, 132; of Charlemagne, 132; of Charles VII of France, 132; of Jeanne d'Arc, 132; of St. Louis of France, 132.
Symondson, Cornelius, contract with, for making the grate to the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey, 373–6.
Syon (Middx.), abbey of, 353; bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310.
Syracuse, quarries of, 159, 160.
Syria, tomb-architecture of, 165, 175, 182, 183, 185, 189.

T

Talbot, arms of, 461, 533.
Talboys, Henry, arms of, 523, 532.
Tamassos (Cyprus), tombs at, 163, 165, 166, 168.
Taverner, arms ascribed to, 536.
Tell-el-Hesy = Lachish (Palestine), door-jamb from, 189, 190.
Terra-cotta coffin, from Salamis (Cyprus), 185; votive terra-cottas, Salamis (Cyprus), 182.
Terrets, ornamental bronze rings from horse-trappings, 351.
Thames valley, gravels of the, 212–15, 221–4.
Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, burying-place of, 386, 400.
Theodoric, tomb of, at Ravenna, 384.
Theophanu, Empress, wedding present to, 118.
Theophilus, on the making of perforated spoons, 124.
Thibaut, count of Blois, 142, 154.
Thomas, St., of Canterbury: *see* Becket.
Thomas, St., of Inde, silver-gilt image of, 291, 292, 329; reliquary of, 155 *n.*
Thorn, William, on Abbot Scotland's buildings at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 383, 387.
Thornbury, arms ascribed to, 557.
Thornbury, William, arms and brass of, 557.
Thorpe, Dr., notes on the heraldry in the cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral, 450, 451, 455.
Thowested, arms ascribed to, 510.
Thrace, arms of, 462, 550.
Thremhale (Essex), priory of, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 313.
Thugga, Mausoleum of, 190.
Thurstone, arms ascribed to, 557.
Tillotson, William, manuscript volume of Heraldic Collections (now in the Society's Library), 307, 308.
Tiptoft, arms of, 306.
Titchfield (Hants), remains of Saxon work in church at, 75.
Tite, Sir William, on Roman remains in London, 225, 228, 237, 264.
Tomb-architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman occupation, 159–78.
Tombs: *see* Cyprus, Monuments, Palestine.
Torrigiano, Pietro, designs and executes the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, in Westminster Abbey, 365–72, 374.
Touchet, arms of, 482, 498, 525, 556.
Touraine, duke of, gift to the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 112.
Tower Hill, topography of the Cistercian Abbey of: *see* London.
Toy, Sidney, 385 *n.*
Tracy, arms ascribed to, 498.
Trajan, coins of, London, 240.
Tredington (Worc.), remains of Saxon work in church at, 96.
Tregoze, of Boughton Malherbe, arms of, 513–14, 551.
Trèves (Germany): St. Andrew reliquary at, 138; tenth-century nail-reliquary in the cathedral, 130.
Trier (Prussia), brick building of Roman date at, 229.
Trinity, images of the, 107, 110, 278, 283, 285, 286, 294, 314, 332.
Trotton (Sussex), brass to Lord Camoys and his wife, 555.
Troutbeck, arms ascribed to, 536.
Tunstall (Kent), arms in windows of church, 537, 544.
Turpin, Archbishop, sword of, 132.
Twychet, arms of, 507.
Tyes, arms ascribed to, 528.

U

Ufford, arms of, 493, 497, 498, 504, 517, 520, 536, 546, 548.
Ulster, John de Burgh, earl of, arms of, 491.
Umfraville, arms of, 515, 520, 523, 532.
Umfraville, Gilbert de, arms of, 515.

V

Valence, arms of, 490.
Valence, Aymer de: *see* Pembroke, earl of.
Valence, William de, 403, 404, 426, 433.
Valence d'Agen (France), bronze-gilt brooches from, 127.
Valentinian I, coin of, London, 240.
Valiants, or worthies, the nine, 347.
Vallance, Aymer, 400.
Valois, Charles, count of, 403.
Valois, Marguerite of, 403.
Van Eyck, John, picture of the 'Mass of St. Giles' erroneously attributed to, 158 *n.*
Vases: alabaster, from Abbey of Saint-Denis, 117, 118; amber, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 133; clay, Roman, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 252; Egyptian, 118; ewer of St. Martin at St. Maurice d'Agaune (Switzerland), 120; Farnese Tazza at Naples, 120; Gonzaga vase, Brunswick, 120; grey granite, treasury of St. Mark's, Venice, 118; Hamilton vase, 120;

jade gondola made by St. Eloy, 126, 141; of Mithridates, in the Louvre, 142; porphyry, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 118, 141, 144; Queen Eleanor's, 141, 142, 144; sardonyx, 'Coupe des Ptolémées', 119, 120, 123, 133, 143, 144; sardonyx gondolas, mounted in silver-gilt with jewels and enamels, 153, 154; Waddesdon vase, 120.
Vasselot, J. J. Marquet de, 110.
Veer (or Vere), arms of, 465, 475, 505, 516, 521, 530, 545, 547. *See* Oxford, earls of.
Veer, Aubrey de (*d.* 1141), first hereditary great chamberlain under Henry I, 275 *n.*, 278, 311.
Veer, Aubrey de (son of the 12th earl of Oxford), 275.
Veer, Dorothy and Ursula, 286, 315.
Veer, Sir George, 315.
Veer, John de: *see* Oxford, 13th, 14th, and 15th earls of.
Veer, John, cousin and heir to Sir Robert Veer, 315; an executor of the will of the 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318; bequest to, 316.
Veer, Sir Robert, 315.
Veer, Thomas, bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 317.
Velletri, cross of, with enamels, 138.
Verdun, arms ascribed to, 526.
Vere: *see* Veer.
Venice: St. Mark's: Byzantine chalices, 143; Byzantine cross, 153; crystal ewer, of the tenth century, 137; Egyptian vase of grey granite, 118; sardonyx gondola, 154; San Niccolò of the Lido, Cana vase, 118.
Venus, head of a pipe-clay statuette of, from site of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241.
Vesci, arms ascribed to, 486, 556.
Vesci, Sir Gilbert Aton, Lord, arms ascribed to, 487, 557.
Vexin, count of, premier vassal of Saint-Denis, 116.
Victoria and Albert Museum: crystal ewer, of the twelfth century, 137; early Byzantine Beresford-Hope reliquary, 125; image of Christ, ivory, 135 *n.*; Soltykoff cross, 138.
Victorinus, coin of, London, 240.
Vienna: crown of Conrad II at, 146, 147. Hofmuseum: golden fibula from Nagy Mihály (Hungary), 123.
Villette, Philippe de, abbot of Saint-Denis, 128.
Vincent, St., gold image of, with relic, 418, 426.
Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène, reconstruction of the abbey church of Saint-Denis, 105, 106, 112, 115, 158 *n.*
Virgin, the: figure of, on plate of lapis lazuli, 154; image of, 106; statuettes of, 117, 155 *n.*, 156, 157.
Visigothic crowns, find of, at Guarrazar, 145.
Vitry, Paul, on the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 113.
Voget, Juivre, gold chasse by, 112.
Vyner, Sir Robert, 8.

W

Wadham, arms ascribed to, 485, 501.
Wadham, Sir William, 485.
Wainfleet, arms of, 451.
Waldegrave, Sir William, executor of will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Walden, arms ascribed to, 540, 558.
Wales, arms of, 462, 549.
Wales, Prince of, arms of, 457, 492, 493, 521, 552; badge of, 462, 493, 527.
Waleys, arms ascribed to, 503.
Walkern (Herts.), remains of Saxon work in church at, 99.
Walking-stick of St. Denis, 121.
Waller, J. G, on the arms of the Cobham family, 470.
Walsingham Priory (Norfolk), bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310, 326.
Wandeford, William, arms and monument of, 480.
Wandsworth (Surrey), Late-Celtic dagger from the Thames at, 569.
Warehorne (Kent), arms of Apuldurfield, with inscription, in window of church at, 470.
Warenne, arms of, 459, 463, 465, 492, 517, 520, 527, 541, 542, 552, 553, 555.
Warwick, Newburgh, earl of, arms of, 518.
Warwick, Richard Beauchamp, earl of, arms of, 518.
Watevile, arms ascribed to, 476.
Watford (Herts.), flint implements from, 216.
Wareham, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 366.
Warren Hill: *see* Mildenhall.
Warwickshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 95, 97 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey).
Waterbeach (Cambs.), nuns minoresses of, 421, 423.
Watson, G. W., 403 *n.*, 440 *n.*
Weaver, Lawrence: The complete building accounts of the City Churches (Parochial) designed by Sir Christopher Wren, 1–60.
Welde, William, abbot of St. Austin's, arms of, 510.
Werton (or Weston), arms ascribed to, 494.
Wessex, early organization of the church in, 64, 66 ff., 102.
West Buckland (Som.), Late-Celtic dagger from, 569.
West Hampnett (Sussex), Saxon remains in church at, 79.
Westmill (Herts.), manor of, 418, 437.
Westminster Abbey: bequest to, by Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, 417, 418; brass of Eleanor

de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester, 463, 493; tomb of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, 406, 425, 443; tomb of William de Valence, 117; tomb and grate of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, 365–76.
Westmorland, Joan Beaufort, countess of, 458.
Westmorland, Ralph Nevill, first earl of, arms of, 458, 527, 541.
Wewick, Meynnart, the painter, share of, in design for the tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, 370, 371.
Whetenhall, arms ascribed to, 499, 529, 557.
Whitaker, W., *Geology of London*, 211, 212, 214 *n.*
Whitchurch (Hants), Saxon tombstone at, 76.
White, Osborne, 215.
White Friars, bequests to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 310.
Whiting, William, 456.
Wido, Abbot, buildings by, at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 390, 391.
Widvile (or Wydvile), arms ascribed to, 551.
Widvile, Queen Elizabeth, coronation of, 276, 315.
Wihtred, king of Kent, charter of, 65.
Willement, Thomas, *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral* 452, 454–6, 460, 463 ff.
William the Conqueror, 84, 89, 90.
Willibald, St., 65.
Willington, arms ascribed to, 537.
Willoughby, arms of, 495, 504, 507, 520, 536, 546, 548.
Willoughby, Robert, Lord, of Eresby, arms and seal of, 498.
Willoughby, William, Lord, of Eresby, arms of, 498.
Willoughby (or Wyllughby), William de, of Eresby, seal of, 498.
Wilson, Thomas, plans and drawings of excavations at St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 241, 242, 246, 262.
Wiltshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 72, 73, 102 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Avebury, Britford, Devizes, Nether Avon, Rushall Down.
Wingfield, arms of, 488, 526.
Wingfield, Humphrey, executor of the will of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 287, 318.
Winter of Worthington, arms of, 451.
Wittlesey, William, archbishop of Canterbury, arms ascribed to, 517.
Wivenhoe, or Wyvenhoo (Essex): Beaumont badge on brass at, 544; goods and chattels of John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, deposited at, 286, 291, 316, 328.
Woburn Abbey (Beds.), bequest to, by John de Veer, 13th earl of Oxford, 280, 312, 313.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 365, 369.
Wooden objects: chest, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 108; choir-screen, Abbey of Saint-Denis, 140; coffin, of Archbishop Justus, St. Austin's, Canterbury, 398–9; coffin of Archbishop Laurence, St. Austin's, Canterbury, 396–7; stirrup-shaped objects on yoke of an Egyptian chariot, 350.
Woodnesborough (Kent), arms in windows of church, 467, 517.
Woodstock, Edmund of: *see* Kent, earl of.
Woodward, H. B., on the gravels of the Thames valley, 212, 213, 214.
Woolbeding (Sussex), remains of Saxon work in church at, 81.
Worcestershire, early organization of the church in, 64, 94, 96, 97 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Tredington.
Wotton, John, prior of St. Martin's, Dover, 480.
Wren, Sir Christopher, building accounts of the City churches (parochial), designed by, 1–60; the building of St. Paul's, 237.
Wren, Christopher, junior, 2, 9.
Wren, Bishop Matthew, 401.
Wren, Stephen, *Parentalia*, 1, 9, 237.
Wrottesley, arms ascribed to, 538.
Wulfric, Abbot, octagonal building by, at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 377 *n.*, 379-90, 399, 400.
Wydvile: *see* Widvile.
Wykeham, William of, arms of, 514; jewelled mitre, 279 *n.*
Wyndham-Cook Collection, Hamilton vase, 120.

X

Xylotymbou (Cyprus), tombs at, 187.

Y

York, Edmund of Langley, first duke of, 501; arms of, 458, 491, 544, 554.
York, Edward Plantagenet, second duke of, arms of, 458, 491, 492, 544; badge of, 541 *n.*
York, Lady Elizabeth of (queen of Henry VII), 285.
Yorkshire, early organization of the church in, 64, 97, 98 (*see also under* Churches of the Domesday Survey). *See* Arras, Danes Graves, Knaresborough Priory.

Z

Zouche, arms ascribed to, 494, 512, 518, 520, 547.
Zouche, Eudo de, seal of, 518.